THE MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

BEING

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE MUḤAMMADAN AND HINDU OFFICERS OF THE TIMURID SOVEREIGNS OF INDIA FROM 1500 TO ABOUT 1780 A.D.

BY

NAWWĀB ṢAMṢAM-UD-DAULA SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN

AND HIS SON

'ABDUL ḤAYY

TRANSLATED BY

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PREFACE

As was stated in the preface of the first volume of the translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, the printing of the translation of this work by the late Mr. Henry Beveridge was started in 1911. 3 double fascicles of 200 pages each were issued uptil 1914, and the printing of the first volume dealing with bibliographies up to the end of letter 'L' was concluded in 1941. It has taken 11 years for the second volume to be printed. While apologizing for the great delay in the completion of this work, it has to be pointed out that this was due to the Second World War and its aftermath. Further, owing to my leaving Calcutta for Banaras in 1942 and later transfer to New Delhi, I, in view of my more urgent official duties, found it impossible to spare any time for this work. In 1945, however, I again took up the work seriously, and the completed manuscript was sent to the Society for printing about the end of 1947. The delay in printing was due to various reasons. After the typescript consisting of 1,187 pages had been revised by Dr. Hari Ram Gupta of the Historical Section of the Ministry of Finance, who very kindly undertook this work at the request of the Society, it was sent to the press on 30th January, 1950, and it has taken nearly 3 years for the press to complete the printing. It has thus taken 46 years since the late Mr. Beveridgee started the translation of this important biographical dictionary of the Moghul period in 1906. Here it may not be out of place to mention that the printing of translations of the two Persian works which the late Mr. Beveridge carried out for the Society extended over very many years, and in neither case was completed before the death of the author on 8th November, 1929. The translation of the first work, the *Akbarnāma*, took over 20 years, and was completed in 1921, when Mr. Beveridge was 84 years old, but the last volume of this work was not published till 1939, ten years after his death.* No mention is made

* See Lord Beveridge's *India Called Them*, page 367, footnote (London, 1947).

of the translation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* in the admirable biography of his parents entitled "India Called Them" by Lord Beveridge, but this work, as has been noted above, was started in 1906, and though its printing was started in 1911 it has taken over 40 years for the work to be completed. While this is unfortunate, I am glad to have been able to complete this work and even at this late date to make it available to students of Indian History.

The first volume dealt with 361 biographies, up to the end of the letter 'L', while the present volume consists of 370 biographies. As there are two biographies of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh (Nos. 495a and b), only one of these is included in the above number. The Epilogue (No. 725a) is also not included in this calculation. The numbers for the different letters are as follows :—

M	115
N	19
F	7
G	29
R	33
S	104
T	19
Th	2
U	3
W	7
Y	10
Z	6
Dh	6
Appendix	10
Total	370

In the Appendix are included 10 biographies which had been omitted in the earlier printed account either through oversight or the author probably wanted to include these under some other letter. With regard to the number of biographies, as will be seen from the index to this volume, 731 biographies excluding the one in duplicate

and the Epilogue referred to above, are included in the two volumes of this work. This number differs from that given in the preface to the table of contents by the son of the author, as is discussed in a foot-note by Mr. Beveridge on page 32 of the first volume of the translation.

At the end I have included an index of names as arranged in the three volumes of the text with the corresponding numbers and pages in the two volumes of the translation. This should enable scholars to refer to the original text and the translations without any difficulty.

With reference to the general format of the translation I have nothing to add to what was detailed in my preface to the first volume of the translation, but it is necessary to add that the completion of this volume involved a great deal more of time and labour, as not only a great part of the manuscript had become illegible, but many biographies were missing. It was, therefore, easier to include new translations rather than try to complete the incomplete manuscript. The names in the contents and the Text Index are given as in the translation. In spite of all the care taken in correcting the proofs a number of mistakes have remained uncorrected, and for these I crave the indulgence of the readers.

In conclusion, I have to offer my thanks to the Council and Officers of the Society for the interest they have taken in the completion of this work. I have also to record here my thanks to the successive General Secretaries whose interest made it possible for the work to be completed.

50A, Theatre Road,
Calcutta, 16.

Baini Prashad

4th November, 1952.

CONTENTS

PREFACE[1]

1 As in the case of Vol. I of the Translation biographies by 'Abdul Ḥayy are distinguished by the letter *Q*.

1 The brackets before and after the word Mir have during printing been inadvertently omitted.

S[1]

1 Owing to a printer's error the Letters ص and س have been misprinted in the footnote on p. 637 ; the correct reading is س (S) ش (Sh) and ص (Ṣ).

1 Page 914 has been misprinted as p. 114.

1. The page heading on pp. 1057-1062 have been wrongly printed as Abdul Aḥad Khān in place of 'Abdullah Khān.

The Maāthir-ul-Umarā

MĀDHŪ SINGH HĀRĀ[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 453-456).

He was the second son of Rāo Ratan. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed[2] in his earlier rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. In the second year he went in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī, and in the 3rd year, after the arrival of the royal retinue in the Deccan he was in the army commanded by Shāyista Khān. Later he was appointed, along with Saiyid Muẓaffar Khān, to pursue Khān Jahān Lōdī who had left the Deccan and gone towards Mālwā. As they pressed on in pursuit of the bewildered fugitive, they came up with him, and he was obliged to dismount from his horse. In the fight Mādhū Singh, who commanded Muẓaffar Khān's vanguard, struck[3] him with a spear. For this good service his rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was granted a standard. When his father Rāo Ratan died in the same year, the Emperor increased his rank by 500 with 500 horse, and granted him the parganas of Kōtah Bīlātha[4] in fief. In the 6th year he accompanied Sulṭān Shujā' to the Deccan, and after the death of Mahābat Khān, the governor of the Deccan, he was appointed by Khān Daurān the governor (*Sūbahdār*) of Burhānpūr.

At this time the disturbances of Sāhū Bhōnsle took place in the neighbourhood of Daulatābād. Khān Daurān at the head of a

1 Hādā in the text is a copyist's error for Hārā, the Rājput tribe inhabiting Hārāvati or Harouti which "comprehends two principalities, namely, Kotah and Boondi" *vide* Todd, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 ed.), II, p. 354.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 184.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 350.

4 Taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, p. 401, where it is Kōtah and Palāītha; the Kotā and Pālatiah of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 275. They were two large parganas in Sarkār Ranthambhōr. Kōtah is a State in Rājpūtāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 410-424.

detachment went out to chastise him and Mādhū Singh was left to defend Burhānpūr. Later, in the 7th year he was appointed with Khān Daurān to punish Jujhār Singh Bundēla, After coming to Chānda on the day when Nēknām the uncle of Bahādur Khān Rōhila fought and lay wounded in the field, Mādhū Singh gallopped[1] forward to Nēknām's right and killed some of the rebels and put others to flight. Afterwards in company with Saiyid Muḥammad, the eldest son of Khān Daurān, he overtook the foe, who were on the act of performing the *jōhar*[2] (sacrifice) of their family and killed several of them. After coming to the Court his rank was increased to 3,000 with 1,600 horse. In the 9th year when Burhānpūr was adorned by the arrival of the victorious standards (of Shāh Jahān) and three armies were appointed to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle, and to devastate the country of 'Ādil Khān, Mādhū Singh went off with Khān Daurān. On his return when he waited (on the Emperor) in the 10th year, his rank was raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 11th year he was deputed to Kābul in attendance on Sultān Shujā'. In the 13th year he accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh to Kābul. On the Prince's return in the 14th year his rank was graciously increased to 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 16th year he had an increase of 500 horse. In the 18th year he was sent to assist Amīr-ul-Umarā ('Alī Mardān), governor of Kābul, who had been ordered to conquer Badakhshān. Afterwards he went to Balkh in attendance on Murād Bakhsh. When that prince left the country and Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb was nominated to succeed him, Mādhū Singh, for a time, was appointed to guard the fort of Balkh, which service he performed faithfully. When the late prince according to the orders of his father. restored the country to Nadhr Muḥammad ruler of that area and returned, Mādhū Singh after reaching Kābul was ordered to leave the Prince, and in the 21st year he returned to the Court and obtained leave to go home. After some time he died in 1057[3] A.H. (1647

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 113. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 115.

3 Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 409, states that "Madhu Sing was born S. 1621 (A.D. 1565)" and that he died in S. 1687 or 1630 A.D., and left 5 children.

A.D.). A separate account has been given of. his son Mukand Singh Hārā.

MĀDHŪ SINGH KACHWĀHA[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 321, 322).

He was the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās. Mādhū Singh was in attendance on Emperor Akbar when in the 17th year he rushed off to chastise Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, and fought a battle with him at Sarnāl, a town in Aḥmadnagar province. He always followed the Emperor. In the 30th year when an army under Mīrzā Shāhrukh was despatched to take Kashmīr, and a battle took place with Ya'qūb, the landowner of that country, Mādhū Singh displayed great courage and was commended. In the 31st year when Saiyid Ḥāmid Bokhārī was killed in Peshāwar, Mādhū Singh, in accordance with the King's orders, accompanied his father's army and went[2] from *thāna* Langar (Langarkōt) which belonged to him, to 'Alī Masjid where Kanwar Mān Singh was stationed. In the 40th year he had the rank of 1,500, and in the 46th year his rank[3] was 3,000 with 2,000 horse. His son Satar (Chatar) Sāl about the end of Jahāngīr's reign held the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. In the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was confirmed in that rank and was ordered to accompany Khān Jahān Lōdī, the governor of Mālwa, who was sent to chastise

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 460, 461.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 492, 510, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 745, 778, and note 2. Beveridge remarks that according to Badāyūnī (*vide* Lowe's translation of Vol. II, p. 366) Mādhū Singh was at Ohind or Und some 15 miles above Attock on the west bank of the Indus, and not at Langarkōt.

3 Jahāngīr in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) I, p. 17, speaks of a Mādhū Singh who was nephew of Rāja Mān Singh, and so also in the *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 833, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1249, note 1, and *Bādshāhnāma* I, p. 305. But on p. 56 Jahāngīr mentions Mādhū Singh as the brother of his wife (who was a daughter of Bhagwān Dās—see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 353), while in the *Ā'īn*, *op. cit.*, p. 460, he is called the son of Bhagwān Dās.

Jujhār Singh Bundīla who had raised his head in revolt. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan was the royal headquarters, he and Rāja Gaj Singh were appointed to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk. On the day of battle, as he was stationed in the rear and the enemy suddenly attacked it, he[1] and his two sons Bhīm Singh and Anand Singh bravely laid down their lives in the service of their master. Another son Ugar Sēn obtained suitable rank[2].

(RĀJA) MAHĀ SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 174-176)

He was the son of Rāja Jagat Singh son of Kanwar Mān Singh Kachwāha. After his father's death he succeeded him and had charge of the government of Bengāl. In the 45th year of Akbar's reign when the Bengāl Afghāns created a disturbance, he was still young[3], and Pratāp Singh brother of Rāja Mān Singh—who was his manager—was easy going and careless, and fought a battle with the Afghāns near Bhadrak. He was defeated and many Rājpūts were kille[4], and Mahā Singh was unable to consolidate his position. In the 47th year when Jalāl Khūkarwāl and Qāḍī Mū'min stirred up strife in the province (Bengāl) he showed bravery[4] in repressing them. In the 50th year his rank was 2,000[5] with 300 horse. In the 2nd

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I. p. 305, and *id*. I. pt. 2, p. 305. Satar Sāl is there called the son of Mādhū Singh who was the brother's son of Mān Singh.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I. p. 306, and *id*. I. pt. 2, p. 314, where his rank is given as 800 with 400 horse. The name is written there as Ugar Sēn.

3 He could only have been in his teens, as he was only 32 years old when he died in the 12th year of Jahāngir's reign in 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.)—see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngir*. (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) I, p. 377.

4 For details of the fighting see *Akbarnāma*, Text III. pp. 808, 809. Beveridge's translation III, pp. 1212-1215. In the latter work notes are added on the various localities.

5 *Akbarnāma*. Text III, p. 839, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1257.

year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed[1] to the Bangash campaign, and in the 3rd year a marriage present of Rs. 80,000 was sent and his sister entered[2] the royal harem and Rāja Man Singh presented sixty elephants as a part of the dowry. In the 5th year he received a flag, and in the same year he was appointed to chastise Bikramājīt the landholder of Bāndhū,[3] who had rebelled. His rank was raised in the 7th year by 500 foot with 500 horse. After Mān Singh's death, as Jahāngīr made Bhāū Singh the head of the clan, he granted an increase of 500 foot to Mahā Singh and sent him a robe of honour and a decorated dagger, and gave him Bāndhū as a fief. In the 10th year he was granted the title of Rāja, and was honoured with the gift of a kettle-drum[4]. In the 11th year he had an increase of 500 foot and 500 horse, and in the 12th year, 1026 A. H. (1617 A.D.) he died at Bālāpūr in Berār[5]. His son is Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh[6] of whom a separate account is given.

MAHĀBAT KHĀN HAIDARĀBĀDĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 627-632)

He was known as Muḥammad Ibrāhīm *qamār bāz* (the gambler). He was a Persian by birth. He became an *Amīr* in the time of Abūl Hasan Quṭb Shāh[7] the ruler of Telang (Golconda). When Saiyid Muẓaffar, who had long[8] been the Prime Minister, was dis-

1 See *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, p 111.

2 *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, pp. 144. 145.

3 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 157. In note 9 on the same page he identifies it with Banda in the United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, pp. 347-356.

4 *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, p. 297.

5 *Tūzuk, loc. cit.*, p. 377.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. (Text III 568-577; English translation vol. I, p. 731-734.

7 For Abūl Ḥasan Quṭb Shāh or Tānā Shāh see Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 309-313 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 322-386.

8 Saiyid Muzaffar became the Prime Minister after Saiyid Aḥmad when Abūl Ḥasan was crowned King of Gōlconda in 1672. He was, however, soon superseded by his Brahman *factotum* Mādannā who was given the title of Surya Prokāsh Rāo, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 333, 334.

missed, the management of affairs passed into the hands of the two vile Brahman brothers Mādannā[1] and Akkanā. They were the leaven of deceit and intrigue and became the authors of the destruction of that eminent dynasty. Though they brought forward their own caste men and the Deccanīs and intrigued against the Mughals, and the foreigners, the Khān used cunning, tact and flattery and the two brothers strove to please and to obey him. Accordingly, he was appointed to a high office, and was the head of the army, and had the title of Khalīl Ullāh Khān Palang Ḥamla (leopard attacker). The posy on the stone of his ring was:

Verse

By the kindness of the King and the illustrious Pandits Ibrāhīm became general and Khalīl Ullāh Khān[2].

At the time when the standards of Aurangzīb were casting their shadows over the Deccan, the first item decided upon for the royal armies was the conquest of Bījāpūr, and Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh was appointed with a large force to this task. When this undertaking was protracted, the King marched from Aurangābād to Aḥmadnagar, and later went and encamped at Sholāpūr. Suddenly a letter,[3] which Abūl Ḥasan had writen to his envoy[4] (*Ḥājib*), who was with the victorious army, came to the King's notice. Its purport was that up to now he (Abūl Ḥasan) had observed the proper dictates of respect. But as Aurangzīb, considering that Sikandar was an orphan and helpless, had besieged Bījāpūr, it was necessary that in addition to the large army of Bījāpūr, Rāja Sambhā should come to

1 For Mādannā see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-355. The name of the brother is given as Āknā in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 292 and Akkana by Sir Jadunath.

2 Khalil Ullāh—the friend of God—is Abraham's title.

3 See *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 260.

4 *Ḥājib* is frequently used in the work, and apparently means an envoy or ambassador. According to the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 259 there were two envoys of Bījāpūr, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm and Muḥammad Ja'far in the Prince's Camp.

the assistance of Sikandar with his large hordes, and that he (Abūl Ḥasan) should be ready for battle with 40,000 cavalry under the leadership of Khalīl Ullāh Khān Palang Ḥamla. It will then be seen on which fronts Aurangzīb will be able to meet and repel his enemies. This enraged Aurangzīb, who said "We had postponed the gripping of this sugar-selling, monky-leading lutanist[1], but now that the hen has begun to crow, we must not delay any longer." In spite of the prolongation of the Bījāpūr compaign Prince Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur and Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh were ordered, in the end of the 28th year, to chastise Abūl Ḥasan. Khalīl Ullāh Khān with Shaikh Minhāj, who, while in the Bījāpūr service, had slain by guile Khiḍr Khān Panī, had joined Abūl Ḥasan, and acquired a great name—as well as Rustam Rāo the cousin of Mādannā—encountered the Prince, and fought against him several times, and gave proofs of their courage. One day they attacked Khān Jahān in such large numbers that he was nearly driven off, but a furious[2] elephant of Rāja Rām Singh broke its chain and rushed forward among the enemy's troops. Many horses of the leading officers reared up, and two of the riders were thrown down, and so great a confusion was caused that it resulted in their defeat. On another occasion the battle with the Prince lasted for three days, and many of the imperial officers were wounded. At last the Teling troops, which were defeated, took to flight. The Prince halted and did not pursue them. This improper delay in spite of the exertions of the Prince during the battle displeased Aurangzīb, and a *farmān* of censure was issued. The Prince sent a message to Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, the general, to the effect that in consequence of the forbearance with which he (the Prince) had treated him, he had been cen-

1 *Maāṯbir-ul-'Ālamgirī*, p. 261, the words are تنبک نواز in place of چنگ نواز The phrase in the Text is چینی فروش in *Maāṯbir*, and is translated above as sugar-selling.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 298.

sured. If he would surrender the parganas Kōhīr[1] and Siram, which are on the borders of the province of Bīdar, he (the Prince) would have something to show as the reason for his interceding for Abūl Hasan. Ibrāhīm listened to this proposal, and assented to it, but Rūstam Rāo and other ignorant men said that they had tied these parganas to the points of their spears, and were prepared for war. There was a renewal of hostilities. One day there was such an onset that the enemy had driven before them the elephant on which Rāī Bindrāban, the Prince's Dīvān, was riding. Saiyid 'Abdulāh Khān Bārah, in spite of receiving a wound from a rocket[2] on his lip reached the *Dīvān* and rescued him from the enemy. On that day the wife of Ghairat Khān the Prince's Bakhshī was killed by a rocket in the howdah of an elephant. The battle raged from morning till evening. Next day the Deccanīs in their pride sent a message that the just course was that the armies on each side should stand still and that the leaders should fight with one another. The Prince replied that though there was little gain in this proposal on his side, in view of the fact that the Deccanīs were practised in sword-play and in lance-throwing, yet he was agreeable to it provided they put chains on the legs of their elephants, so that the Deccanīs in the end might not run away—an act which is regarded as disgraceful with the imperialists, but is considered as clever by the Deccanīs. The Deccanīs replied that they do not fight with chains on their legs. The Prince replied: "Nor do we fight and run away." At last the animosity which had existed from old times between the foreigners and sons of foreigners and the Deccanīs, manifested itself. Abūl Hasan's force dispersed and went off to Haidarābād. The Prince (Shāh 'Ālam) pursued them. The Deccanīs made Abūl Hasan suspicious of Khalīl Ullāh Khān's

1 Parganas Siram and Rāgīr in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 296, but Siram and Kia p. 301 where the details of the message sent to Muhammad Ibrāhīm the Commander-in-Chief of Haidarābād army are also given.

2 It was the stick of the rocket, چوب چهقربان which struck him; Khāfī Khān, II, p. 304.

fidelity and ascribed the defeat to him. Mādannā, who had no love for the Mughals, impressed upon Abūl Ḥasan that Khalīl Ullāh Khān wanted to enter the imperial service, and that he should be imprisoned. Consequently Khalīl Ullāh near Ḥaidarābād, in the 29th year, joined the Prince, and on his recommendation received[1] the rank of 6,000 and the title of Mahābat Khān. In the same year he paid his respects to Aurangzīb at Sholāpūr, and received a present of Rs.50,000 etc. In the 30th year, after the conquest of Bījāpūr, on the death of Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Bahādur 'Ālamgīrshāhī, he was appointed governor of Berār. After the conquest of Ḥaidarābād he, in the 31st year, received an increase of 1,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In the same year he was made governor of the Pānjab. In the 32nd year he died. The words "Mahābat Khān" give the date[2] of his death. Muḥammad Manṣūr his grandson arrived from Iran soon after Mahābat Khān had joined the royal service, and was appointed to the rank of 1,500 foot and 500 horse, and given the title of Makramat Khān.

MAHĀBAT KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

(Vol. III, pp. 385-409).

His name was Zamāna[3] Bēg, and he was the son of Ghaiyūr Bēg Kābulī. They were Saiyids of the Raḍavī family. Accordingly his son Khān Zamān in his history has given the genealogy up to Ḥaḍrat Imām Mūsā-al-Raḍā. His ancestors were all regarded as great men and possessed of influence. Ghaiyūr Bēg came from Shīrāz to Kābul and settled in one of the districts there. He wa enrolled as one of the cavaliers of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. Afte

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 269.

2 1099 A.H., 1688 A.D. See *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri* p. 383, where an accoun of his appointment as governor of Lāhōre etc. is given.

3 The beginning of the biography is translated in Elliot, VII, p. 190 *et se*. A summary is also included in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (and edn. pp. 358, 359 in the account of Khān-Khānān Mirzā 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm.

the Mīrzā's death he succeeded in entering Akbar's service and distinguished himself at the siege of Chittōr. Zamāna Beg while young entered the service of Prince Salīm as an Aḥadī, and rendered such good service that he quickly obtained a suitable *manṣab*[1] and was made Bakhshī of the *Shāgird-pesha* (ministerial servants).

When the Ujjainīya Rāja (the Rāja of Bhōjpūr) came to Allahābād after concluding a treaty with Mu'ẓẓam Khān Fatḥpūrī (Bāyazīd) and waited on the Prince, he had a large retinue which filled the city and the neighbourhood. Wherever he went, whether it was public or private, the place was full of his men. This annoyed the Prince, and one night he privately said: "What should be done to this boor (*Gawār*)?" Zamāna Beg replied, "If an order is passed, I will finish him off this very night". On receiving approval he started with one attendant. After midnight he came to the Rāja's lodging where he was lying drunk and asleep in his tent. He left a servant at the entrance, and sent out the Rāja's men saying that the Prince had sent a secret message. He entered the tent and cut off the Rāja's head. This he wrapped in a shawl and came out, and told the men that no one must enter till he brought back an answer. He threw down the head before the Prince. At once an order was issued to plunder the Rāja's camp. His men coming to know of this order dispersed. His cash and goods were confiscated, and Zamāna Beg received the title of Mahābat Khān. In the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign he received the rank of 3,000[2], and was appointed to the expedition against the Rāna. The expedition had not advanced very far, and he had only after fixing up the posts (*thānas*) in the outer range of hills started to advance into the inner hills, when he was recalled to the Court, and was ordered to accompany Shāh Jahān to the Deccan. In the 12th

1 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 24, and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 4 In the latter work the name of the father is wrongly given as Ghafūr Bēg.

2 According to Khāfi Khān I, p. 259, he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horses. For a detailed chart of Mahābat Khān's offices see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 195, note 25.

year he was appointed governor of Kābul[1] on the transfer of Shāh Beg Khān. Owing, however, to the predominating position and influence of I'timād-ud-Daula, who was not on good terms with him, he wanted to go from Kābul to 'Irāq. Consequently he received a cordial invitation by letter from Shāh 'Abbās Safavī. But Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān managed cleverly to scare away his men and so he had to give up the idea.

When in the 17th year at the instigation of Nūr Jahān Bēgam there was a disagreement between Jahāngīr and the heir-apparent Prince Shāh Jahān, and this resulted in an open war, the task of conducting the campaign against the Prince was assigned to Mahābat Khān who was summoned from Kābul. At first owing to his dislike of Bēgam he did not agree, but after being reassured[2], he came to the Presence. When 'Abdullāh Khān deserted[3] the royal vanguard and joined Shāh Jahan's forces, Jahāngīr in view of his distrust of Āṣaf Khān, the commander of the army, summoned him and Khwāja Abūl Hasan to the Presence. There was a great commotion in the camp, and Mahābat Khān divining the marks of the success of Shāh Jahān (in the struggle) sent offers of loyalty to him through 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Khān-Khānān. He also represented that if he was pardoned and his safety assured, he would render faithful service. At the moment his advice was that the Prince should recall his army and roll up the carpet of strife, and himself proceed to Māndū, where he would receive a grant (*sanad*) restoring to him his former fiefs under Jahāngīr's seal[4]. The Prince, who was always anxious to please his revered father, resolved at the instigation of Khān-Khānān to turn back. Later when Sulṭān Parvīz arrived from Allahābād, Mahābat Khān

1 Shā Bēg Khān. Khān Daurān was transferred as the Governor of Thatha, and Mahābat Khān appointed to Kābul and Bangash, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge), I, p. 397.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 195; Khāfi Khān, I, pp. 232, 233.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 202; see also Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 354, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 45.

4 This double dealing of Mahābat Khān is not detailed in any of the works.

with the help of other opportunists made most of the occasion, and induced the King to march to Ajmer[1], and to appoint Sulṭān Parvīz under the guardianship of Mahābat Khān to the pursuit of the Prince. The latter went from Māndū to Burhānpūr and from there resolved to proceed to Bengāl through Telingāna. Mahābat Khān in company with Sulṭān Parvīz came to Burhānpūr, and addressed himself to the task of arranging the affairs of the Deccan. Meanwhile an order was received[2] that they should, setting their mind at ease about the administration of the Deccan, proceed immediately to Allahābād so that in case the governor of Bengāl was unable to check the Prince's (Shāh Jahān's) advance, they must be there to oppose him.

Mahābat Khān in a short time through his exertions made the Deccan princes join the circle of the loyal and devoted adherents of the Kingdom. Malik 'Ambar again sent his agent[3] proposing that he would make his son a servant of the State, and would wait on him at Dēwalgāon and requested that the affairs of the province be made over to him. But as 'Ādil Khān Bījāpūr, who had always been at variance and war with him (Malik 'Ambar) sent Mullā Muḥammad Lārī his Prime Minister with 5,000 cavalry so that they might serve continually as the King's faithful auxiliaries, Mahābat Khān gave up the idea of an alliance with Malik 'Ambar, and left Mullā Muḥammad Lārī and Rāo Ratan Hārā also called Sarbuland Rāi at Burhānpūr, and himself started with Prince Parvīz in the height of the rains and traversing the clay and mud of Mālwa reached the province of Allahābād. The armies opposed each other for some days near Tons.

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge), II, pp. 258, 259, *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 204; Khāfī Khān, I, p. 337.

2 This account of Mahābat Khān's campaign against Shāh Jahān in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* is somewhat confused, and the *sequence of* the events is not accurate. For connected accounts see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 351-386, and Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp 40-52.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 223, 224. The name of Malik 'Ambar's agent was 'Alī Shēr Ḥabshī, see also Khāfī Khān I, pp. 347, 348.

Prince Shāh Jahān on account of the small number of his troops did not consider it advisable to risk a pitched battle, but the exaggerations and importunities of Rāja Bhīm, who was one of the royal confidants, caused to happen what actually did happen. When the situation became critical, 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmī (the wounded) seized Shāh Jahān's reins (horse) and by urgent importunity led him away from the battlefield[1].

It so happened that Malik 'Ambar grew suspicious of the alliance of 'Ādil Shāh with the royal army and marched from Khirkī with Niẓām-ul-Mulk. He left his family and goods at Qandahār, and came to the borders of Quṭb-ul-Mulk's territory. He exacted from him the fixed annual subsidy for the expenses of the army. Then he suddenly attacked the city of Bīdar, plundered it and marched to Bījāpūr. 'Ādil Shāh shut himself up there and sent couriers to summon Mullā Muḥammad Lārī, and wrote to Mahābat Khān requesting that the royal troops should also help him on this occasion. Mahābat Khān, who was at Allahābād, instructed Sarbuland Rāi to depute Lashkar Khān with Jādū Rāi, Udājī Rām and all the officers of Bālāghāt. Malik 'Ambar hearing of this vainly complained that he also was a royal servant, and had committed no crime for which he should be punished. He requested that he should be left alone to deal with his enemy. No one listened to him, and he was obliged to fight[2]. Mullā Muḥammad

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) II, pp. 294-296; *Iqbālnāma-i Jahāngīrī*, pp. 232-324; Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 352, 353. In the above works it is 'Abdullāh Khān and not 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmī who led Shāh Jahān's horse away from the battlefield. The battle took place at Damdama near the junction of the Tons and the Ganges in 1624 A.D., see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 173. A legendary account of the battle and Raja Bhim's death is given in Todd. *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) I, pp. 294, 295.

2 Battle of Bhātūrī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. Text I, p. 140, and Beveridge's translation, p. 269. In *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī* the battle is described on pp. 236, 237, but the name of the place is not given; it is only stated that it took place at a place 5 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar. Khāfī Khān, I, p. 348, also follows *Iqbālnāma's* account. The chronogram gives the Hijrī year 1034, which corresponds to 1624-25 A.D.; but *Iqbālnāma* (*op. cit.*) includes it in the 19th year of the reign, and Khāfī Khān (*op. cit.*) and Beveridge (*loc. cit.*) definitely describe it as in 1033

was accidentally killed and Jādū Rāi and Udājī Rām turned away without exerting themselves. Twenty five leaders of 'Ādil Shāh's army and the royal forces with the exception of Khanjar Khān, the governor of Aḥmadnagar, and Jān Sipār Khān, the *Faujdār* of Bīr, who with a few of their men managed to escape from the field and reached home safe all other officers, numbering 42 including Lashkar Khān and Mīrzā Manūchīhr, were taken prisoners, and remained for a long time in prison at Daulatābād

The chronogram of the event is '*Ambar fath kard* ('Ambar was victorious, 1034 A. H., 1624 A.D.) It is said that when Malik 'Ambar, who had no literary background, heard this chronogram, said: "Where is the point, even a child knows that "Ambar was victorious". Both he and 'Ādil Shāh wrote several times to Shāh Jahān begging him to come to the Deccan. He returned from Bengāl and with Malik 'Ambar's army and Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī besieged Burhānpūr. On hearing of this disturbance in the Deccan Mahābat Khān according to orders, rapidly returned from Bengāl with Sulṭān Parvīz. When he reached Sārangpūr in Mālwa, Fidā'ī Khān[1] showed him a *farmān* stating that Khān Jahān from Gujarāt had been appointed in place of Mahābat Khān, and directing that the latter was to remain as the governor of Bengāl. Sulṭān Parvīz did not agree to this arrangement and separation. Another order was received that if Mahābat Khān was not willing to go to Bengāl he should return to the Court, and Khānazād Khān[2] who till then had been his father's deputy in Kābul, was recalled and sent to Bengāl to take charge of the province. Āṣaf Khān on account of his enmity (with Mahābat

A.H. As the battle took place in 1633, it must have taken place in the first half of the year. Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 382 gives an account of the battle, but does not give its date.

1 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 245.

2 The son and heir of Mahābat Khān. His name was Amān Ullāh, but he received the title of Khānzād Khān when he was appointed as his father's deputy in Kābul. Later in Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān Zamān. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 740-748. Beveridge's translation, pp. 212-219.

Khān) appointed 'Arab Dast Ghaib, 1,000 *Aḥadī* soldiers to bring Mahābat Khān to the Court.[1] Mahābat Khān was consequently obliged to leave Burhānpūr. Sulṭān (Parvīz) accompanied him as far as Serāī Bihārī. Mahābat Khān wished to take some *manṣabdārs* with him, but Fāḍil Khān the *Dīvān* of the Deccan showed a *farmān* stating that as he was guilty, he was forbidden from taking anyone with him. Mahābat Khān said: "The Court secretaries have given a wrong advice, the Sovereign, (they shall see) will in the end repent of this summons." After his arrival at Ranthambhōre he began to take precautionary measures. The Rānā also gave him 1,000 good troopers to accompany him. It is said that 'Arab Dast Ghaib' also arrived at this place, and that Mahābat Khān said to him: "I know the business for which you have come. I am going. You need not make any speeches." He started with 6,000 horses[2] of whom 4,000 were Rājpūts and 2,000 Mughals, Saiyids, Shaikhs and Afghāns.

As the King was preparing to go to Kābul, it was reported that Mahābat Khān had arrived. He sent him a message that he could not be allowed to pay his respects until he had satisfied the King's demands and had explained his conduct towards the Bengāl fief-holders whose lands he had taken possession of. He also heard that Āṣaf Khān had made a plan for imprisoning him[3]. He had arranged that on the day when the encampment was on the bank of the Jhelum, and after the whole army and the camp had crossed the river, and the King with his bodyguard alone was left on this bank of the river, and when Mahābat Khān would come to pay his respects, the King would take his hand, put him into the boat and take him with him. The bridge would then be broken down and his men would, therefore,

1 According to *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngirī*, p. 248, 'Arab Dast Ghaib was sent to take over the elephants captured by Mahābat Khān and for auditing the accounts.

2 In *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngirī*, p. 252, only 4 to 5,000 Rājpūts are mentioned According to Todd, *op. cit.*, p. 295, note 1, "It was with the Seesodia Rajpoots and Suktawuts that Mohabat performed the most daring exploit in Mogul history, making Jehangir prisoner in his own camp."

3 There is no mention of the plan in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngirī* or Khāfī Khān.

be unable to accompany him. At the stage of Shāhābād Gajpat Khān the Superintendent of Elephants came to his quarters and communicated to him the order that he should make over the elephants that he had captured up to that time. Mahābat Khān kept back some well-known elephants and made over the rest to him. Gajpat Khān said: "Khān Jīu (my Lord Khān), for what day are you keeping them: the boat of your life has sunk! If your sons survive, they will (even) be in want of barley bread". Mahābat Khān smiled and said[1]: "On that day you will not help them. I shall present these (those that he kept back) elephants. Now, you go away quickly, for these Rajputs are rude people and they may on account of your unnecessary talk misbehave themselves". In short Mahābat Khān was convinced by this language that owing to the malice of his enemies his life was not safe. He set his mind on dying, and giving advances to the soldiers made them renew their oaths of fidelity.

When the royal army was encamped[2] on the bank of the Jhelum, Āṣaf Khān, in accordance with the plan, crossed the river with the whole army, including the King's personal servants, by the bridge and halted without taking any measures for security. Mahābāt Khan, who was waiting for such a God-sent opportunity, regarded it as a great boon, and sent 1,000 cavalry to guard the head of the bridge. He himself rode rapidly to the quarters of Shahriyār, and Dāwar Bakhsh and took them with him. He broke open the entrance to the *enclosure* (*gulāl*), and entered the King's apartment. He stationed his own men at the entrance and waited upon the King. He said: "When I saw that there was no safety from the enmity of Āṣaf Khān, I committed this audacity. Whatever punishment I deserve I should receive it from your own hands." It is said that when the Rājpūts

1 Perhaps alluding to the fact that he will be killed before that time. The name in the text is *written* کجرس خان but کجپت خان in *Iqbālnāma* etc.

2 Mu'tamid Khān's detailed account in *Iqbālnama-i-Jahāngīrī* 253-267, of Mahābat Khān's *ccup* appears to be the most reliable, and has been mainly followed by Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-411. It differs from the account in the *Maāthir* in several respects.

fearlessly entered the *Ghusulkhāna* (private parlour). Muqarrab Khān because of his old acquaintance with Mahābat Khān said: "Leprous one, what disrespect is this?"[1] Mahābat Khān replied: "When they were apportioning the wife and daughters of a certain person[1], you could not say a word". He struck Muqarrab Khān[2] on the forehead with a short stick that he had in his hand. This produced a scar-like wound and blood began to flow. Meanwhile the Emperor overcome by wrath, twice put his hand on his sword hilt. Mīr Manṣūr Badakhshī said in Turkī, "This is an occasion when one's courage is being put to a test" (or when one should be discreet). After this Mahābat Khān represented that as the commotion was over, their going out riding for a hunt appeared the right course. He constrained the King to ride his elephant. Gajpat Khān brought forward a female elephant, which was reserved for royal use, and himself acted as the *mahout*, while his son rode in the rear. Mahābat Khān said, "This is the day when my sons were to beg for barley-bread", and he made a sign to the Rājpūts who killed both of them with the sword. He took the King to his own lodgings, and placing his children round him he made numerous offerings and gifts. As he had forgotten about Nūr Jahān, he again made the King ride an elephant, and brought him to the quarters of Sulṭān Shahriyār. Meanwhile the Bēgam had escaped. Mahābat Khān greatly lamented this carelessness. The Bēgam in perplexity and confusion crossed the river, and greatly chided and abused the officers, and set about preparing the army for a battle. As the bridge had been burnt, she on the next day without enquiring into the possibility of fording, plunged into the river. As there were four deep places in the stream and the enemy placing elephants in front made an attack, the (imperial) army fell into confusion and many lost their footing. Everyone on whichever bank he reached, sought

1 Is this a reference to the possible fate of Mahābat Khān's family or Nūr Jahān's marriage? Most probably it means that things had come to such a pass that his enemies were already apportioning his wife and daughters.

2 This fact is not mentioned in Mu'tamid Khān's account or in Khāfi Khān, but the wound on Muqarrab Khān's forehead is recorded.

to save his life. The Bēgam returned and entered her tent. Āṣaf Khān hurried off to the fort of Attock which was in his fief and then entrenched himself. The other officers after securing promises of their safety waited upon Mahābat Khān and endured[1] all his foul language. Mahābat Khān himself went to Attock, and by promises and oaths got possession of Āṣaf Khān with his son Abū Ṭālib and Khalīl Khā the son of Mīr Mīrān. He took the political and financial administration into his own hands and assumed supreme powers. He appointed the Rājpūts in the hall (as guards), and no one could make any remark or criticise.

When the King was encamped in Afghānistān a quarrel arose at his (Jahāngīr's) instigation between a number of *Aḥadīs* and Rājpūts about the grazing ground. By chance an *Aḥadī* was killed. All of them attacked the Rājpūts and a hot engagement took place. Many of the heretics and their leaders were killed. Every Rājpūt who had gone out to forage was killed by the villagers, and some were taken prisoners and sold. Though Mahābat Khān himself rode out to their assistance, he could not maintain his ground in the tumult. He returned and sought the King's protection. Though Jahāngīr sent the *Kōtwāl* to quell the disturbance, and to pacify Mahābat Khān some of the *Aḥadīs* were made over to him, but his old supremacy disappeared He was also spending his days in a state of great suspense. At last during the return journey from Kābul at Rohtās, *Hōshyār* Khān, Nūr Jahān's eunuch joined with 2,000 cavalry from Lāhōre in accordance with the Bēgam's orders. A review of the army was suggested, and the order was issued that the old and new servants should come armed wearing their cuirasses.

When there was an encampment on the bank of the Jhelum, which was the place where Mahābat Khān's supremacy had begun, a message was sent to him that a review of the Bēgam's troops would be held on the following day, and that he should march ahead lest there should be a dispute among the *Qalquchīs* resulting in a general

1 Literally: carried away on their bodies.

disturbance. In view of his growing suspicious he went a stage in advance. It happened that at this time Prince Shāh Jahān thought that owing to the growing power of Mahābat Khān it would be best that he should be near at hand, and so he advanced from Nāsik to Ajmēr. But as men did not assemble (round him) as the Prince had expected, he proceeded to Thatha. Accordingly an order was issued to Mahābat Khān, who was overcome by fear and agitation, that he should immediately pursue by the Jaisalmēr[1] route to Thatha Prince Shāh Jahān, who had come from the Deccan to Mālwa and from there to Ajmēr. Mahābat Khān released Āṣaf Khān after making him take oaths and his promising (not to oppose him), and started. It so happened that after the Prince had halted at Thatha for eighteen days, he received a letter[2] from Nūr Jahān to the effect that it was probable that Mahābat Khān on hearing the reverberations of the Prince's approach might do some harm to the Prince's children, who were in attendance on their grandfather. On this account the Prince thought it best to return to the Deccan. Also the news of the death of Sulṭān (Parvīz)[3] was received, and then Shāh Jahān fell ill. On 18th Ṣafar 1036 A.H., he started, and in 42[4] days traversed, *via* Gujarāt, 260 *kos*, and reached Nāsik. Mahābat Khān was obliged to encamp at Pōkaran 40 *kos* on this side of Jaisalmēr and as a force had also been sent against him by the King, but though it could not encounter him, he gave up all hope and sought refuge with the Rānā. The latter did not treat him cordially, and Mahābat Khān was, therefore, compelled to enter the country of the Bhīls, between Gujarāt and the Rānā's territory, with 2,000 Rājpūts who had never forsaken him. He sent his expression of penitence, and apologies for his presumption to Prince Shāh Jahān, who in those

1 State in Rājpūtāna, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 1-9.

2 This letter is not mentioned in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī* or by Khāfī Khān.

3 Parvīz died at Burhānpūr on 6th Ṣafar 1036 A.H., 28th October, 1626 A.D., *vide* Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 418; but in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 279, the year is given as 1035 though the date is 6th Ṣafar; the year in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 382, is also 1035 A.H.

4 In 40 marches and ten halts Khāfī Khān, I, p. 383.

days at the request of Niẓām Shāh had proceeded from Nāsik to Junair. Junair had been founded by Malik 'Ambar and was noted for its good climate and its buildings. In accordance with a summons from the Prince, Mahābat Khān on 21 Ṣafar, 1037 A.H. (22nd October, 1627 A.D.) came by way of Rājpīpla and Baglāna and offered his homage at the Prince's threshold, and was graciously received[1].

At this time the unavoidable event of Jahāngīr[2] (his death) occurred, and Shāh Jahān with a view to securing the sovereignty proceeded by way of Gujarāt to Ajmēr. It is said that when he visited the shrine of Mu'in-ud-Dīn, Mahābat Khān placed a keepsake-copy of the Qur'ān with amulets on the tomb and said: "My desire was that you should become the King. God be praised, that desire has been fulfilled. If in accordance with the pact my offences have been forgiven, please swear by the Qur'ān, and make the Great Khwāja a witness or grant me leave immediately to go to Mecca. Otherwise Āṣaf Khān is coming tomorrow, and there will be a judgment (*fatwā*) for my death." Shāh Jahān assured him of his protection, and after his accession gave him the title of Khān-Khānān *Sipahsālār*, and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horses[3]. He also gave him a present of 4 lacs of rupees, and appointed him governor of Ajmēr. In the same year Mahābat Khān was appointed governor of the Deccan, and his son Khān Zamān who had recently been made governor of Mālwa was

1 According to *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 75, Mahābat Khān had been reconciled only a few days before Banārsī arrived with the news of Jahāngīr's death, and as Banārsī first informed him about it, he rushed to Shāh Jahān and broke the news of his father's death, and produced Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān's signet-ring.

2 According to Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 423, Jahāngīr died at Rājaurī on 27th Ṣafar 1037 A.H., 28th October, 1627 A.D., but in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 293, and *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 69, the date is given as 28th Ṣafar. In Khāfī Khān, I, p. 388, the date is given as the end of Ṣufar. اواخر ماه صفر But in Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 56, the date is correctly given as 29th October, 1627 A.D.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 117.

nominated as his deputy. In the 2nd year when Shāh Jahān went to the Deccan in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī, Mahābat Khān was nominated as the governor of Delhī. In the 5th year on the transfer of A'ẓam Khān, he was again appointed governor of the Deccan[1].

It is said that during the thirty or forty years many governors came to the Deccan and returned as they experienced serious difficulties at Bālāghāt, and owing to the scarcity of corn even though there was no fighting. No one had been able to find a solution for this problem. The first arrangement that Mahābat Khān made during his tenure of the government (of the Deccan) was that he conciliated the *Banjāras*[2] of India by presents of elephants, horses and robes of honour, and won them over so completely that there was one head of the *Banjāras* at Āgra and Gujarāt and the other in Bālāghāt. He ordered that whether corn was cheap or dear, they would supply it at the rate of ten seers to the rupee.

When Sāhū Bhōnsle joined 'Ādil Shāh and engaged himself in taking of Daulatābād from Fatḥ Khān the son of Malik'Ambar, Fatḥ Khān, finding that the officers of Niẓām Shāh were in a vindictive mood against him, wrote to Mahābat Khān that there are no provisions in the fort. If you come quickly I will make over the fort to you and become a royal servant[3]. Thereupon Mahābat Khān hurriedly sent the advance force under Khān Zamān, and himself started on 29 Jumāda II of the 6th year from Burhānpūr. Khān Zamān came down by the pass of Khirkī and fought a severe battle with Sāhū and Ran Daula Khān and pursuing them for six *kos* put their troops to the sword. The Bījāpūrīs were frightened, and made overtures for peace with Fatḥ Khān, as a result of which he broke his promises (to Mahābat Khān) and fraternised with them. Mahābat Khān, who was at Ẓafarnagar, was, therefore, obliged at the end of Sha'bān to leave Khirkī and to join Khān Zamān and to set about the siege of the fort. In the beginning of Ramaḍān, he distributed

1 *Op. cit.*, I, p. 424.

2 For *Banjāras* the grain-carriers see Irvine *Army of the Indian Moghuls*; p. 192.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 407.

the batteries and assigned the guns and culverins to his second son Lahrāsap, and decided to attack the fort from a point commanding[1] it, *viz.*, a high hill, on which lies the village of Kāghazīwāra. Khān Zamān continually fought with courage, and Khān Daurān exerted himself with skill and bravery, and there were frequent fights for forage and corn with Sāhū and Ran Daula Khān and Bahlōl Khān Bījāpūrī. Besides there were some severe contests. On every occasion the royal troops were victorious.

After the capture of 'Ambarkōt (at Daulatābād) they addressed themselves to the seizure of Mahākōt. The garrison for want of provisions had to live on carcases, and when they saw that imperialists were successful every day, Khairiyat Khān the uncle of Ran Daula Khān and some others of the 'Ādil Shāhīs asked for peace, and secretly let themselves down at night by means of ropes, and after waiting on the Khān-Khānān went off to Bījāpūr.

After the mine reached as far as the foot of Mahākōt, Fath Khān sent his family to Kālākōt, and Murārī Pandit, who was the factotum of the Bījāpūr State, and all the 'Ādil Shāhīs and Nizām Shāhīs came to Ellōrah, leaving Ran Daula Khān and Sāhū to oppose Khān Zamān, who was in Kāghazīwāra, and with Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī attacked the Khān-Khānān. A great battle took place. The enemy fled, and during the pursuit Yāqūt Khān Ḥabshī was killed. The fight was extremely fierce. It is stated that few such battles have been fought in the Deccan. Mahābat Khān returned victorious, and went over to the mine of Shēr Ḥājī of Mahākōt, and was about to set fire to it. Fath Khān heard of it, and sent a message to the effect that, as he made a compact with the Ādil Sāhīs not to conclude a peace without their consent, it was requested that the proceedings be postponed for that day. Mahābat Khān said that if he was speaking the truth he should send his son as a hostage[2]. As

1 *Sarkūb-i-hiṣṣār* probably means a height commanding the fort. The narrative is apparently based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I. pp. 496-531.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 525.

the son did not arrive, the mine was fired. One tower and about 15 yards of the wall were blown up. The daring invaders entered the fort, and erected batteries there. When Fatḥ Khān saw the brave deeds of the heroes, he gave up further resistance and to save his honour sent his eldest son 'Abdul Rasūl,[1] expressed his penitence and begged for pardon. He also requested for assistance in the matter of expenses and a week's respite for taking out his belongings. The Commander-in-chief gave him two and a half[2] lacs of rupees and sent elephants and camels for transport purposes. Fatḥ Khān delivered the keys of the fort on 19th Dhul Ḥijja 1042 A.H. (17th June, 1633 A.D.) and after a siege lasting three months and some days this strong fortress was captured.

Verse[3].

A fort the like of which no one has seen,
It was the fort of Daulatābād, and that is all.

The chronogram is *Nawāb bafatḥ Daulatābād āmad* (the Nawāb came to Daulatābād with victory. 1042A.H.,1633 A.D.). Mahābat Khān left Khān Daurān with Murtaḍā Khān Saiyid Niẓām, the son of Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān of Pihānī, in the fort and took with him Fatḥ Khān together with the young Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and set off for Burhānpūr. After reaching Ẓafarnagar, he threw overboard his promises and oaths, and imprisoned Fatḥ Khān and Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and confiscated all their property for the government. They say that Fatḥ Khān in his folly sent a message to the Bījāpūrīs that the army with Mahābat Khān was small in numbers, and that they should attack it in force, and set him free. Or perhaps

1 *Op. cit.*, I, p. 527.

2 Ten lacs and 50 thousand rupees according to *Bādshāhnāma op. cit.*, p. 527.

3 This is only the first of the four verses written by Ḥāji Muḥammad Jān Qudsī on the occasion, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 530, 531 For a connected account of Mahābat Khān's campaign against Aḥmadnagar see Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 139-145.

Mahābat Khān did this on account of Fatḥ Khān's haughtiness, because when the drums had sounded for beginning the march and Mahābat Khān was waiting mounted on his horse Fatḥ Khān was still asleep. Or perhaps it was for political reasons. Anyhow Mahābat Khān broke his engagement without sufficient excuse.

When he reached Burhānpūr, Shāh Jahān as a reward for his good service ordered a present of five lacs of rupees to be given to Mahābat Khān. The latter enquired from the imperial clerks as to how much money had been spent on the affair (of Daulatābād). They replied that it amounted to 20 lacs. Mahābat Khān paid 25 lacs of rupees into the Royal Treasury, and said that for three years he had not paid any tribute (*pēshkash*) to the Emperor and his *pēshkash* was Daulatābād. Mahābat Khān also begged that one of the Princes might be sent with him so that with a fresh army he might conquer Bījāpūr. Shāh Jahān sent Shujā' his second son. The Commander-in-Chief addressed himself to the task of taking the fort of Parēnda which was one of the famous forts of the Deccan and was then in the possession of the 'Ādilshāhīs who had taken it from the Niẓāmshāhīs. He sent Khān Zamān ahead and engaged himself in distributing the batteries and in making other arrangements for the siege. Daily engagements took place. When Mahābat Khān and the Prince arrived within three *kos*, the 'Ādil-Shāhīs and Sāhū with a number of Niẓām-ul-Mulkīs appeared, and made attacks, sometimes on the foragers and sometimes on the batteries. One day, a foraging party under Khān-Khānān was attacked by the enemy. The Rājpūts galloped forward. Though Mahābat Khān recalled them, they obstinately stood firm and many were killed. Mahābat Khān kept his ground and made every effort possible to stem the attack. They say that such a battle had not taken place in the Deccan for a hundred years. Khān-Khānān was saved from sure death by Khān Daurān who came from his quarters and drove off the enemy.

As Khān-Khānān and Khān Daurān were not on good terms the latter frequently said in assemblies that he had saved the life of Khān-Khānān. Mahābat Khān heard about it, and was annoyed. It so

happened that one day Khān Daurān with Saiyid Shujā'at Khān and Ṣayid Khān Jahān Bārah had gone foraging, and when they started after loading the straw, the enemy took possession of a defile and started firing rockets. The straw caught fire from these rockets, and many elephants, camels and bullocks were burnt, and the whole plain was filled with flames and no way of exit was possible. They say that 30,000 quadrupeds, and 10,000 men were burnt, besides a numberless multitude who were half burnt. The officers stood on a height and watched with bewilderment the jugglery of the heavens. After the flames were extinguished the enemy made an attack and pressed hard the imperialist force. Mahābat Khān came to their assistance, and the enemy dispersed. From that day Khān Daurān held his abusive tongue. They say that this affair took place at Mahābat Khān's instigation. In spite of the fact that Sīdī Marjān the governor of the fort and his successor Ghālib, who took up the post on behalf of 'Ādil Shāh, were both shot, victory did not appear to be in sight, and all efforts and exertions were fruitless. At last the rainy season approached, and the officers out of their dislike for Mahābat Khān joined together in pursuading the Prince to retire (from the siege). This he did in spite of the objections of Mahābat Khān.

As no transport was available in the camp bullocks were bought from the *Banjāras* at a high price. It is said that on the day of the march the *Banjāras* closed the way and represented to Mahābat Khān that relying on his assurances they had brought grain, and now there were no means of transporting it. He asked what its value was. They replied, it was worth two lacs. He immediately paid them the amount from his own treasury and told them to carry away whatever they could and to burn the remainder. Shāh Jahān sent a letter of censure to the Khān-Khānān for this retreat, and summoned the Prince to the Court. When Mahābat Khān reached Burhānpūr he ceased to rely on the Rājpūts who on the day of the foraging had let themselves be killed and said: "They know why they fell." He sent his *Dīvān* Kākā Pandit to Āgra to enlist 10,000 troopers from among the Saiyids, Shaikhs, Mughals and Afghāns in order that next year he should not need

auxiliaries, and that his own army might be sufficient for the conquest of Parēnda.

At this time the disease of *babakandar*[1], which is a special sore, and which had long afflicted him, became acute. He was also vexed by his unsuccessful return (from Parēnda) and by the departure of Khān Zamān, who had gone off to the Emperor because of his bad treatment. He took no precautions whatever, and would say: "I have learnt from astrology that I won't survive this illness." In this condition he continued to hold his Court. He marched out of Burhānpūr with the intention of taking Parēnda and encamped on the bank of the Mōhan stream, so that it might be on record that so long as life lasted, he did not show any slackness in the Emperor's service. He distributed four thousand *ashrafis* inside and outside (*i.e.*, to his household and outsiders) and prepared an inventory of his possessions. He said to his wife, whom he had married later than the mother of the Khān Zamān, "The very pebbles of India[2] are my enemies, and so do not conceal even one rupee of my property." He sent the inventory along with a report to the Emperor. He called the Rājpūt Sardārs and said, "I gained fame through your help. I have made an inventory of whatever I possess, and sent it to the Emperor, and left no room for finding a fault. After my death the imperial clerks will not confiscate my goods and will not call my clerks to account. Carry

1 The disease is *babaq* of the Arabs and appears to be *leprosy*. In Elliot, VII, p. 45, it is described as fistula, and this is followed by Banarsi Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 163. The translation in Elliot is of *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, pp. 59 *et sec.*, and in the original it is stated that the Arabians call it Nāsūr, which according to the Arabic dictionary is fistula. Perhaps *babakandar* meant internal leprosy or gangrene.

2 Hindūstān probably means Upper India. Mahābat Khān apparently wanted to warn his wife against any attempt at concealment of his property after his death. The reference is to the Mughal institution of the reversion of all property on the death of the nobles to the government. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, pp. 163-180. Mahābat Khān meant that he had so many enemies in Delhī that even the very pebbles cried out against him, and any attempt at concealment of the property after his death might lead to serious consequences. It was for this reason also that he drew up an inventory of his goods and forwarded it to the Court.

my bier to Delhī and bury it at the *Qadamagāh* of the Shāh-i-Mardān (the Prince of men, *i.e.*, 'Alī), and make over all my property, whether moveable or immoveable, to the government." He rolled up the carpet of his life in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.). The chronograms of his death are: [1]*Zamāna ārām girift* (Zamāna is at rest) and *Sipahsālār rafta* (The Commander-in-Chief is gone).

The Rājpūts, in accordance with his testament conveyed his body from Burhānpūr to Delhī. All due respect was paid to it, and salutes were offered (on the way) as if he was alive. Shāh Jahān gave back all his property to his sons except the elephants. They say that he did not possess much cash. His income was a kror of rupees, but he used to spend it all. He was magnanimous. One day he said, "Khān Jahān Lōdī was not liberal (*Bakhshish nadāsht*)." Someone replied, "There was no additional[2] income in his government." He replied, "What is that? A (successful) man makes money in every possible way and spends it." His special wardrobe did not cost five rupees. He also spent very little on food. As he was very fond of elephants, he used to feed them with lotus-rice and Persian melons. Pomp and show had no part in his life. Kettle-drums were not beaten during his march, but drums and trumpets were used at time of starting. He had no religious learning (*'Ilm*), but was skilled in astronomy and astrology. He had on the tip of his tongue the genealogies of every tribe and family. He was fond of the company of Persians, and used to remark that they were the cream of creation.

They say that originally he had no religion, but at last embraced Imāmiya religion. He had the names of the holy Imāms (*A'ima'*

1 Zamāna Bēg was his name, and so the meaning is that he has gone to rest.

2 *Farōghi nabūd* is rather obscure. A similar expression فروغی هر گز در سرکار نبود occurs in the notice of Abūl Faḍl (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text II. p. 620), which Blochmann translates as "absence on the part of his servants, did not exist in his household" (translation of *Ā'īn*, I [2nd edn., p li], but see Beveridge's translation of Abūl Faḍl's biography, p. 126, No. 3, where the expression is discussed at length, and absence on the part of servants adopted as the correct translation.

Ma'ṣūmīn)—peace be upon them !—engraved upon costly jewels and wore them round his neck. He was not strict about fasting or saying the prayers. His ferocity and cruelty were notorious throughout the world. He was very assiduous and meticulous in attending to imperial business, and entirely neglected his own affairs. He was generous[1]. If he was fond of anyone he allowed nothing to influence his regard or intimacy with him, even if he committed a thousand faults[2]. He composed verses at times, but hated to make a display of them. This verse is his :

Verse.

My heart's pride longed for Paradise
Hell is my lot, may it not be my longing !

Separate accounts are given of his sons Khān Zamān Amānī[3] and Lahrāsp Mahābat Khān[4]. But Mīrzā Dilēr Himmat, who was by nature an oppressor and slack in attending to his work, and Mīrzā Garshāsp who was the son-in-law of Ilāhvardī Khān, and the Mīrzās Bihrōz and Afrāsiyāb went to the Silent Land without attaining any distinction.

MAHĀBAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ LAHRĀSP
(Vol. III, pp. 590-595).

Next to Khān Zamān Bahādur[5] he was the most famous of the sons of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānān *Sipahsālār*[6]. In the beginning

1 The expression پهلوی چرب داشت would literally mean : had a fat side.

2 For Mahābat Khān's character and attainment see also Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 135, 136.

3 The name in the text here is given as Khān Zamān Amani, but see note 2, p. 14 *ante* for his correct name and references to his biography in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 590-595. Its translation immediately follows this account on pp. 27-31.

5 Khān Zamān Bahādur Mīrzā Amān Ullāh, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 740-748 and Beveridge's translation, pp. 212-219.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 385-409 and translation pp. 9-27 ante.

of Shāh Jahān's reign he was given the rank of 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In the taking of the fort of Daulatābād under his father, he rendered good service. After his father's death, in view of his being a *Khānazād* (houseborn one) he was favoured at the Court and was made *Mīr-Tuzuk*. Later, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Bahrāich[1] in the province of Oudh, where he set the affairs in order. After that he was fiefholder of Biāna. He several times served the highly respected princes in the Qandahār expeditions, and in the 24th year his rank was 4,000 with 3,000 horse and he was appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* in place of Khalīl Ullāh Khān. In the 25th year he had an increase of 1,000 foot and 2,000 horse and had the rank of 5,000, with 5,000 horse, while his title was changed from Lahrāsp Khān to Mahābat Khān. On the death of Sa'īd Khān he was appointed governor of the province of Kābul. In the 30th year an order came to Prince Aurangzīb that he should proceed to Bījāpūr as the 'Ādilshāhīs had raised to the throne an unknown person by the name of 'Alī, and make an end of the affair in a manner which may consider right. To Mahābat Khān also an order was sent that he should leave his province and proceed to the Deccan. Mahābat Khān after capturing the fort of Bīdar proceeded by the Prince's orders, to devastate the neighbourhood of Kalyānī[2] and Gulbarga, and several times fought bravely against the Bījāpūr leaders, and drove them off. During the siege of Kalyānī[3] Mahābat Khān one day went for getting forage to Panhata[4] Shāhjahānpūr (?) which was five *kos* off, and a large body of the enemy suddenly appeared and attacked him. Rustam Khān Bījāpurī attacked Ikhlāṣ Khān and the rear, and Khān Muḥammad

1 Bahrāich is a district in the United Povinces, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, pp. 205-212.

2 Kalyān in the text is Kalyānī, a town in the Bidar District of Ḥaidarābād, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI, p. 34.

3 For Mahābat Khān's campaign against Bijapur and the siege of Kalyāni in 1657 see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 242-250.

4 Variant Paitha or Paithān town in Aurangābād district, Ḥaidarābād (*Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 317) appears to be more correct.

Khān, who was one of the powerful leaders, attacked Rāo Satrsāl. There was a hot engagement. At this time the sons of Bahlūl attacked Rāja Rai Singh Sīsodia and fought so strongly that the Rājpūts set their hearts upon dying and dismounted and strove with their hands and arms. Mahābat Khān like a powerful tiger attacked the centre and drove away Afḍal Khān who led the Bījāpūrīs.

After that strong fort was taken, but before things had been properly finished, the news came of Shāh Jahān's illness and Dārā Shikōh who at this time had the control of affairs, sent an order to Mahābat Khān not to wait for obtaining leave from Prince Aurangzīb but to return to the Court as quickly as he could with the other Mughals. He was obliged to comply, and without informing the Prince (Aurangzīb) started posthaste for the Court. In the end of the 31st year, 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) he again went to Kābul, but in the 5th year of Aurangzīb's reign he was recalled, and returned to the Presence. He was appointed to Gujarāt in place of Mahārāja Jaswant Singh. His rank was 6,000 with 5,000 horse, of which 3,000 were *dū-aspa* (two horse) and *sih-aspa* (three-horse). In the 11th year he came to the Court from Gujarāt and was again sent to Kābul. In the 13th year he was transferred and returned to kiss the threshold at Āgra.

As at that time Shivājī's disturbance had reached such a height that he had attacked and burnt and plundered the fort of Sūrat[1], Mahābat Khān[2] was sent off to the Deccan with a well-equipped force to chastise him. He made great efforts to subdue the Marathas. Afterwards there was a disturbance by the Afghāns in the hill-country and Muḥammad Khān Amin was routed in the Khyber Pass. Mahābat Khān in view of his experience of handling the hill rebels was recalled from the Deccan, and sent in the 16th year to administer Kābul. But he, by reason of his wariness and long experience did not during

1 This was the second attack by Shivājī on Sūrat in 1670, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, pp. 184-189.

2 For Mahābat Khān's appointment in Supreme Command of the Deccan and his campaign see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzīb*, IV, pp. 195-197 and his *Shivaji*, pp. 187-189.

his march forward to Peshāwar interfere with anyone, overlooked[1] the punishment of the turbulent and saying "We are well, and you are safe" proceeded to Kābul. This policy was not approved, and in the 17th year the King came to Ḥasan Abdāl, and a force was sent against the disturbers. Mahābat Khān came to the Court and was sent to chastise Bīr Singh the grandson of Rāja Bhūpat Dās Gōr. When he came to Amanābād in the Panjab in 1085 A.H., in the beginning[2] of the 18th year, he died. He resembled his father in arrogance and daring. He behaved presumptuously to Aurangzīb who had a jealous and choleric personality. It is well known that Aurangzīb in order to observe the law of the Sharī'at entrusted the issue of most of the legal orders to Qāḍi 'Abdul-Wahāb Gujarātī, the Qāḍī-ul-Quḍāt, who had a great influence over him. His authority was so great that the leading *Amīrs* were afraid of him. When Shivājī's insolence went beyond bounds, and Mahābat Khān was to be deputed against him, Aurangzīb in open *Dīvān* mentioned some of his tyrannical acts and turning to Mahābat Khān said, "It is necessary for the protection of Islām that this bandit be extirpated." Mahābat Khān at once replied "It is not necessary to appoint an army, a proclamation of the Qāḍi will be sufficient." The King was greatly displeased and ordered Ja'far Khān to tell Mahābat Khān that it was not proper to jest in the Presence. His son Mīr Ṭahmāsp, who was married to the daughter of Sa'īd Khān Ẓafr Jang died. After his death Bahrām and Farjām received suitable ranks and the title of Khān. Bahrām Khān[3] was killed by a bullet at the siege of Gōlconda. None other of this family attained to eminence.

1 Compare Manucci, II, p. 202; see also *Maāthir i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 229.

2 He died on 4th Shawwāl, 1085 A.H. (2nd January, 1675 A.D.), see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 141 · Amanābād is probably Eminābād in the Gujrānwāla district, Panjāb.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 296.

MAHALDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 419-421).

He was the son of Mahaldār Khān Circassian who rose to power and influence in the Niẓāmshāhī Kingdom. As he had lived long in the Deccan, he became known as the Deccanī. After his death Niẓām Shāh granted his title to the son and made him a Sardār. In the 6th year of Shāh Jahān's reign when Mahābat Khān was besieging Daulatābād, he by the guidance of his good fortune sent a message to the Commander-in-Chief from Tiyālī[1], now known as N'matābād and a dependency of the *Sarkār* Gālna, that he would make over the place to whomsoever it was desired, and that he himself would wait upon Mahābat Khān. Though his words appeared to be sincere, Mahābat Khān in order to demonstrate Mahaldār Khān's loyalty and zeal to everyone said that the families of Shāhjī[2] Bōnsle and Ran Daula Khān Bījāpūrī were in Baidāpūr,[3] if he could bring about their capture by his exertions, he could not produce a better testimonial for receiving royal favours. Mahaldār Khān without hesitation attacked the town. As fortune favoured him, it so happen-

1 The variants in the Text are Batāli and Bētāli, but the name of the fort in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pp. 526, 527, whence the account appears to be taken, is Nabāti. It is ترمنک Tirmnk in Khāfi Khān, pp. 480, 487, and "Trimbuck" (more correctly Trimbak in the Nasik district, Bombay) in Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921 edn.) I, p. 87. The story of Mahaldār Khān's offer to Mahābat Khān and at the latter's instigation the capture of Shāhji Bhōnsle's family is given. The wife's name is given as Jeejee Bye (Jījā Bā'i, the mother of Shivāji), and the author adds in a footnote "but I cannot find that she had a daughter." See also Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 15. The capture took place in 1633 A.D. during the siege of Daulatābād, but Khāfi Khān includes it in the account of the year 1041 A.H., which would correspond to 1631-32 A.D.

2 Sāhū in the text, but it was Shāhji Bhōnsle the father of Shivājī.

3 Baidāpūr was 24 *kos* from Aurangābād, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 739

ed that the wife and daughter of Shāhjī Bhōnsle, who about this time with a large amount of money and goods had come there from Junair (Junnār)[1], fell into his hands. Nearly 400 horses, 1,50,000 *būns* and a lot of other property of Shāhjī Bhōnsle, and nearly 12,000 *būns* in cash and goods of Ran Daula Khān were looted. Mahaldār Khān was the recipient of much approbation. In accordance with the Commander-in-Chief's instructions the family of Shāhjī was made over to Ja'far Bēg, the governor of the fort of Gālna[2], and he himself joined Mahābat Khān. In the beginning of the 7th year[3] he hastened from the Deccan to Āgra and paid his respects to the Emperor. He received the rank of 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse and a present of Rs. 20,000 and other royal favours, and the *Sarkār* of Monghyr in Bihār was granted to him as a fief.

As he was distinguished above all other officers of the Deccan for his ability and sagacity, in the same year he received a flag and kettle-drums, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Gōrakhpūr[4] in succession to Mukhliṣ Khān and allowed to proceed to his territory. Later he was enrolled among the auxiliaries of the Deccan[5], and was engaged in furthering the work of the State. Though he was of Circassian origin, he had settled down in the Deccan, and established relationships there. Accordingly he gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Dilāwar Khan[6] the Abyssinian, whose father also was one of the Niẓāmshāhī officers.

1 Junair in the Text, but it is Junnār in the Poona district, Bombay; see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 239.

2 Kālna in the Text, but it is Gālna in the Nasik district, Bombay; see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 124.

3, 4, 5. *Bādshāhnāma* I, pt. 2, pp. 1, 14, 140.

6 Was he the Dilāwar Khān Ḥabshī, the commandant of the fort of Kalyānī (*Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 324) who so bravely defended the fort in Bidar district in 1657, and who, after delivering the keys of the fort on 11th August was granted a robe of honour and allowed to depart to Bījāpūr; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 248-250.

MAHESH DĀS RĀTHOR

(Vol. II, pp. 445-447).

He was the son of Dalpat, the brother of Rāja Sūraj Singh[1]. At first he was in the service of Mahābat Khān Khān-Khānan[2] and acquired a name for valour. After Mahābat Khān's death he entered[3] the service of Shāh Jahān in the 8th year of his reign, and got the rank of 500 with 400 horse. Then he went with Prince Aurangzīb who had been appointed to support the army sent to put down Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 9th year he was appointed along with Khān Daurān to Nāndēr. In the 11th year his rank was increased to 1,000 with 600 horse[4], and in the 15th year he had an increase of 400 horse and was exalted with the gift of a flag[5], and accompanied Dārā Shikōh to Qandahār. In the 16th year his rank was raised to 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse and he was granted the pargana of Jālōr as a residential fief. In the 19th year he received an increase of 500 foot and accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh in the expedition against Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and he was granted the privilege of using the kettle-drums.

When, after the arrival of the Prince at Balkh, and the flight of Nadhr Muḥammad its ruler, Bahādur Khān and Aṣālat Khān were appointed to pursue him, he in his zeal accompanied them without the permission of the Prince. In the 20th year he came to the Court in obedience to the summons. In the same year, 1056 A.H[6]. (1646 A.D.) he died. He was an experienced soldier, and the King placed

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II pp. 179-183.
2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 385-409, translation pp. 9-27 *ante*.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 68.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 294.
6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 635. His death is stated to have occurred on 9th Ṣafr, 1057 A.H., 16th March, 1647 A.D. The above account is adapted from *Bādshāhnamā*, *loc. cit.* The distance of the bench from the throne is given as *ten* and not two yards; while during riding he followed at *twice* this distance or twenty yards.

great reliance on him. In the audience hall he used to stand behind the throne by the side of a bench (*sandalī*), which was placed at a distance of two yards for the royal sword and quiver. During riding he followed at a fair distance. His eldest son Ratan, who was in Jālōr and had the rank of 400 with 200 horse, was the beneficient of royal mercy by receiving the rank of 1,500 and 1,500 horse. He came from his home and having gratified himself by kissing the royal threshold was appointed with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Balkh. When the Prince restored that country to Nadhr Muḥammad its ruler, and returned, he distinguished himself by fights with the Almānāns on the way. In the 22nd year he went with the same Prince to Qandahār, and was deputed with Rustam Khān to fight against the Iranians. In the 25th year he was exalted by the grant of a standard, and accompanied the Prince a second time, and on the third occasion he was deputed to accompany Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 28th year he went with the learned Sa'ad Ullāh Khān[1] to pull down Chittōr. In the 30th year he went to the Deccan to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and distinguished himself by performing valuable services in the battle with the 'Ādilkhānīs. As a reward his rank was increased to 2,000 and 2,000 horse. Afterwards he fought bravely at Ujjain[2] in company with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, and fell under the swords of Aurangzīb's army.

(SAIYID) MAḤMŪD KHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 375-377).

He was the first person of this clan (Saiyids of Bārah), who rose to the position of a noble man under the Tīmūrid Dynasty. Originally

1 Sa'ad Ullāh Khān was, in view of his learning, known as 'Allāmī Sa'ad Ullāh Khān; for his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 441-449. His expedition to demolish Chittōr is mentioned on pp. 447. 448; see also Benī Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 320.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, some 14 miles south-west of Ujjain in Central India. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 348-367.

he was a servant of Bairām K͟hān[1]. In the lst year of Akbar's reign he was sent with 'Alī Qulī K͟hān Shaibānī to put down Hēmū Baqāl who, after the defeat of Tardī Bēg K͟hān[2], had out of pride collected a large force and started from Delhī. In the 2nd year he was appointed[3] to chastise Ḥājī K͟hān, a slave of Shēr K͟hān Sūr, who had taken possession of Ajmēr and Nāgōr (Nāgaur), and was showing signs of rebellion. In the 3rd year he was deputed to capture the fort of Jītāran[4], which he conquered from the Rājpūts. When Bairām K͟hān's affairs were upset, he joined the King's service, and received a fief near Delhī. In the 7th year whan K͟hān-K͟hānān Mun'im Bēg becoming frightened at the murder of Shams-ud-Dīn Atka, started a second time for Kābul, Saiyid Maḥmūd K͟hān, who was in his fief, recognised him (while he was passing through that area) and conducted him with all respect and honour to Akbar[5]. In the 17th year he went to Gujarāt in attendance on K͟hān Kalān[6]. Later he was sent in pursuit of Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā. Afterwards when the King turned his personal attention to this affair, and immediately recalled the officers who had been sent, the said K͟hān swiftly joined him near Sarnāl[7], and distinguished himself. When the Mirzā was defeated and retreated towards Āgra, he with other officers was appointed to pursue him. In the 18th year he was sent in advance with a number of officers to Gujarāt, and when the King during his march reached Mīrtha,[8] he was gratified by rejoining

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 33, Beveridge's translation II, p. 54, where Maḥmūd K͟hān is described as a follower of Bairām K͟hān.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text II. pp 30, 31, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 48-50.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 46, Beveridge's translation II, p. 72.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 66, Beveridge's translation II, p. 103; the name of Maḥmūd K͟hān is omitted from the translation. Jitāran is in Jōdhpūr, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 276.

5 *Op cit.*, Text II, p. 180, Beveridge's translation II, p. 279.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text II, p. 372, Beveridge's translation II, p. 541.

7 Sārnal a small town on the bank of Mahindri or Māhī river in Gujarāt; see Lowe's translation of *Muntak͟hab-ut-Tawārīk͟h*, II, p. 146.

8 This is Merta in Jōdhpūr; see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 308. Here according to *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 63, Akbar was joined by a number of officers of the advance army.

the royal party. In the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain when Akbar and a few men formed the reserve, Saiyid Maḥmūd took his place with a number of officers in the centre,[1] and during the conflict advanced courageously beyond the centre, and fought bravely. In the end of the same year he with other Bārah Saiyids and Saiyid Muḥammad Amrōha led an expedition against the territory of Mudhkar,[2] and reaching there conquered it by the force of his sword. About this time corresponding to 980 A.H.[3] (1572-73 A D.) he died. He had the rank of 2,000.

Bārah[4] is a term applied to twelve villages in the Dūāb, between the rivers Ganga and Jumna and near the pargana of Sambhal[5]. The Khān was a man of family, and after entering the King's service he acquired a reputation for bravery and benevolence. He preferred simplicity. They say that when Akbar deputed him against Mudhkar Bundīla and he returned victorious, after performing outstanding deeds of valour, he reported to the King that he performed such and such feats of valour. Āṣaf Khān remarked, "Mīrānjī! this victory was due to the good fortune (*Iqbāl*) of the King." Saiyid Maḥmūd believed that Iqbāl was the name of one of the royal officers and replied, "Why do you tell untruths. Iqbāl was not there, it was I and my brethren who wielded the two-handed swords." The King smiled and favoured him with the bestowal of gifts of all kinds. One day someone made

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 47, Beveridge's translation III, p. 66.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 77, Beveridge's translation III, p. 108. Mudhkar was Rāja Mudhūkar Bundila of Undchha or Orchcha State in Bundelkhand, Central India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 241. Also see De's translation of *Ṭabāqat-i-Akbari* II, pp. 634, 6355, Note 4.

3 According to Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 424, he died a year later "in the very end of 981."

4 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 425, for a discussion of the various explanations advanced in reference to the word Bārah. He adopts Bārha in preference to Bārah, but the latter is the generally accepted pronunciation, and is followed in this translation.

5 Sāmbhal in Morādābād district, United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 18.

a significant remark and enquired as to how far did the genealogy of the Bārah Saiyids extend. Immediately he walked into the knee-deep fire which barefooted *faqīrs* were accustomed to keep alight at night, and said, "If I am a Saiyid, fire will have no effect on me, but if I am not, I will burn." He stood in the fire for about an hour, after which people induced him to come out. He was wearing velvet slippers, which were not burnt[1]. His sons were Saiyid Qāsim and Saiyid Hāshim, a separate account[2] of whom has been included.

MAJNŪN KHĀN QĀQSHĀL[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 207-211).

He was one of the great courtiers and district officers. In Humāyūn's time he had the fief of Nārnōl (Nārnaul)[4]. When that King died, Ḥājī Khān, who was one of the chief officers of Shēr Khān, besieged with a large force Majnūn Khān in the fort, and pressed him hard. Rāja Bihārā Mal Kachwāha[5], who at that time was with Ḥājī Khān, behaved with humanity and gentleness, and took Majnūn Khān honourably out of the fort and allowed him to depart for Delhī. When Akbar ascended the throne, Majnūn Khān received Mānikpūr[6] in fief. When Khān Zamān and his brother rebelled he firmly opposed them, and the spring of his loyalty smothered the thorns and dust of the zeal of the opponents. In the battle in which Khān

1 The translation given above is a literal rendering of the text. Apparently the author meant that though the Saiyid was wearing only velvet slippers, his socks even were not burnt. The story is included in Blochmann's account of the Saiyid, *op. cit.*, pp. 424, 425.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 409, 410.

3 For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 399, 400.

4 Nārnaul in Patiala State, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVIII, p. 380.

5 Bihārī Mal in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp 347, 348, where an account of his life is given.

6 In the Allahābād *Ṣūba*, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 90.

Zamān[1] and his brother were killed, Majnūn Khān waited on the King's stirrups and performed deeds of valour. In the 14th year he was deputed to besiege Kālinjar[2] which was one of the famous forts of India. Rāja Rām Chand, the ruler of Panna,[3] had at the time of the downfall of the Afghāns purchased it for a large sum of money from Bijlī Khān the adopted son of Bahār Khān. When the capture of Chittōr and Ranthambhōr was bruited abroad he surrendered the fort to Majnūn Khān and sent the keys of the fort on 29th Ṣafr 997 A.H. (7th January, 1589 A.D.). Majnūn Khān was appointed in charge of that fort by royal command. In the 17th year he accompanied Khān-Khānān Mun'im (Khān) for the relief of Gōrakhpūr.

It happened that in the same year at the beginning of the Gujarāt campaign Bābā Khān Qāqshāl when in attendance on the Emperor had an altercation[4] with Shāhbāz Khān, the Provost Marshal, and was punished. A false report sprang up in Mun'im Khān's camp that Bābā Khān, Jabbārī, Mīrzā Muḥammad and other Qāqshāls had killed Shāhbāz Khān, and had joined the rebel Mīrzās, and that the King had written ordering Majnūn Khān to be imprisoned. Majnūn Khān with all other Qāqshāls left Mun'im Khān on the march, and though the Commander-in-Chief endeavoured to soothe them, and assured them about the report being false, he was unsuccessful. Later when the news came from the Court that Bābā Khān and Jabbārī had received favours as a reward for their good service, Majnūn Khān felt ashamed of his behaviour, and rejoined

1 Khān Zamān 'Alī Qulī Shaibānī and his brother Bahādur Khān were killed in the battle of Sakrawāl later named Fatḥpūr in 974; see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation II, p. 434, note 1.

2 This part of the account is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 340-342, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 499-501. For Kālinjar see Beveridge, *loc. cit.*, p. 498, note 1.

3 Text has Thatha, but it is Panna State in Central India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 250.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 370, 371, Beveridge's translation II, p. 538.

Mun'im Khān on his return after the conquest of Gōrakhpūr. After that he accompanied Khān-Khānān[1] in the conquest of Bengāl and Bihār, and rendered excellent service. In 982 A.H. (1574-75 A.D.) Bengāl was conquered by the Khān-Khānān's skilful campaign. Dā'ūd Khān Karānī fled to Orīssa, and Kālā Pahār, and Sulaimān and Bābū Manklī to Ghōrāghāt[2]. Khān-Khānān took up his quarters at Tānda which was the capital of the country and sent the victorious troops in various directions to clear the country of the muck of the enemy. Majnūn Khān with a force was sent to Ghōrāghāt. Qāqshāls distinguished themselves by their courageous deeds in battles, and collected much booty. Sulaimān Manklī who was the ruler of Ghōrāghāt was killed, and the Afghān families were taken prisoners, and that well cultivated country came into the possession (of the imperialists).

Majnūn Khān married the daughter of Sulaimān Manklī to his son Jabbārī, and divided the country among the Qāqshāls. In the same year—which was the 20th Ilāhī Year—Khān-Khānān went off to the Ganges to chastise Dā'ūd, and Bābū Manklī and Kālā Pahār, who had fled to Kūj (Cooch Behār)[3], joined the sons of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Sūr, and renewed disturbances, and attacked the Qāqshāls. The latter without any regard for their self-respect did not attempt to maintain their ground and retired to Tānda. Majnūn Khān through the friendship of Mu'in Khān stayed in Tānda for some time waiting for Khān-Khānān. The Commander-in-Chief after making peace with Dā'ūd Karānī returned quickly, and again sent a force to Ghōrāghāt under the command of Majnūn Khān. He again delivered the

1 The account is apparently adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 119-130, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 169-186.

2 *Sarkār* Ghōrāghāt is mentioned in *Ā'īn*, Jarrett's translation II, pp. 123, 135, and in note 6 on p. 123 the author states that the name is probably to be identified with Rangpūr, but it is apparently the ruined city in Dinājpūr district. *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 236.

3 See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 131, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 186. Kūj or Cooch Behār is certainly a *lapsus calami* for Ghōrāghāt.

country, and made proper arrangements for its government. About this time he died. His rank was 3,000; the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* writes that it was 5,000, and adds that he had also employed 5,000 troopers of his own. After his death his son Jabbārī served for some years with ability and diligence, till the affair of the branding occurred and the Qāqshāls becoming alarmed showed signs of rebelliousness. Jabbārī also joined them. After murdering Muẓaffar Khān Turbātī when the rebels were successful for a time, each of them was given a title; the title of Khān Jahān was added to the name of Jabbārī. When this crowd separated from Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, they were treated leniently, but after his reappointment Akbar kept Jabbārī[1] for a time in prison by way of chastisement. In the 39th year he showed signs of repentence and was released.

MAKHṢŪṢ KHĀN[2]

(Vol.III,pp.324,325)

He was the brother of Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā'ī. When Akbar made his rapid march to Gujarāt he sent Sa'īd Khān who was the governor of Multān to that country, and took Makhṣūṣ Khān along with him. In the 21st year he was appointed to go with Shāhbāz Khān on the expedition against Rāja Gajpatī.[3] In the 26th year when Prince Murād was sent with an army to Kābul to awaken Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm to a sense of his duties, Makhṣūṣ Khān was in the left wing. Afterwards when the King himself went to Kābul[4] and pardoned Mīrzā Ḥakīm's offences, and then moved repidly to Jalālābād where the main camp was, Makhṣūṣ Khān accompanied him. In the expedition to Orīssa, which was managed by Rāja Mān Singh, Makhṣūṣ

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 650, and Beveridge's translation III, p. 10000.

2 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 422.

3 Rāja Gajpatī was the most important *Zamindār* of Bihār, see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 437. See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 169, 170, Beveridge's translation III, p. 241.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 169, Beveridge's translation III, p. 542.

Khān rendered efficient service[1]. Later he was appointed to serve with Prince Salīm, and in the 49th year was promoted to the rank of 3,000. He was living in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, but the date of his death has not been recorded. He was annoyed with his son Maqṣūd, and after Jahāngīr's accession when Sa'īd Khān begged for an appointment for him, the King replied[2] that one, whom his father did not like, could not be fit for Divine favour or for royal patronage.

MĀLŪJĪ and PARSŪJĪ
(Vol.III,pp.520-524).

They were the brothers of Khelūjī Bhōnsle who was one of the chief Niẓām-Shāhī officers. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he (Khelūjī) entered the imperial service and was attached to Khān Zamān, the son of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān, and who was then the governor of the Deccan, including Berār and Khāndēsh. His rank was raised to 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse and a congratulatory letter was sent to him along with a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, a flag and a drum, a horse with a gilded saddle and an elephant. He was enrolled among the Deccan auxiliaries and was a zealous royal servant. He distinguished himself in the early part of the sieege of Daulatabād in the company of Khān Khanān, and was able to establish his loyalty by having several encounters with the enemy. When through the exertions of all brave men the capture of the fort of Daulatābād, which was the capital of Niẓām-Shāhīs, was approaching, Khelūjī because of the fear that after this fort was taken, the Niẓām-Shāhī dominion would be injured, like Yaqūt Khān the Abyssinian, ran away and took service with 'Ādil Shāh, and several times encountered the imperial forces. But he got nothing but discomfiture. They say that his wife went to Gōdāvarī[3] to bathe and was made a

1 *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 937.

2 This seems to be another version of remark attributed to Jahāngīr in Price's *Memoirs*, p. 22.

3 كنگ in the Text; but it must be the river Gōdāvarī.

prisoner. Mahābat Khān guarded her honourably and sent a message to Khelūjī that his honour was at stake, if he sent a lac of *hūns*, she would be restored to him with honour. He perforce sent the money, and Mahābat Khān sent back the wife with all respect. When later 'Ādil Shāh submitted to the King's commands and made a compact with the imperial officers, he sent away Khelūjī. He for a long time carried out raids on the imperial territories. Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb captured him in the 13th year, in the beginning of his governorship, and gave him the punishment for his deeds.

Mālūjī and Parsūjī, his younger brothers, were distinguished among the Niẓām-Shāhī officers for bravery. When Khelūjī went off to 'Ādil Shāh, they did not join him, but came to Mahābat Khān and made promises of fidelity. Mahābat Khān showed favour to them, and promoted the first to the rank of 5,000 foot and 5,000 horse and the second to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and being fortunate in the imperial service they received the drums. They always behaved prudently and cleverly and pleased all the governors of the Deccan. Mālūjī was possessed of some urbanity and gentleness, and as he was faithful in his friendships, which is a characteristic of the Deccanīs, he was always on good terms with them.

In the 11th year when Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb resolved to conquer Baglāna, Mālūjī was appointed[1] to that duty with 3,000 men along with Muḥamad Ṭāhir Vazīr Khān who was one of Aurangzīb's trusted servants. Mālujī properly performed the duty assigned to him and returned successful. Afterwards in attendance on the governors of the Deccan he performed with alacrity whatever service was necessary. During the period of the government of Murād Bakhsh when Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī led an army against Dēogarh, he was in the fore-front of the Deccan officers. In the 29th year Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb appointed Mīrzā Khān, the governor of Berār, and Hādī Dād, the governor of Telingāna, for

1 Khāfi Khān, I, p. 562.

collecting the tribute of Dēogarh, the payment of which was being deferred by the *Zamīndār* of that place on flimsy grounds. Mālūjī[1] was accompanied by a number of Deccan officers. After performing this service, he in the 30th year joined the Prince who was besieging Gōlconda. At this time for some reason, the mind of the Prince became alienated from the two brothers. About this time the Prince was ordered to lead a campaign against 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr and an auxiliary force was sent from the Court. The two brothers were summoned from the Deccan, and reaching Delhī they kissed the threshold. In the same year they received the fief of Īrij Bhāndēr and some parganas in that neighbourhood. When Mahārāja Jaswant was sent with a strong force to Mālwa they were among the auxiliaries, and at the battle of Ujjain[2] they were appointed to guard the Mahārāja's camp which was near the battlefield. In the heat of the battle, Murād Bakhsh, who was on Aurangzīb's right wing, fell upon the camp and plundered it. Mālūjī and Parsūji could not make a stand, and fled to Āgra. Later in the battle[3] with Dārā Shikōh they were on the left wing with Sipihr Shikōh. After the victory they joined Aurangzīb, and owing to the circumstances of the time were favourably received.

But as Aurangzīb still cherished resentment against them, both of them in the 3rd year were removed from office, but in view of their long service—they had spent their whole lives in the service of the state—Mālūjī was granted an annual pension of Rs. 30,000 and Parsūjī Rs. 20,000[4]. Mālūjī died in the 5th year in 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.D.). Both founded quarters in Aurangābād which are still known by their names. Mālūjīpūra is outside the city and Parsūjīpūra

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 745.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 348-367. Mālūji and Parsūjī with Dēvī Singh Bundila were in charge of the camp; *loc. cit.*, p. 359.

3 Battle of Sāmūgarh, 9th June, 1658. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 388-405.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 594.

is inside the fort. They say Parsūjī in his mode of life followed the Mughal customs. He had purchased the *Zamīndāri* of Jalgāōn in Berār for Rs. 80,000.

MA'MŪR KHĀN MĪR ABŪL FAḌL MA'MŪRĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 503-508).

He was a true Saiyid and an excellent man, and had developed powers of discernment and comprehension. In Shāh Jahān's time he obtained the rank of 500 with 200 horse, and was long attached to the auxiliary forces in the Deccan. Owing to his good fortune and amiable disposition every governor, who was sent to that *Ṣūba*, liked him and made him his confidant. He was able and courteous, and was unique in the constancy of his friendships. When Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb became the viceroy, he owing to his sagacity, foresight, long service and loyalty, became his favourite, and was always a recipient of royal favours. When the Prince started[1] towards the Capital to make his bid for the empire, and by successive marches reached the bank of the Narbadā, he gave Ma'mūr Khān the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the battle with Jaswant[2] he was with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān in the van. After the victory he was granted the title of Ma'mūr Khān[3] and the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh[4], Aurangzīb encamped at Agharābād Garden near Delhī also known as the Shālamār Garden. It was decided by the astrologers that Friday 1st Dhul Qa'da, 1068 A.H. (21st July, 1658) was the auspicious day for the enthronement[5], but as there was no time to

1 Aurangzīb started from Aurangābād to contest the throne and reached Burhānpūr on March 1st, 1658. After halting there for more than a month he moved on to Mandwa, and from there in seven marches reached Akbarpūr on the bank of the Narbadā which he crossed on 14th April; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 344-347.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 77.

4 Battle of Samūgarh, 8th June, 1658.

5 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 446; also *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 145, and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 8, 9.

carry out the ceremony in the customary way, Aurangzīb sat on the throne in this garden at the auspicious moment.

It happened that at this time[1] Najābat Khān[2], the Commander-in-Chief who had greatly distinguished himself in a number of battles and dangerous undertakings and who, while he was the principal officer of Shāh Jahan, had espoused the Prince's cause, and though he had received the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, the gift of two lacs of rupees and the title of Khān-Khānān *Sipah-Sālār*, out of folly and greed, was not at all bashful in being dissatisfied with royal favours as a reward for his valuable services in the cause, and confined himself to his house. Ma'mūr Khān, who in view of his service and ability, was a favourite of Aurangzīb, and was also on intimate terms with Najābat Khān, was ordered to go immediately and convey certain messages and orders to him. Although he tried to give as a friend harsh and correct advice he was not successful. Najābat Khān in whose case pride and conceit had undermined foresight and natural caution, made improper demands, brought up useless discussions, and started using abusive and insulting language. Ma'mūr Khān, who had more regard for his salt and allegiance to the Empire than for personal friendship, repeatedly tried to check him, but it had no effect. At last in consideration of regard for both he rose up to depart. Najābat Khan thinking that his conduct would be reported, struck him from behind with his sword, so that his head was severed from the body, and his corpse was thrown outside. Although guards were sent against him, he prepared for battle, and except that he was deprived of his rank and

1 This statement does not seem to be correct. The murder is not described in *'Ālamgīrnāma* or the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, but is incidentally referred to in the two works on p. 230 and 32 respectively. According to Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 46, 47, the murder took place a few days before the solar weighment for Aurangzīb's 41st year, which was after his return from the pursuit of Dārā Shikōh from near Multān early in January 1659. The murder is also described in the account of Najābat Khān *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 825, 826, but the two accounts do not agree in details (see for details in the notes under Najābat Khān.

2 Najābat Khān was the *third son* of Mīrzā *Shāhrukh*, the ruler of Badakhshān. For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 821-828.

title, no redress for the unjust murder was secured. That poor man took his unfulfilled desires for advancement with him to the grave, and the flower of his hopes died without blooming.

His[1] son Mīr 'Abdullāh was a distinguished man of a firm disposition. He was a master of calligraphy. For some time he was the *Bakhshī* of the army of Fīrūz Jang. His son owing to unemployment became a *darvīsh*. His daughter was the wife of Ja'far Khān Khurāsānī, who earlier had acquired fame owing to his being the son-in-law of Ḥātim Bēg Kifāyat Khān. In Aurangzīb's time he was appointed as the *Dīvān* of Bījāpūr, Ḥaidarābād, and Bīdar, and *Bakhshī* of the army of Khān Fīrūz Jang. In the end he was in straitened circumstances, and he died in the beginning of the reign of the present sovereign (Muḥammad Shāh). She (the wife) passed her days in the mortuary garden of her father and grandfather in Aurangābād. Nothing is known about the other children of Mīr Abūl Faḍl Ma'mūrī. But his sister had many children. One of her grandchildren was Fakhr-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Ma'mūrī, who was full of energy and enterprise, but unfortunately not one in a hundred of his ideas succeeded. Otherwise he would have accomplished great things. His father Mīr Abūl Fatḥ resigned the royal service and carried on trade and shipping business at Cuttack in Orissa.

The Khān in question (Fakhr-ud-Dīn) was appointed *Bakhshī* and recorder of Sangamnēr in the Deccan. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was in-charge of the fort of holy Sūrat. In the reign of Farrukhsiyar he was dismissed, but he refused to hand over to his successor and prepared to fight. He was censured by the King and lived for a while at Aḥmadābād, (Gujarāt). When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā came to the Deccan, he, owing to the acquaintance of his father with Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Bārah, attached himself to him and was appointed *Faujdār* of Bijāgarh[2] on the banks of the Narbadā.

1 The remainder of the note is only a rambling account of the progeny of Ma'mūr Khān. and is not of much historical interest.

2 *Sarkār* Bijāgarh was also called Sarkar Khērgāōn, see Khāfi Khān, II, p. 852,

But for various reasons he did not prosper, and in distressed circumstances went from the Deccan to the Capital and from there to Bengāl. Although he tried hard in every way, he did not succeed there also, and so he returned to Haidarābād *via* Orīssa. Mubāriz Khān, the governor, in view of his earlier relations treated him courteously.

When the governorship of the Deccan was transferred by the Court to Mubāriz Khān, he appointed the said Khān as the governor of Berār. Later as Mubāriz Khān could not take possession of the government and was killed, the said Khān went away to Sūrat, and undertook new enterprises. Owing to his misfortune he was plundered by the enemy (the Mahrattas), and taken before Rāja Sāhū[1]. Though he tried to stir up the Rāja, and did his best to make him disturb the peace in the Deccan, he did not succeed. When Āṣaf Fatḥ Jang took the parganas appertaining to Chānda out of the possession of the Ilmā[2], who were a tribe from Telinga, he waited on him. Āṣaf Jāh, out of consideration for his experience, thought of giving him a job, but death did not allow this to happen. He was buried in the same place. He was closely related to the author. There was an exhuberance in the disposition of the deceased such as the author has not seen in anyone else.

(RĀJA) MĀN SINGH[3]
(Vol. II, pp. 160-170).

He was the son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās Kachwāha. On account of his high intellectual attainments, abundant courage, high position

and Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 204-206. Bijāgarh was the old capital of Nimar in Central India for which see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 106.

1 Rāja Shāhū, the grandson of Shivāji, who ruled from 1777-1810.

2 Probably the Bhils.

3 There are notices of Rāja Mān Singh in Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 180-191, Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 361-363 and Āzād; *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (1939), pp. 535-566. In Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), p. 286, note 2, it is stated that Rājā Bhagwān Dās had three sons; apparently he was an adopted son of Rāja Bhagwān Dās.

and close connection (with the King), he was at the head of the *Amīrs* and nobles of Akbar. Through his great loyalty and devotion he received the title of *Farzand*, and was sometimes called the Mīrzā Rāja. In the end of 984 A.H., he was appointed to chastise Rānā Kīkā, and in the beginning of 985 A.H., a great battle took place at Gōganda[1] which had been established as a city after Chittōr. Rāja Rām Sāh of Gwāliyār and his sons were killed. In the engagement the Rānā and Kunwar Mān Singh came face to face with each other; the Rānā and the former were wounded and fled. Rājā Mān Singh stayed in his palace, and sent to the Court the famous elephant Rām Sāh[2] along with other spoils. But, as it was alleged that he had strictly forbidden the soldiers from devastating the Rānā's lands, the King censured him and recalled him to the Court; and for a time did not allow him to pay his respects.

When the post of the Commander-in-Chief of the Panjāb was entrusted to the Rāja Bhagwān Dās, the charge of defending the districts bordering on the Indus devolved on the Kunwar[3]. In the 30th year, 993 A.H. (1585 A.D.) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, half-brother of Akbar, who was the ruler of Kābul, died, and the Kunwar was ordered to hasten to Kābul. He reassured the inhabitants, and with the deceased sons Mīrzā Afrāsiyāb and Mīrzā Kaiqubād and their relations and dependants and retinue returned to the Court. Akbar went as far as the Indus, and honoured Kunwar Mān Singh by appointing him as the governor of Kābul. He by his bravery and courage punished[4] the Raushnīs, who owing to their plunderings and

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 244, 245, according to which the battle took place at "Khamnūr which is the mouth of the Haldi defile and is a dependancy of Goganda." The battle is usually styled as the battle of Haldīghāt, and a good account is given by Badāyūnī (Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* II, pp. 236-239), where it is stated that it took place in the first half of Rabī' I, 984, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 460, note 2, states that it took place on 21st Rabī' I; 19th June, 1576 A.D.

2 In *Akbarnāma*, *loc. cit.*, p. 247, the name of the elephant is "Rām Pershād."

3 *Op. cit.*, 493.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 734; the Afghāns were defeated at 'Alī Masjid.

highway robberies were a stumbling block on the Khyber route. When Rāja Bīrbar[1] fell in Swāt at the hands of the Yūsufza'īs, and Zain Khān and Ḥakīm Abul Fatḥ were recalled to the Court, this business was also entrusted to Mān Singh. When Afghānistān was made over to Rāja Bhagwān Dās, and he after crossing the Indus became mad, the government of that place again reverted to the Kunwar[2]. In the 32nd year when it appeared that the Kunwar was being worried by the cold climate, and that injustice was being practised on the peasantry of Afghānistān by the Rājpūts and that the Kunwar was not paying any heed to the oppressed, this country was taken from him, and a fief was granted to him in the Eastern districts[3]. Meanwhile he was employed in chastising the Raushnīs. In the same year when Bihār was assigned to the Kachwāha clan as their fief, the Kunwar was sent off to protect that country. In the 34th year when his father died, he received the title of Rāja[4] and the rank of 5,000. After reaching Bihār he carried by assault the dwelling of Pūran Mal of Gidhaur,[5] who had become very presumptuous, and captured many places. Pūran Mal could not save his fort and begged for quarter. From there he proceeded to attack Rāja Sangrām, who submitted and presented elephants and rarities of his country. The Rāja returned to Patna and attacked Ranpat[6] Chorūh, and obtained much plunder.

When he had disposed of the refractory malevolents there, he in the 35th year[7] went to Orīssa by way of Jhārkhand with a large army. Orīssa has always been governed by independent rulers. Previously it was for a time ruled by Pratāp Dēo. His son Bar (or Nar) Singh Dēo wickedly rose against his father, and finding an opportunity

1 *Op cit.*, pp. 730-732. It was in the Balandarī Pass that Bīrbar was killed on 16th February, 1586. سواد in the Text is what is now generally known as Swāt.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 745. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 790. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 863.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 872. Gidhaur in Monghyr district (*Imperial Gazetteer* XII, p. 237) is کدهوریه in the Text.

6 Ranpat Cherūl of the Text is Anant Ceruh in *Akbarnāma*

7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 933-937.

poisoned him, thereby acquiring eternal death for himself[1]. About this time Mukand Dēo came from Telingāna, and entered his service. He was enraged by Bar Singh's wicked act and determined to be revenged. He gave out that for wife was coming to visit him (Bar Singh). In this way he sent litters (*dōlis*) filled with arms, and, with a tribute of silk cloths carried by 20 brave[2] and experienced men, entered the fort. As a parricide does not last very long, he was soon disposed of. He lost his authority. It was not the custom for the Rāja to take possession of the treasures hoarded by his predecessors, but he broke the locks of 70 old treasuries, and took possession of their hoards. Though he displayed generosity, he was not a just and wise ruler, and gave himself up to sensual gratification. Sulaimān Kararānī, who had taken possession of Bengāl, sent his son Bāyazīd by way of Jhārkhand to conquer that country, and sent with him Iskandar Bēg Ūzbeg, who had rebelled against Akbar and taken shelter with him. The ease-loving Rāja appointed two armies under the commands of Jhapat Rāi and Durgā Tēj to oppose him. These men, unfaithful to their salt, intrigued with the officers of the army, and turned against their master. A hot engagement took place. The Rāja submitted to his misfortune and waited upon Bāyazīd. With his aid a great battle was fought, and both the Rāja and Jhapat Rāi fighting bravely were killed. The government reverted to Durgā Tēj. Sulaimān by guile called him, put him to death, and took possession of the country.

During the viceroyalties of Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān and Khān Jahān Turkmān much of the country was annexed. As a result of the dispersal of the Bengal officers Qutlū Lōhānī took possession of the country (Orīssa). When the Rāja in this year came to this country, Qutlū prepared to fight. Though the royal army was defeated[3], the Rāja remained firm (in his resolve). Suddenly Qutlū, who was ill,

1 So in the Text; it apparently means a retribution for patricide.

2 According to *Akbarnāma, loc. cit.*, p. 933, note 3, 200 and not 20 men carried the presents.

3 Jagat Singh son of Rāja Mān Singh was defeated in this battle.

died, and 'Isā, his minister, raised his young son Naṣīr Khān to power and made peace with the Rāja. The Rāja included in the crown-lands the temple of Jagannāth and its appurtenances, and returned to Bihār[1]. Jagannāth is a famous place of worship among the Hindūs, and is situated in the city of Purushōtam (Purī) on the seashore. Near (inside) it are erected the statues of Kishan (Krishnā) and his brother and sister, made of sandalwood.

They say that over four thousand years ago Rāja Indraman[2], the ruler of Nīlgar Hills, at the instance of an enlightened one, who stated that this place was very dear to God the Creator, had founded a big city there. It was revealed to the Rāja in a dream one night that on a certain day a piece of wood 52 fingers in length and 1½ cubit broad would arrive. This was the special figure of the Deity, and he was to take it and place it in his house. He was to watch over it for seven days, and with whatever shape it assumed, it was to be put in the place of worship. It so happened when he awoke, and he gave it the name of Jagannāth. They say that when Kālā Pahār, the servant of Sulaimān Kararānī, conquered this country, he flung this piece of wood into the fire. It was not burnt. Then he flung it into the sea, but it came back. It is said that the image is washed six times a day, and i dressed anew, and waited upon by 50 or 60 Brahmans. Each time large banquets are spread before the image, and some 20,000 people can partake of this food. A car with 16 wheels is prepared and the images are set upon it, and it is believed that whoever draws it is cleansed of all his sins, and does not suffer any ills in future. They narrate wonderful things about it.

In short, so long as 'Isā, the minister of Qutlū, lived, he observed the rights of the treaty with the Rāja. After him Khwāja Sulaimān and Khwāja 'Uthmān, the sons of Qutlū, broke the treaty, and raised the head of disturbance. The Rāja, in the 37th year, addressed himself firm-

1 The conquest of Orissa is described in *Akbarnāma*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 878-880.

2 The account of the temple of Jagannāth at Pūrī is adapted from the *Ā'īn* (Jarrett's translation) II, pp. 127-129. The three images are of Krishnā, Balbadhra and Sūbhadra.

ly to the task of extirpating them and conquering that country. Sa'īd Khān, the governor of Bengāl, also joined him. In great battles they (the two Khwājas) were defeated, and took refuge with Rāja Rām Chand who was a leading *Zamīndār* of the country. Although Sa'īd Khān returned to Bengal, the Rāja did not cease to pursue them, and besieged Sārangarh which they had regarded as their asylum. They were obliged to wait on the Rāja. They received a fief in the *Sarkār* Khalīfābād[1], and in the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) Orīssa became part of the imperial dominions. In the 39th year, 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.), when Sulṭān Khusrau was raised to the rank of 5,000 and given Orīssa in fief, the Rāja was appointed his guardian, and was permitted to go to his fief in Bengāl and to protect that area[2]. By his excellent arrangements and the might of his sword, the Rāja took much territory from the countries of the Bhātī and other *Z mīndārs*, and included it in the imperial dominions. In the 40th year, 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.), he selected near Ākmaḥl a place where there was less danger of attack by boats. Shēr Shāh had also approved of this place. The Rāja founded a city there as the seat of government and called it Akbarnagar[3]. They also call it Rājmaḥal. In the 41st year Lachmī Nārain, the *Zamīndār* of Kūch (Cooch Behār), a populous country to the north of Ghōrāghāt, 200 *kos* long and 40 to 100 broad, submitted and had an interview with the Rāja. He gave his sister in marriage to the Rāja[4].

In the 44th year, 1008 A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.), when Akbar was going to the Deccan, and Prince Salīm was appointed to the Ajmēr *Ṣūba* to punish the Rānā, the Rāja through still holding the government of Bengāl, was commissioned to accompany the Prince. As at that time 'Isā, who was the great landowner in Bengāl, died, the Rāja thought that it would be easy to manage the country, and

1 Khalīfābād in Eastern Bengal; it included Bākarganj, Jessore etc.; see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 134.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation III, p. 999.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 1042, 1043: see also *Imperial Gazetteer*, V, p. 179.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1068.

sent his eldest son Jagat Singh there. Jagat Singh died on the way, and his son Mahā Singh, who was still young, was sent to Bengāl. In the 45th year Khwāja 'Uthmān, the son of Qutlū stirred up strife[1]. The Rāja's men considering the affair to be an easy one came out to fight. They were defeated. Though Bengāl was not lost, but extensive areas were taken possession of (by the enemy). Prince Sulṭān Salīm, who in self-indulgence, drinking and evil company had spent a long time in Ajmēr, left for Udaipūr. Before he had settled the affair there, he became presumptuous, and wanted to leave for the Panjāb. Suddenly the disturbance of the Afghāns in Bengāl became serious, and Rāja Mān Singh suggested to the Prince to go there, but at the instigation of opportunists he started towards Āgra. Maryam Makānī came out of the fort to advise him, but out of shame he turned back when he was within four *kos* of the Capital, and started by boat for Allahābād[2]. The Rāja separated from the Prince, and went off to chastise the Bengal rebels. Near Shērpūr he defeated them in a battle. Mīr 'Abdur-Razzāq Ma'mūrī, the *Bakhshī* of Bengāl, who had been captured, was found in the field in chains and with a collar round his neck. When the Rāja had settled the country satisfactorily, he returned to the Court, and was exalted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse[3]. At that time no Amīr had risen higher than 5,000, but later Mirzā Shahrukh[4] and Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka[5] also received this rank. At the time of Akbar's death the Rāja and 'Azīz Kōka were plotting to raise to the throne Sulṭān Khusrau whom people considered the heir apparent. But Jahāngīr won him (the Rāja) over by confirm-

1 The appointment of Prince Salim to Ajmēr and the rebellion in Bengal are described in *Akbarnāma*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1140, 1141.

2 *Akbarnāma*, *loc. cit.*, p. 1155.

3 In *Akbarnāma*, *loc. cit.*, p. 1257, the rank is given as 7,000 with 6,000 horse.

4 Mīrzā Shāhrukh son of Mīrzā Ibrāhim was married to Akbar's daughter *Shukr-un-Nisā Bēgam*. For his account see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 327.

5 For Khān Ā'zam Mirzā 'Azīz Kōka son of Atka Khān see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-347.

ing him in his Bengāl appointment and otherwise conciliating him[1]. After Jahāngīr's accession he left for Bengāl, but in the same year was transferred and was engaged for a while in chastising the rebels of Rohtās. From there he returned to the Court, and in the 3rd year obtained leave to go to his home so that he might make arrangements for the Deccan campaign,[2] and go there to assist the Khān-Khānān. He was in the Deccan for a long time, and died there a natural death in the 9th year of Jahāngīr's reign[3]. Sixty persons were[4] burnt with him.

The Rāja had established wonderful pomp, greatness, influence and authority in Bengāl. His panegyrist (*bād farōsh*) had 100 elephants, and all his soldiers had good allowances. He had many trustworthy servants, all of whom were holders of high offices. They say that at the time when the Deccan campaign was assigned to Khān Jahān Lōdī, there were 15 *Panjhazārīs*[5] (of the rank of 5,000), owning flags and drums, such as Khān-Khānān, Rāja Mān Singh, Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī, Āṣaf Khān Ja'far and Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, and 1700 auxiliary officers holding the ranks of 4,000 to 100. When owing to lack of supplies there was such a scarcity in the Bālāghāt area that a seer of flour could not be had for a rupee, the Rāja one day rose in the Assembly and earnestly said, "If I were a Muhammadan, I would once every day eat with you. As I have a grey beard, would you all accept from me the price of *pān* leaves." Before all the others Khān-Khānān put his hand on his head and answered, "I accept the offer." The others also concurred. The Rāja gave Rs. 100 to every *Panjhazārī* and at this rate made daily allowances to everyone down to the rank of 100. Every night he put money in a purse with the name of the person on

1 Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 233, 234, Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 72, 73.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī*, (Rogers & Beveridge), I, p. 148; and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 34.

3 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, *loc. cit.*, p. 266, note 1. He died in the month of June, 1614.

4 Apparently 60 of his wives burnt themselves on his pyre

5 Only five out of the fifteen are enumerated.

it, and sent one to each. For the three or four months that this expedition lasted, he never once missed (to send such gifts). For the men of the camp until supplies (*Rasad*) arrived, he sold provisions at the rates prevailing at Ambar. They saw that his wife Kunwar Rānī, who was an expert manager, sent the provisions from his home. The Rāja on his marches used to set up mosques and baths constructed of cloth for the Muhammadans, and supplied daily one meal to every one of his followers.

They say that one day a Saiyid argued with a Brahman about the superiority of Islām over the Hindū religion. They referred the matter to the Rāja for his dictum. The Rāja said, "If I were to admit the superiority of Islām, people would say that it was out of flattery for the reigning sovereign, and if I said the opposite, I would be accused of partiality." When they pressed him for his opinion, the Rāja said, "I have no learning, but with regard to the Hindū religion which is so old (I see that) if there are perfect men in it, they are burnt as soon as they are dead, and their ashes dispersed to the winds. If anyone goes there at night, there is a fear of his being influenced by the demons (*Jinns*). In Islām there are, in every town and city, saints at rest, and people receive blessings from them and various assemblies are held there (in their shrines)."

They say that at the time of going to Bengāl he met one Shāh Daulat, who was a saint of the time, at Monghyr. The Shāh said, "With all your wisdom and intelligence why don't you become a Muhammadan." The Rāja said, "In God's word it is stated 'God's seal is on the heart of every one'. If by your efforts the lock of evil destiny (*Shaqāwat*) is removed from my bosom, I will at once become a believer". For a month he waited hoping for this to happen, but as Islām was not in his destiny, there was no result. As has been well expressed in the verse:

Verse.

Congealed hearts profit little from the blessing of darvīshes,
When Copper is dead, nought results from alchemy.

They say that Rāja Mān Singh had 1,500 wives and two to three children from each, but all except Rāja Bhā'o Singh[1] died during their father's lifetime. Soon after his father's death he also died of excessive drinking. A separate account of his life has been included.

(SAIYID) MANṢŪR KHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 449-452).

He was the eldest son[2] of Saiyid Khān Jahān Shāh-Jahānī[3]. He held a rank and a fief. When his father died in the 19th year (of Shāh Jahān's reign), he without any apparent reason[4] and from foolish apprehensions went off into the wilderness. Shāh Jahān sent Yādgār Bēg, Superintendent of the mace-bearers with a posse of men to Sirhind as it appeared likely that he had gone to his home there. They were directed to get hold of that fool as soon as possible and bring him to the Court. Later it was found that he had gone to the Lakhī Jangal[5] and had been arrested by the *Krōrī* there. Shafī'Ullah Barlās, *Mīr Tuzuk*, was sent with a number of *Yasāwals* to bring him. As the *Krōrī* was related to the daughters of Khān Jahān, who had been a pillar of the State, he had not taken all the necessary measures for the safe custody of that ill-mannered person, he escaped[6] before Shafī'Ullāh's arrival. The latter on reaching there threatened the *Krōrī* with Shāh Jahān's wrath—which is a sample of the wrath of God—regarding his neglect of duty. He immediately

1 He is mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, pp. 24, 140, 266, 268, 282, 297, 329, 372 and II, pp. 81, 108 and 218. He died of excessive drinking in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign in 1621 A.D. No separate biography of his is included in the *Maāthir*.

2 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 618, calls him grandson, but on p. 646 as the son of Saiyid Khān Jahan.

3 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 758-766 and translation, I, pp. 791-794. He died in 1055 A.H., 1645 A.D.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 473, 474; Khāfī Khān, I, p. 618.

5 Lakhī Jangal or a forest with hundreds of thousand trees was situated near Bhatinda in the Panjāb.

6 *Op cit.*, p. 477. The account is adapted from *Bādshāhnāma*.

wrote to his uncle, the *Krōrī* of Tihāra (on the river Sutlej) that if that wretch had gone there, no pains should be spared in bringing about his capture, otherwise his post and life were at stake. After endless search he found, through trackers, that Manṣūr Khān had gone from the neighbourhood of Tihāra to Sirhind. He started immediately after him, and joined Yādgār Bēg, who not having found any trace of him up to Sirhind was still searching for him. They together took fresh measures for his search. After endless search and enquiries for that ungracious fool they found him. He after much toil had reached Sirhind with two companions, and leaving the horses in the desert had thrown the saddles in a well, and had hidden himself as a *faqīr* in a corner of the garden of Ḥāfiẓ Rakhna. Yādgār Bēg arrested him and brought him in chains to the Court. He was sent to prison. In the 20th year, he was released[1] at the request of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb when the latter was leaving for Balkh, and was made over to him so that he might be taken to Balkh as one of his servants. Later when he was reformed, he was honoured by being restored to his *manṣab*. But his nature was evil, and he from time to time committed faults, for each one of which he deserved exemplary punishment and castigation, but, in view of the services of his father, his faults and commissions were overlooked by the Emperor.

When Prince Murād Bakhsh went off to take charge of Gujarāt, he was sent with him in order that he might proceed from there to holy Mecca and offer retribution for his ill deeds, in the hope that this might change his unbecoming habits into praiseworthy actions. In the 30th year he returned from there, and as he showed signs of penitence and reformation, he was, at the request of the said Prince, granted the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and enlisted among the auxiliaries of Gujarāt. Later he accompanied the Prince, and in the battles with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and Dārā Shikōh rendered valuable services, and was rewarded with an increase in his rank

1 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 646

and the title of Khān. When the shortsighted Prince[1] was imprisoned by Aurangzīb, the rank of Saiyid Manṣūr Khān was increased to 3,000 with 1,500 horse, and he accompanied Khalīl Ullāh Khān[2], who was sent in advance in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh. What was his later fate[3] and when he died, is not known.

MARḤAMAT KHĀN BAHĀDUR GHAḌANFAR JANG

(Vol. III, pp. 713-715).

His name was Mīr Ibrāhīm and he was the son of Amīr Khān Kābulī[4]. In the 48th year of Aurangzīb's reign he had the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In Farrukh-siyar's reign he was *Faujdār* and governor of the fort of Māndū in Mālwa. He occupied himself in chastising the rebels in that quarter, and acquired a name for gallantry. About the close of the reign of that Emperor when Ḥusain 'Alī Khān[5] was coming to the Capital from the Deccan, Marḥamat Khān, though he was on the way, out of jealousy or because he knew that the Emperor did not like Ḥusain 'Alī, pleaded illness and did not come to see him. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān after reaching the Court dismissed him, and wrote to Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, who was then the governor of Mālwa, to transfer him. Āṣaf Jāh in accordance with the order summoned him from the fort, and, as he could not return to the Court, appointed him as the governor of the fort of Sirōnj etc. appertaining

2 The name is not mentioned, but apparently Murād Bakhsh who was treacherously made a prisoner by Auranzib. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 432-436.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 164.

3 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 338, it is mentioned that he was granted a *khil'at* and included among the auxiliaries of the Deccan.

4 His full name was Amīr Khān Mīr Mīrān; for his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 277-287, and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 246-253.

5 For Ḥusain 'Alī Khān's journey from the Deccan to Delhi see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 355-362, 368.

to the grants of the *Ṣūba* of Mālwa. When about the same time Āṣaf Jāh resolved to return to the Deccan, Marhamat Khān also decided to accompany him with a suitable force. In the battle[1] with Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī he had the command of the left wing. He exerted himself bravely, and advanced upto the vanguard. Many Rājpūts in the enemy's forces were killed. He also rendered good service in the fight with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[2]. After the victory he was exalted to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, granted the title of Marhamat Khān Bahādur Ghadanfar Jang, and appointed governor of Burhānpūr. He rendered notable services in fighting with the Rāwals of Khāndēsh. But as complaints of oppression by his servants reached Āṣaf Jāh, he was transferred from the governorship of Khāndēsh to the *Faujdārī* of Baglāna, and allowed to retain a fief of fourteen lacs. He did not apply himself to the duty of this office, and when he heard that Muhammad Shāh had ascended the throne and that the Bārah Saiyids had been discomforted, he hastened to the Court, and for a time was the *Faujdār* of Mēwār, and later was appointed governor of Patna. He died at his appointed time. His son Baqā' Ullāh who was the son-in-law of Mīrzā Muhsin, the brother of Abūl Manṣūr Khān Ṣafdar Jang, served for a long time as the deputy of the said Khān in his appointment as the governor of Allahābād. In the disturbance created by Ahmad Khan Bangash[3], he did not neglect to take proper measures, and prevented the fort of Allahābād from falling into the hands of the Afghans[4].

1 Dilāwar 'Alī was the *Bakhshi* of Husain 'Ali Khān's army. For the battle in the hilly country of Pandhār on 19th June, 1720, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-34.

2 Battle of Bālāpūr, 10th August, 1720; see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 47-50.

3 For Nawāb Ahmad Khān Ghālib Jang of Bangash see Irvine, *The Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhabad*, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVIII, pp. 58 *et seq.*

4 For the siege of Allahābād from September 1750—April 1751, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 77-82.

(MĪR) MA'ṢŪM BHAKKARĪ[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 326-329).

His pen-name was Nāmī. His ancestors were Saiyids of Turmudh, but for two or three generations had lived in Qandahār. His ancestors with some other Saiyids had charge of the tomb of Bābā Shēr Qalandar, who was one of the spiritual leaders of his time and who was buried at Qandahār. His father's name was Mīr Saiyid Ṣafā'ī, and on this account Mīr Ma'ṣūm was called Saiyid Ṣafā'ī. Mīr Ma'ṣūm's father came to Bhakkar, and was graciously received and honoured by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, its ruler, and so he took up his abode at that place. He married into the family of the Saiyids of Khabrūt in Sīwīstan. Mīr Ma'ṣūm and his two brothers were born at Bhakkar. After his father's death Mīr Ma'ṣūm studied under Mullā Muḥammad of Kingrī, which was a dependancy of Bhakkar, and also acquired five accomplishments. As he was very fond of hunting, he spent much time in its pursuit. Suddenly he became very poor, and went off on foot to Gujarāt. Shaikh Isḥāq Fārūqī of Bhakkar, who was one of the influential officers in the service of Khwāja Niẓam-ud-Dīn Aḥmad of Herāt, the *Dīvān* of that province (Gujarāt) introduced the Mīrzā to the Khwāja on account of the old acquaintance with him dating from the time when they studied together in their native place. It so happened that the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*[2] was being prepared at the time, and the Mīr, who unrivalled in his knowledge of history, took part in its preparation. Accordingly the Khwāja acknowledges in the work his share in its compilation. Later Mīr Ma'ṣūm entered the service of Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, the governor of the province. and received an office. In course

1 For accounts of Mīr Ma'ṣūm see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 578-580, Rieu's *Catalogue* I, p. 291, and Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*. Text III, pp. 361-375 and Haig's translation III, pp. 498-508, and for a short life note 1 on pp. 498, 499.

2 See Prashad's preface to Vol. III of De & Prashad's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, pp. vi-xxxvii.

of time he acquired a name for bravery and courage, and was honoured by being taken into the service of Akbar. In the 40th year his rank was 250. The King had such confidence in him that he was sent on an embassy to Iran[1], where his intelligence and skill made him a favourite of Shāh 'Abbas Ṣafavī. After his return from Iran, he in the year 1015 A.H. (1606-07 A.D.) received from Jahāngīr the title of Amīn-ul-Mulk, and went to Bhakkar where he died. They say that he had been promoted to the rank of 1,000 under Akbar. He was a good poet. This couplet is by him[2]:

Verse

How pleasant it is that when I am beside myself (with love), you
(will come and) enquire about my condition,
I will explain it to you at length in a speech in which tongue
plays no part.

He wrote a *Dīvān*, a *Mathnavī*—the *Ma'dan-ul-Afkār* (the mine of Thoughts) in imitation of the *Makhzan-ul-Asrār*[3], a history of Sind[4], and a short treatise on medicine known as *Mufridāt-i-Ma'ṣūmī*. He was also an expert calligrapher and a composer of inscriptions. He engraved his verses on the stones of mosques and buildings all the way from India to Tabrīz and Iṣfahān. The inscriptions[5] on the gate of the Āgra fort and of the Jāma' mosque at Fathpūr are by him. He erected many buildings, especially in the city of Sukkur which was his native town. In the middle of the Panjāb river (Indus), which

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 825, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1236. His return from the Persian Embassy is mentioned on p. 836 of the Text and p. 1251 of Beveridge's translation.

2 For the remaining verses of the composition see Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 366, translation p. 501, and De's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, Text, p. 500.

3 For Nizāmis *Makhzan-ul-Asrār* see Ivanow, *Descriptive Catalogue of Persian MSS. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* (1924) p. 466.

4 *Tarīkh-Sind* or *Tarīkh-i-Ma'ṣūmī*, see Prashad, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx, xxxi.

5 Some of his inscriptions are mentioned by Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 579, 580, while the Fathpūr inscription is given in Keene's *Handbook to Agra*.

surrounds Bhakkar, he built a tower called *Satiyāsur* which is one of the wonders of the world. *Gunbudh Daryā'ī*[8]—the dome of the river (1007 A.H., 1598-99 A.D.), is its chronogram. He was very ascetic and pious, and his spirit and liberality was such that he used to send presents from India to the common people of Bhakkar, and for the high and low he had fixed presents, annually, monthly, daily, at harvest times and on Fridays. But later when he returned to his native land, these good actions ceased, and for some reasons people became annoyed with him. They say that he used to insist upon some part of his *jāgīr* being reserved as a jungle for hunting. His son was Mīr Buzurg. He was captured on the road armed during the time of the rebellion of Sulṭān Khusrau, and the *Kōtwāl* said that he was a partisan of the Sulṭān. He denied the charge, and Jahāngīr asked him to explain why he was carrying arms at the time. He replied, "My father instructed me to be armed during the night watch." The guard-recorder (*Chaukī-navīs*) confirmed that on that night Mīr Buzurg was on duty, and so he was released. The King, on account of the favours shown to house-born ones, gave him his father's property. He served for a long time as the *Bakhshī* of Qandahār. He spent in extravagance the 30 or 40 lacs of rupees which his father had left, and was so haughty that he paid respect to no one; and was not on terms of intimacy with any governor of the province. He kept his men in good trim. He composed both prose and poetry, and wrote a good hand. But he was fickle and tyrannical. Arriving at Māndū he waited on Jahāngīr and was appointed to the Deccan, where he was for a long time. As the income of his *jāgīr* was not sufficient for his expenses, he left service and retired to his native country. He was contented with the land and gardens of his father. He died in 1044 A.H. (1634-35A.D.). He left some sons, a number of whom moved over to the city of Multān.

8 It is still standing, vide *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, p. 126, where it is described as the minaret of Mir Masum Shah, erected about 1607 on the Western side of the town of Sukkur, overlooking the Indus.

MA'ṢŪM KHĀN FARANKHUDĪ[1]

(Vol. III,pp.246-249).

He was the son of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Khān Akbarī[2]. After his father's death he was favoured by the King with the rank of 1,000, and granted the fief of Ghāzīpūr[3]. At the time of the rebellion in Bengāl and Bihār by Ma'ṣūm Kābulī and Bābā i Qāqshāl, he accompanied Rāja Tōdar Mal and apparently set his heart on the pursuit of the rebels, but he behaved obstinately and presumptuously. The arrival of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm[4] in the Panjāb and the movement of Akbar in that direction caused his evil nature to reveal itself and he took the path of disobedience. He forcibly seized Jaunpūr from Tarsūn Khan's agents. As from his childhood he had been favoured by the King, Akbar, out of excessive kindness, gave him Oudh in fief on the condition that he would surrender Jaunpūr. Apparently obeying the royal order he left for Oudh, but in reality he was preparing for rebellion. Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram and Rāja Bīrbar were sent from the Court to reform him. That headstrong fool threw off the mask of shame and uttered improper expressions. Finding that it was impossible to reform him they returned. Shāhbāz Khān was hurrying to chastise the Bihār rebels; heard of Ma'ṣūm Khān's behaviour, and in the 25th year marched to punish him. A battle took place near Sulṭānpūr Bilharī[5]. Ma'ṣūm Khān attacked the

1 Blochamann gives good account of his life in his translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 491, 492. For Shāhbāz Khān's expedition against him see p. 438.

2 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

3 Ghazipore in the United Provinces, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 222-230. In *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 281, Beveridge's translation III, p. 410, it is recorded that he was granted Ghāzīpūr as his fief and Jaunpūr was taken from him and given to Tarsūn Muhammad Khān.

4 The account is based on *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 329-333, 338-340; Beveridge's translation III, pp. 483-488, 496-499. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's brother was the governor of Kābul.

5 Now known as Barausna in the Sultānpūr pargana, Beveridge, *op. cit.*, 486, note 2.

centre with great force, and Shāhbāz Khān losing courage took to flight. He did not draw rein till he reached Jaunpūr which was at a distance of 30 *kos*. Accidentally a rumour gained curreny in the army that Ma'ṣūm Khān had been killed, and his men began to disperse. He reached the battlefield and was surprised. Meanwhile the left wing of the imperialist army, which did not know of the defeat of their leader, appeared. Ma'ṣūm Khān was taken by surprise, and on being wounded withdrew to his camp. As his camp had been plundered by the imperialist army, he hastened to the town of Oudh. Shāhbāz Khān having consolidated his position at Jaunpūr started again to fight. The battle took place at a distance of seven *kos* from Oudh, and Ma'ṣūm Khān after being defeated shut himself up in Oudh. 'Arab Bahādur and Niyābat Khān, who were the mainstay of his folly, left him. Ma'ṣūm Khān abandoned his family and property, became a vagabond, and to disguise himself he shaved off his beard etc[1]. The *Zamīndār* of Gawārich[2] on account of his former acquaintance brought him to his house, and seized his cash and valuables. In a wretched plight he crossed the Sarū, and went to Rāja Mān the proprietor of that area. He sent some men with him on the pretext that they were guides, but suspecting that he had jewels in his possession, he secretly prompted them to murder him. Ma'ṣūm Khān found this out, and won them over with a bribe and retired from that place.

Meanwhile Maqṣūd, one of his servants, joined him, and placed all his savings at his disposal. That headstrong again thinking of rebellion started intriguing. In a short while a number of mercenaries were collected. He plundered the city of Bharaich after its capture. Vazīr Khān and others started from Ḥājīpūr to punish him. For

1 The expression چهار ضرب زده is discussed by Beveridge, ***Akbarnāma***, translation I, p. 574, and translation III, p. 498, note 4. It apparently means shaving off the beard and moustaches.

2 Text کوراج but Gawārich in Gōnda district, see Beveridge, ***op cit.***, p. 498, note 5.

a long time there was a battle of cannon and muskets. One night Ma'ṣūm Khān leaving everything fled. He went to Jālanpāra[1] and once again collecting men plundered the town of Muḥammadpūr. He was making preparations for the sack of Jaunpūr, but the fief-holders of the area made a compact against him. When he saw that his scheme was not likely to succeed, he made a supplication to the Khān A'ẓam Kōka. The latter sent a petition to Akbar, and securing a pardon for him had the area of Mihsī[2] granted to him as his *jāgīr*. He was about to rebel again when Mīrzā Kōka proceeded to amend matters. Hearing of this development and not being strong enough to oppose Mīrzā Kōka, he took leave and started for the Court. In the 27th year he reached the Court at Āgra, and through the intercession of Maryam Makānī his offences were again excused. During this time, in the year 990 AD. (1582 A.D.) he was at midnight returning to his lodgings from the *Darbār*, when some men attacked him, and he was killed. Enquiries were instituted, but the affair was not cleared up. Some people at the time believed that occurrence[3] had taken place at Akbar's instigation. But God alone knows!

MA'ṢŪM KHĀN KĀBULĪ[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 292-296)

He was a Saiyid of Turbat in Khurāsān. In the reign of Humāyūn his uncle Mīrzā 'Azīz[5] was promoted to the high office of *Vazīr*. He was the foster-brother of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and was distin-

1 Text جلو پاره variant بجهار پاره but it appears to be Jālanpāra.

2 مهسى in the Text is apparently Mihsī in Champāran district in Bihār.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 309, and Beveridge's translation III, pp. 576, 577. In note 1 on p. 577 Beveridge discusses the contemporary records of his murder and notes that according to *Iqbalnāma-i-Jahāgīrī* he was by Akbar's order murdered by Sikandar Qalmāq.

4 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 476, note 1.

5 He is not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, but in Blochmann's *Ā'īn, op. cit.*, p. 595, he is mentioned as first on the list of *Vazirs* or ministers of finances.

guished for his bravery and his work. As Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī, who was the Mīrzā's factotum, was for some reason not on good terms with Ma'ṣūm Khān, and wanted to ruin him, he, from foresight, in the 20th year came to Akbar's Court. He was granted a rank of 500, and was granted a *jāgīr* in Bihār. In that province he fought with Kālā Pahār, who was one of the great Afghān leaders, and distinguished himself by his courage and bravery. He was victorious, but received several wounds. As a reward his rank was increased to 1,000 and in the 24th year Orīssa[1] was included in his fief. But as the nobles of that province (Bihār) were oppressed by the severity of the imperial clerks in the execution of the branding regulations, and they were stirring up rebellion,[2] Ma'ṣūm Khān, out of ingratitude and presumption, joined them, became their leader and started a commotion. Eventually he became known as Ma'sum 'Āṣī (the rebel). When the news of the approach of the imperial army was received, he hurried off to Bengāl, and joined the Qāqshāls and rebels of that area; and with all the combined forces he besieged Muẓaffar Khān at Tānda. In spite of all his resources for resistance he lost heart, and out of avarice and love of life sent Ma'sūm Khan 20,000 ashrafīs in return for a promise that his honour would be safeguarded. As a result of the confusion Qāqshāls and other rebels swarmed over the fort from all directions. Ma'ṣūm Khān in accordance with the promise that he would get most of the property, came alone to Muẓaffar Khān's quarters where the latter was standing armed with some of his slaves, and was wavering whether to fight or fly. Ma'ṣūm Khān proffered affection, but as that unfortunate (Muẓaffar Khān) had lost his senses, he did not use the opportunity and put the rebel to death. Suddenly there was a disturbance in the female apartments, and Muẓaffar Khān

1 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 410. Orissa is a long way from Bihār, and if the name is correct, it looks as if he had been sent away to get rid of him. From Text p. 285 and translation p. 418, it appears that he held Patna also as his fief.

2 The accounts of the rebellion and Ma'ṣūm Khān's share in it are adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 300-304, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 444-450.

went there. Ma'ṣūm Khān repenting of his own courage came out, and always blamed himself for this rashness. After Muẓaffar Khān was put to death, grand titles and *jāgīrs* were distributed, and coins struck in the name of Mīrzā Ḥakīm. This verse—which Ghazzālī of Meshd had composed, perhaps at the time when he was accompanying Khān Zamān Shaibānī, who also had the *Khuṭba* read in the name of Mīrzā Ḥakīm—became famous:

Verse

In the name of God, The Merciful, The Compassionate !
Muḥammad Ḥakīm is the heir of the Kingdom.

When Khān A'ẓam Kōka was appointed to punish the rebels, Ma'ṣūm Khān made a pact with Qutlū Lōhānī, who during this opportunity had taken possession of Orīssa and a part of Bengāl, and opposed the imperial army. When the Qāqshāls having quarrelled with him, sent a message of submission to Mīrzā Kōka, Ma'ṣūm Khān took to flight[1]. In the 28th year[2] he renewed the strife, and hotly engaged Shāhbāz Khān who had joined the Bengal army. But he suffered a signal defeat, and, when Jabbārī and other rebels left him he took refuge in the Bhāti country. With 'Īsā Khān the *Zamīndār* of that area he repeatedly attacked the royal territories, but every time he was defeated by the imperial army. At last in the 44th year 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) he died in the same country. After his death his son Shujā'[3] with Qalmāq—a purchased slave of Muẓaffar Khān, who had become famous as a swordsman and called himself Bāz Bahādur—joining with some evil Turānīs created disturbances for some time. In the 46th year he surrendered, waited on Rāja Mān Singh Kachwāha, the governor of Bengāl, and was favourably received. In the reign of Jahāngīr he was exalted by appointment to Ghaznī as

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 400, 401, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 619-622.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 787, 788, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1180.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 399. His appointment as *thānādar* of Ghazni is also mentioned there.

thanādār, and in the reign of Shāh Jahān he was granted the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse and the title of Asad Khān. He died in the 12th year. His son Qubād attained the rank of 500 with 300 horse[1].

MAṬLAB KHĀN MĪRZĀ MAṬLAB

(Vol. III, pp. 650-653).

He was the daughter's son of Mukhtār Khān[2] of Sabazawār. His mother was the famous Gulrang Bānū Bēgam, who was married to Mīrzā Muḥsin son of Saiyid Mīrzā younger brother of Mukhtāt Khān. Maṭlab Khān, through his lucky star and the recommendation of his mother, rose high in Aurangzīb's reign, and was appointed to the high office of the *Bakhshī*[3] of the Aḥadīs. In the 29th year he became 2nd *Bakhshī* as deputy of Bahramand Khān who was sent to the station (*thāna*) of Anandī. In the same year, on the death of Ṣaif Ullāh Khān, he was appointed *MīrTūzuk*. In the 41st year he received the title of Khān, and his rank was increased to 1,500 with 500 horse[4]. As at the Court he had been found to be zealous and energetic, he was often nominated as Army-Sazāwal of the forces deputed to chastise the robbers (Mahrattas) which duties he discharged successfully. Afterwards when, on the death of Bahramand Khān, Naṣrat Jang became the *Mīr Bakhshī*, but was principally occupied in scouring the country of the Mahrattas, Maṭlab Khān returned to the Court and acted as his deputy with full authority after the conquest of Wāgingēra. In this post his influence gradually increased, and he was honoured with an increase in the number of horses of his rank and granted kettle-drums[5]. Towards the close of Aurangzīb's

1 He is described in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, p. 223, as Qubād son of Shujā Kābulī. His rank according to the list at the end of the work, p. 749 was 500 with 200 horse and not 300 horse as given above.

2 For a notice of Mukhtār Khān of Sabazawār see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 409-413.

3-5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 240, 386, 505.

reign he was one of the relatively small number of the principal officers, and was appointed from time to time to chastise the enemy (Mahrattas) in the neighbourhood of the camp. On the death of Aurangzīb he joined Prince Muḥammad Aʿẓam Shāh, and was the recipient of special favours. He received the title of Murtaḍā Khān. He was a man without distinction of constancy. Niʿmat Khān Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥājī, from whose compositions scarcely anyone escaped, wrote this verse :

Verse

I will give up rectitude for crookedness,
If this person be the Murtaḍā the favoured I'll be an outcast (*khārijī*).

Maṭlab Khān in company with the Prince received several severe wounds in the battle[1] against Bahādur Shāh. Khān-Khānān Munʿim Khān carried him off the battlefield seating him behind his elephant driver. He died of these wounds. He was powerfully built and tall, and notorious for his stupidity and ignorance. As the possession of paternal qualities proves genuineness of origin, his sons also were not without these characteristics. He had two sons. The eldest, who was the son-in-law of Jān Sipār Khān Bahādur Dil, received his father's title in the reign of Bahādur Shāh. The second, who was the son-in-law of Tarbiyat Khān *Mīr Ātish*, had the title of Abū Ṭālib Khān. In Farrukh-siyar's reign the elder was the *Faujdār* of Gujarāt. When he was removed from there, he, in consequence of the new relationship established as a result of the marriage of his sister's daughter – the daughter of the deceased Kāmyāb Khān—with Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain ʿAlī Khān, went to Aurangābād, and settled there. His younger brother was made *Faujdār* of Gōdhra and Thāsra[2]

1 Battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 22-34.

2 This appears to be the Tausrah of Bayley's map, west of Gōdhra and between it and Aḥmadābād.

in Gujarāt; he had a commanding personality. Later the Amīr-ul-Umarā appointed him as the *Faujdār* of Baglāna. He joined 'Ālam 'Alī Khān with a strong contingent, and in the battle[1] with Āṣāf Jāh lost everything. At the same time Mubāriz Khān, the governor of Haidarābād, had come to interview Fatḥ Jang. He asked for Maṭlab Khān's daughter for his son Khwāja Asad Khān. They say that on account of his indigent circumstances a sum of money was fixed for the marriage expenses. Maṭlab Khān demanded more, but he refused. Maṭlab Khān became angry and said to the marriage brokers who were negotiating for the match, "Be just. She is a daughter of the *Banī Mukhtārs*[2]." One of them, who was very convivial, replied, "You also are an agent for the marriage." Abū Ṭālib Khān, who was stricken with misery, went with the said Khān to Ḥaidarābād, and was appointed governor of the fort of Shāhpūr in Kūlpāk, and attained prosperity. In the battle between Āṣaf Jāh and Mubāriz Khān he had been wounded. Both the brothers died in Aurangābād at their appointed times.

MIHR 'ALĪ KHĀN SILDŌZ

(Vol. III, pp. 217, 218).

He was an officer of the rank of 1,000. About the close of the 5th year of Akbar's reign he was sent[3] with Adham Khān to take Mālwa and rendered good service in the battle with Bāz Bahādur. In the 17th year he was with Mīr Muḥammad Khān Kalān in the vanguard[4]

1 Battle of Bālāpur, 10th August, 1720.

2 Literally: sons of the chosen or the Saiyids. In the expression *fā'il mukhtār* in the reply, there is a pun on the double meaning of the word *mukhtār*. This expression is also used in Text III, page 660 in the second line of the verse.

Maṭlab Khān is designed as Maṭlab Khān Banī Mukhtār in Text Vol. III, p. 744, where his son-in-law As'ad Khān's death is recorded.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 135, Beveridge's translation II, p. 208. The battle with Bāz Bahādur is described by Beveridge on pp. 211, 212.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 24, Beveridge's translation III, p. 33. The battle is described by Beveridge on pp. 32-36.

which marched to Gujarāt, and took part in the battle against Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā. Later he joined Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān in pursuing the said Mīrzā. In the 22nd year when Akbar went to hunt at Ḥiṣār he honoured[1] Mihr 'Alī by alighting at his house. In the 23rd year he accompanied Sakīna Bānū Bēgam[2] who was sent to Kābul to advise Mīrzā Ḥakīm (her brother). In the 24th year he accompanied Rāja Tōdar Mal[3] to chastise 'Arab who was creating a disturbance in the Eastern districts. He rendered good service there. Nothing more is known about him[4].

MIHTAR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 344, 345).

He was a slave of Humāyūn, and his name was Anīs[5]. He was captured from Karrah Mānikpūr, and became gate-keeper among the servants of the *Zanāna*. In the early days on Humāyūn's journey to 'Irāq he followed the royal stirrups, and served as the treasurer. When in the 14th year of the reign of Akbar the fort of Ranthambhōr was captured, he was appointed to guard it[6]. In the 21st year when Kunwar Mān Singh was appointed[7] to chastise Rānā Pratāp of Mēwār

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 232, Beveridge's translation III, p. 328.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text III, p. 245, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 352, 353; also see note 3 on p. 352 for Sakīna Bānū Bēgam.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text III, p. 287, Beveridge's translation III, p. 422.

4 For some further details of his life see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 481. Sildōz was the name of a Chaghtā'i clan. According to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's Text II, p. 445, translation II, p. 672, he was originally a servant of Bairām Khān and rose to the rank of 1,500.

5 Anīs-ud-Dīn according to Blochmann, *Ā'īn* (2nd edn.) I, p. 459. Mihtar, according to the same author means a prince.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 338, Beveridge's translation II, p. 459. The fort was taken from Rāi Surjjan Hārā in March, 1569.

7 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 236, 237. Kunwar Mān Singh, who was appointed to the expedition, left Ajmēr in April, 1576.

the name of Mihtar Khān was also included among his followers. On the day of the battle he was in the rear of the victorious army. Later on being appointed to help the *Amīrs* of the Eastern districts he was able to render valuable services. After a time he was left in the Capital city of Āgra. Having been appointed to a *manṣab* of 3,000 *dhāt-o-sawār*, he died[1] in the 3rd year of Jahangir's reign corresponding to 1017 A.H. (1608 A.D.). He was eighty-four years of age. His simplicity was well-known all over. They say that during his governorship of Akbarābād, a caravan of merchants had encamped outside the city. Their camels were stolen by thieves. When this news came to the ears of the said Khān, he came to the spot, and looking right and left said, "I have found it." After a while someone enquired: "What have you found?" He replied, "It is the work of thieves." So the people in the neighbourhood were collected, and after having reprimanded them he said, "I am granting you a respite for tonight. You should look round. If the camels are not produced tomorrow, you will render yourself liable for punishment." With his simplicity he was very good-natured. He used to pay the allowances of his army month by month. And he was not devoid of courage and valour. As he was Kāyath[2] (Kāyasth) by origin he used to favour this sect greatly. His son Mūnis Khān, in the reign of Jahāngīr, received a *manṣab* of 500 foot and 130 horse Abū Ṭālib the grandson of Mihtar Khān was in that reign the treasurer of the province of Bengāl. They say that one day Abū Ṭālib came to Qāsim Khān[3] the *Ṣūbadar* of Bengāl, and in the open *Darbār* remarked apropos of nothing that the nature of his office was fully known to the Nawāb. As earlier on Qāsim Khān had been a treasurer of that province, he was greatly displeased and broke up the assembly. People said to Abū Ṭālib;

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 153.

2 Apparently he was a convert from the *Kāyasth* or the writer class (*Imperial Gazetteer*, I, p. 294). Blochmann's reading *Kāti* (*op. cit.*, p. 459) is apparently incorrect.

3 Qāsim Khān son of Mīr Murād Juwaini, for his life see Blochmann, *op. cit.* pp. 559, 560.

"Why did you make this remark? Don't you know, that the Nawāb previously held your post." The next day he came and in the open *Darbār* expressing his regret stated that he was not aware that the Nawāb also had previously held that office. Qāsim Khān smiled a sardonic smile and said: "All this is after the manner of your ancestor Mihtar Khān."

MĪR JUMLA KHĀN-KHĀNĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 711-713).

His name was 'Abdullāh'[1] and he was by birth a Turānian Mullā. He himself told someone that when he was in his native country as a student, he one day for the sake of amusement went with a party to a garden outside the town. Suddenly a member of Ūzbeg robbers came and put the party to flight. He climbed over the garden wall, and took the road to India. As he had no equipment he endured great hardships in the journey. During the reign of Aurangzīb when he reached India, he was at first appointed *Qāḍī* of Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca) in *Ṣūba* Bengāl, and was later transferred as the *Qāḍī* of 'Aẓīmābād (Patna). When Muḥammad Farrukh-siyar reached Patna and sat on the throne, he developed a close friendship with him, and later accompanied his stirrups. And later when Farrukh-siyar fought with Jahāndār Shāh and was victorious, he was appointed to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and exalted by the grant of the title of Mīr Jumla Khān-Khānan Mu'aẓẓam Khān Bahādur Muẓaffar Jang. Although ostensibly[2] he was the Superintendent of the *Dīvān-i-Khāṣ* and Superintendent of the Post (*Dāk*), but he was all-powerful and

1 For further details about his name, life and titles see Irvine, *Jurn. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXVII (1898), p. 161, and his *Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, pp. 267, 268. According to this account he was born in 1081 A.H., 1670-71 A.D.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, pp 728, 729. According to Irvine 1898, *op. cit.*, p. 155 and *Later Mughals*, I, p. 260, he was the "superintendent of the *khawas* or attendants and of the *ghusal-khana*, or privy council room."

the Emperor's signeting was in his keeping. As this hot-tempered Mughal had suddenly risen to such a great rank, he became very jealous of the influence of the Bārah Saiyids—who attached no importance to the services of others as compared to their own, and out of envy reported highly exaggerated accounts of their actions to the Emperor. He became known as an informer and instigator of punishments from the executions of Dhulfaqār Khān, Hidāyat Ullāh Khān and others[1]. This was the cause of the resentment of Saiyids 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān and they ceased to attend the *Darbār*. In the 2nd year of Farrukh-siyar's reign Amīr-ul-Umarā Husain 'Alī, who was appointed governor of the Deccan, did not agree to proceed to the Deccan until Mīr Jumla,[2] who was appointed as the governor of Patna, had left. On his arrival there, Mīr Jumla, who had a large force[3] and much equipment, got into difficulties about the payments to the troops. He therefore, was alarmed, and secretly getting into a screened palanquin left for the Court. At that time a quarrel had sprung up with the Saiyids, and as every day was full of suspicions, the Emperor refused him an audience. Consequently he went to Saiyid 'Abdullāh and humbled himself before him. He resorted to dissimulation. And men went after him and demanded their salaries. In his helplessness he sought refuge in the house of Muhammad Amīn Khān Bahādur. The King with a view to ending this affair punished him by reducing his rank, appointed him to the Panjāb, and ordered that the salaries of his men be paid from the royal treasury. After the arrest of the Emperor, he presented himself before the Saiyids, and was exalted by being appointed as the *Ṣadr-i-Kull*. But he did not have the honour and dignity that he had formerly enjoyed. He died in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. In the province of Patna the

1 Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXXII (1903), pp. 37-42, and *Later Mughals*, p. 275-281.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 741, 742. Also see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (1904) LXXII, pp. 57-60, and *Later Mughals*, I, pt. 300-302.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, pp 769, 770. Irvine, 1904, *op. cit.*, pp. 295-298, and *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 329-332.

Mughals with him greatly oppressed the peasantry and inhabitants. He also was without pity, kindness and prudence. In spite of this he did his best to counsel everyone who turned to him for advice.

(MĪRZĀ) MĪRAK RAḌAVĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 218, 219).

He was a Raḍavī Saiyid of Mashhad. Originally he was a companion of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān. In the 10th year of Akbar's reign[1] he came to the Court to offer excuses on behalf of Khān Zamān, and, as a result of his intercession, the misdeeds of Khān Zamān were pardoned. In the 12th year when the news of the rebellion of Khān Zamān reached the Court, the Mīrzā was seized and made over to Khān Bāqī Khān[2]. The Mīrzā finding an oppartunity managed to escape from the prison, but he was caught after Khān Zamān was killed. By Akbar's orders he was every day thrown before a *mast* (intoxicated) elephant, but the driver had been instructed to deal with him gently. On the 5th day he received the good news of his life having been spared at the solicitations of the courtiers and after a time was received into favour, and was granted a suitable *manṣab* and the title of Raḍavī Khān. In the 19th year he was appointed the *Dīvān* of Jaunpūr. In the 24th year he was made the *Bakhshī* of Bengāl[3]. In the 25th year when the rebellion of the fief-holders of Bengāl took place, and they assembled on the other side of the Ganges, he with Muẓaffar Khān, the governor of Bengāl, was on this side of the Ganges. When there was a talk of settlement he

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 268, Beveridge's translation II, p. 398.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 285, Beveridge's translation II, p. 421, and note 1, for Khān Bāqī Khān. The escape of Mīrzā Mirak is recorded on p. 288 of the Text and p. 424 of the translation. A detailed account of his being thrown before an elephant is given on p. 297 of the Text and p. 436 of the translation. In a note on the same page Beveridge adds that according to Bāyazīd Mirak was the Atka of Salīma Bēgam, and that the mahout was told not to kill him.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 265, Beveridge's translation III, p. 386.

and Rā'i Patr Dās with one or two men were sent by Muẓaffar Khān to counsel the rebels. Some of the companions of Rā'i Patr Dās suggested the slaying of all the rebels, and he in his simplicity mentioned this secret to Raḍavī Khān. The latter, who was known for his duplicity and cowardice, conveyed a hint about the plot to the rebels[1]. They went away from the Assembly, and raised the cloud of rebellion and took him under their protection. Nothing more is known about him.

MĪRAK SHAIKH HARĀVĪ[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 518,519).

He was the brother's son of Qāḍī Aslam[3]. During Jahāngīr's reign he came in his early youth to India from Khurāsān, and lived with Mullā 'Abdul Salām in Lāhore. The latter was one of the recognized learned men of that city, and had a high reputation as a theologian. For nearly fifty years he sat upon the *maṣnad* of authority, and composed a commentary on Bayḍavī[4]. He was appointed *Mufti* of the royal camp, and died in the first year of Shāh Jahān's reign. Mīrak Shaikh studied a great deal, and later entered the service of Shāh Jahān. He was honoured by his appointment as the instructor of Prince Dārā Shikōh and the other princes. As a mark of royal favour he was appointed Writer of Authentic Accounts, and in the 17th year promoted to the post of the Examiner of Petitions. In the 28th year he became the *Dīvān* of the Bēgam Ṣaḥiba (Jāhān

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 294, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 433, 434. Mir Mīrak's name is given there as Raḍavī Khān, and it is stated that after his betrayal "that ignorant rendered of the veil (Razavi K.) was imprisoned."

2 For an account of his life see *Bādshāhnāma*, II pt. 1, p. 344, pt. 2, p. 755.

3 His full name was *Qāḍī* Muḥammad Aslam; for his life see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 89-92.

4 The reference is to the famous commentary on the Qurā'n by Nāṣir-ud-Din Abū Sa'īd Abdullāh Al-Bayḍavi, see Blochmann's *Ges. Arab. Lit.*, I, pp. 416, 417.

Ara), and by an increase of 500 foot with 50 horse his rank became 2,000 with 200 horse. Later he was granted a further increase of 500.

When Muhammad Aurangzīb Bahadur through his conquests and good fortune brought the whole of India under his control, Mīrak Shaikh received increased favours, and on the occasion of the anniversary of the 2nd year of the reign he was granted an increase of 500, and thus his rank was raised to 3,000. At the end of the 2nd year he was appointed the Chief *Ṣadr* in succession to Saiyid Hidāyat Ullāh Qādirī. As he had grown very old, he was removed from that office in the 4th year, and about the same time he died in 1071 A.H. (1660-61 A.D.)

MĪRĀN ṢADR JAHĀN PIHĀNĪ[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 348, 351).

Pihānī[2] is a village of the Lucknow dependancy. Mīrān was a learned and pleasant-dispositioned man. During the reign of Akbar he was, through the influence of Shaikh 'Abd-un Nabī[3], appointed the Chief *Muftī* (Law Officer) of the imperial territories. When 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg, the ruler of Tūrān, wrote to Akbar that the chief obstacle to their correspondences was Akbar's reported heresies, Akbar, in the 31st year, sent Mīrān as an ambassador with Ḥakīm Humām, and in his letter, in reference to this affair, contented[3] himself with the following two couplets;

1 For his life see also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 522, 523; his name is given as Ṣadr Jahān Muftī.

2 Pihānī in the Hardōī district in the United Provinces. See *Imperial Gazetteer*, XX, p. 136. Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text III, p. 141, says that it is in Qanauj; see also Haig's translation III, p. 198, note 3.

3 This is hardly correct. Akbar's letter is a laboured defence of his orthodoxy and zeal for faith, see *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 496-501, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 752-761.

Couplets

Of God, men say, He had a son;
Of the Prophet that he was a sorcerer.
Neither God nor the Prophet has escaped the slander of men,
How then can I escape their malicious tongues?

Mīrān returned from Tūrān in the 34th year, and was appointed to Kābul. In the 35th year on the occasion of the feast of the month of Abān there was a wine party in the King's presence. Mīr Ṣadr Jahān Muftī and Mīr 'Abdul Ḥayy, the *Mīr 'Adl* both quaffed the cups. The King recited this verse[1]:

Verse

In the reign of the King, who pardons offences and
condones sins,
Ḥāfiẓ swills and the Muftī empties the cups.

Up to the 40th year his rank was 700, and he became the Chief *Ṣadr*. Later he was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr* with the *manṣab* of 2,000. When Jahāngīr as a prince read the 40 Traditions with 'Abd-un-Nabī, the *Ṣadr*, the Saiyid acted as his *Khalīfa* (Preceptor in religious matters). The Prince was very fond of him. One day he promised the Saiyid that if he became the King, he would pay his debts or give him whatever office he desired. After his accession Jahāngīr left the choice to Mīrān. He took the payment of debts upon himself, and asked for the rank of 4,000. Jahāngīr gave him this rank[2], and increased his power and influence by confirming him in the office of *Ṣadr*; he also granted him Qanauj as his fief. The Saiyid was a public benefactor. During his tenure of office as the *Sadr* of Jahāngīr he gave away so many maintenance-lands that Āṣaf Khān Ja'far reported to the King, that Mīrān had given away in five

1 This is the first verse of an ode of Ḥāfiẓ of Shirāz.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 22. In a note on the same page Beveridge includes a short account of Jahāngir reading the Forty Traditions by Jāmi with 'Abd-un-Nabī and the murder of 'Abd-un-Nabī by Abūl Faḍl.

years what Akbar had granted in fifty years. He lived to the age of 120 years, but there was not the least failure either in his intellect or in his senses. It is stated that he had been reduced to a skeleton, and always remained lying on his bed of weakness in his house. But when he came to the King's Presence, he, out of strength for his love of dignity, remained standing for long periods, and came and went by the steps without any assistance.

Verse

Out of weakness he cannot stand up for prayers,
But before the King he remains standing till night without a staff.

He died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.). It is stated that the Saiyid had a poetical frame of mind, and in the beginning of his career he used to compose verses. Later when he was exalted by his appointment as the *Mufti*, he in accordance with the strict tenets of *Sharī'at* abstained[1] from writing verses. His eldest son Mīr Badr 'Ālam became a recluse. His second son Saiyid Nizām Murtadā Khān rose to the rank of an *Amīr*, an account[2] of him is given in another place.

MĪRZĀ KHĀN MANŪCHIHR
(Vol. III, pp. 586-589).

He was the son of Mīrza Īraj Shāhnawāz Khān[3] son of 'Abd-ur Rahīm Khān-Khānan[4]. He was the last relic of the family of Bairām Khān, and except for him there was no one belonging to this august

1 See Badāyūni, *op. cit.*, Text III, p. 141, Haig's translation III, p. 199.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 479-481. He was the son of a Brahman wife of Mīrān.

3 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 645-648. His name there is given as Shāhnawāz Khān Īraj. *See* also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 360, 361, and pp. 550, 551.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 693-713; Beveridge's translation, pp. 50-65; also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-361.

family who could keep alive the name of his ancestors. He was distinguished for courage, bravery, valour and daring, which were the characteristics of the family. His sound judgment, perceptive powers and sterling qualities singled him out among his contemporaries. Owing to wounds received during a battle he was subject to lapses of memory, and became addicted to intoxicants, and so did not rise very high. For a long time he was attached to the auxiliaries of the Deccan forces. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign at the battle of Bhatūrī[1] when Lashkar Khān and many other officers were taken prisoners by Malik 'Ambar, Mīrzā Manūchihr, who was at the height of his youth, was severely wounded, and made a prisoner. For a long time he was imprisoned in Daulatābād. As he had behaved bravely in the battle, he, after his release, received[2] from Jahāngīr the title of Mīrzā Khān, the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse and a flag and drums[3]. After the accession of Shāh Jahān he received royal favours, and in the 6th year was appointed as the *Faujdār* of Bharāich[4]. When in the 8th year Najābat Khān was censured for mismanagement of the expedition to Srīnagar (Garhwāl), Mīrzā Khān was appointed *Faujdār*[5] of the *Dāmām-i-Kōh* Kāngra in his place, and received a *jāgīr*. About the end of the 9th year he owing to a derangement of his mental powers[6] went into retirement, and was insane for a long time. After his recovery, he served for a time as the governor of Oudh, and later as the *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Māndū. In the 25th

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Text, p. 392; *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 236. The battle is stated to have been fought at a distance of 5 kos from Ahmadnagar. The name of the battle is not mentioned in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, but it is briefly described and the capture of many imperial officers by Malik 'Ambar's forces is noted, see pp. 173, 262, 263.

2 It is mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge), p. 88, that he was granted the rank of 2,000 personal and 1,000 horse. He is also stated as having separated himself from Shāh Jahān, and joined the service of Shāh Parvīz, p. 269.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 121.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 484.

5, 6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 1, pp. 93; 216, 217.

year after the death of Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī, he was appointed governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, and in the 28th year was made the governor of Ilichpūr[1]. As Kūkiya, the *Zamīndār* of Dēogarh, had paid tribute to Khān-Daurān Naṣrat Jang after the 10th year, and since Kīrat Singh[2], his son, who succeeded him, had not paid a farthing to the Court, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, the Viceroy the Deccan, in the 29th year in accordance with orders, sent Mīrzā Khān with Hādī Dād Khān, governor of Telingāna and a number of Deccanī Amīrs against him. When Mīrzā Khān reached the borders of Kīrat Singh's territory, the latter was farsighted enough to realize that it was in his interest to obey the royal orders, and therefore submitted peacefully. He waited on Mīrzā Khān and agreed to pay up the arrears of the tribute due for all years upto the last year. Mīrzā Khān returned from the expedition, and brought with him Kīrat Singh and all the twenty elephants which he had, to the Prince. In the 30th year he rendered good service in attendance on the Prince in the Gōlconda campaign. He had charge of the north battery and made himself well known by his brave deeds in chastising the enemy. After peace had been made with Sulṭan 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, and the Prince turned back to Aurangābād, he was permitted to return to Ilichpūr. But he did not render any service during the campaigns which the victorious Prince (Aurangzīb) had to conduct against the other claimants to the empire. On this account, and perhaps for other reasons also, he was deprived of his rank by Aurangzīb, and spent a long time in retirement. At last owing to his devotion to Shaikh 'Abdul Laṭīf Burhānpūrī, who was held in great respect by the King also, he in the 10th year was restored to favour, and was exalted by the grant of the rank of 3,000 with 3,000 horse; and was appointed fiefholder and *Faujdār*

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. i, pp. 231-233 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 41, 42.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-186. The name of *Zamīndār* of Dēogarh is given there as Kēsarī Singh and it is stated that he had only 14 elephants.

of Irij. There he died in the 13th year, 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.). He laid out a garden in Burhānpūr and presented it to Shaikh 'Abdul Laṭīf, of whom he was a special disciple. His son Muḥammad Mun'im was a good and noble man. He accompanied Aurangzīb to Upper India during his march from the Deccan in his attempt for the kingdom, and was granted the rank of 1,500 and the title of Khān. He accompanied Aurangzīb's stirrups in all the battles and rendered good service. In the 2nd year he was appointed governor of the fort of Aḥmadnagar in succession to Dārāb Khān.

(KHWĀJA) MU'AẒẒAM[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 618-622)

He was a full brother[2] of Maryam Makānī. From his early years he was not free from a perturbed brain and hot temperament. He frequently committed improper acts. Humāyūn, out of regard for Maryam Makānī treated him with forbearance. As he was attached to the King's stirrups during the journey to 'Irāq, he acquired greater regard and influence. After the conquest of Kābul he foolishly wanted to join Kāmrān, but the King though aware of his intentions took no notice of this. In the expedition to Badakhshān, he had an altercation about matters of religious bigotry with Muḥammad Rashīd, who was the *Vazīr*, and at the end of the month of Ramaḍān he entered his house with a number of desperadoes, and murdered him with the sword of injustice. Being afraid of the King's wrath he fled to Kābul, and was, according to orders, imprisoned there. Through the meditation of intimates he has again admitted to the Court, and received

1 The biography is based mainly on *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 216-219, Beveridge's translation II, pp 334-337, and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text II, pp. 175, 176, translation, pp. 109; 287-289. A short notice of his life is also included in translation III, pp. 466, 467, notes 1-3.

2 Half-brother or uterine brother on the mother's side according to Beveridge who comments on the words *'ayyānī* and *akhyāfī*, see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation I, p. 44, note 3.

Zamīn Dāwar in fief. As he was, however, without any true relationship with the King, this outward relationship acted as a drug which produced infatuation and he several times behaved improperly. At last in the year 962 A.H. (1554-55 A.D.) he distinguished himself in the battle of Sirhind[1] with Sikandar Shāh Sūr, but after the victory he wrote improper things to Sikandar, and manifested loyalty to him. When the Khwāja was questioned he stated, "I was doubtful about the King's opinion about myself, and I so arranged that this writing should reach him in order that he might have greater consideration for me and I might be granted higher employment." Humāyūn imprisoned him, and later banished him. He hastened off to the Ḥijāz, and committed violence upon violence. He returned to India, and displayed the same evil qualities. One day in Akbar's *Darbār*, when the nobles were assembled, he had a futile altercation with Mīrzā 'Abdullāh Mughal, who was one of the great officers, and running up to him fisticuffed and kicked him. On another occasion he behaved rudely to Bairām Khān, and placed his hand on his dagger. He was again banished. He went to Gujarāt, and spent some time in distress. After being in miserable circumstances, he has exalted by being re-admitted to royal service, and was treated with favour.

As by nature he was not possessed of moderation, he again became a mirror-holder of violence. Bairām Khān was thinking of banishing him when he himself fell into disgrace, and after his fall the Khwāja by virtue of his exalted lineage received high honours. But he fell a victim to his evil nature, and committed several improprieties. At last in the 9th year, 971 A.H. (1563-64 A.D.) Bībī Fāṭima—who was Humāyūn's *Urdū Bēgī*[2], and also held an influential position in the harem of Akbar and whose daughter Zuhra Āqā[3] was married to the Khwāja and was continually ill-treated by him—came one day to

1 Battle of Sirhind on 2nd Sha'bān, 962 A.H. (22nd June, 1555 A.D.), see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 631.

2 For Bībī Fāṭima see Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*, I, p. 494, note 3.

3 Zuhra Āgha in Beveridge's translation of *Akbarnāma*.

Akbar and lamented that the Khwāja was preparing to go to his pargana-fief, and to take his wife with him. On account of his inherent wicked and suspicious nature, it was certain that he meditated the murder of this chaste lady; he had threatened to do this repeatedly, but had not carried out his intentions in the Capital owing to his apprehensions of the King's justice. Now that he was taking her to his fief, what would happen to her. Akbar showing compassion for the distress of this old servant answered that he was going out to hunt, and that for her sake he would pass by the Khwāja's house, and when the latter appeared before him, he would give him good advice, and forbid him to take his wife with him.

Akbar crossed the Jumna by boat, and started for the Khwāja's house attended by not more than twenty servants. As the obstinate nature of the Khwāja was well known to him, he sent Mīr Farāghat and Pēshrau Khān to acquaint the Khwāja of his august arrival. When the Khwāja heard that the King had sent these officers after crossing the river, he became violent and said "I will not present myself before the King." Then full of wrath he hurried to his harem with a dagger in his hand, and with the dagger killed Zuhra Āqā, who had just come out of the bath and was dressing. Then he put his head out of the window, and throwing the blood-stained dagger, exclaimed in a loud voice "Go and tell (His Majesty) I have shed her blood." When the King heard of this outrage, he boiled over with indignation and entered his house. The mad man buckled his sword, and came to the presence holding the hilt of the sword in his hand. Akbar angrily asked him "What does this mean? You have your hand on your sword, but understand that if you make the least movement, I will give you such a blow on the head that your soul will fly out." The mad man lost control of his hand and feet, and those present arrested him. When he was questioned as to why he had killed his innocent wife, that monster replied in a raving manner and used abusive language. At last he was silenced by blows and kicks, and was taken off to the river dragged by the hair and kicked. Although they ducked him several times, he showed a

great tenacity of life and did not cease to abuse. While it appeared certain that he would perish in the whirlpool of royal wrath, but from the tenacity of life and hardness of heart he remained alive. The King sent him to the fort of Gwāliyār for imprisonment, and told Maryam Makānī that as a retaliation for the murder of his innocent wife he had put him to death. That chaste and noble lady approved of this action. Later he had an attack of melancholia, and died of this derangement of the brain; and was buried on the ridge in the precincts of the fort. Later his body was taken to Delhī.

It is the *sine-qua-non* of the high office of sovereignty in matters of retribution that no consideration should be shown for friends or foes and relations or strangers, and to administer justice to the oppressed, so that royal associates and government officials might not use their positions as a means for oppression and tyranny. It is well-known that Akbar paid no regard to relationship, and inflicted condign punishment on him the same day. Accordingly one[1] composed the following verses in reference to the date.

Verses

The great Khwāja whose name was Mu'azzam,
And who was an ornament of the world,
Slew his wife and himself was killed
By the wrath of the Emperor, Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar.
When I asked him the year of his death,
That emblem of auspicious qualities answered at the time:
Without the face of that world-illuminating beloved
I suffered at length the great martyrdom.

1 According to Badāyūnī (*op. cit.*) the verses were probably composed by Mir 'Alā-ud-Daulah, the author of *Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'arā* (see Badāyūnī, *loc. cit.*, p. 239, note 1). As pointed out by Sir Wolseley Haig the chronogram gives the year 973 and not 971, but it may be that the Khwāja was in Gwāliyār for two years before he died or was put to death.

MU'AZZAM KHĀN SHAIKH BĀYAZĪD
(Vol. III, pp. 365, 366).

He was one of the grandsons of Shaikh Salīm[1] of Fatḥpūr. His mother was the wet-nurse[2] of Jahāngīr. About the end of Akbar's reign he was raised to the rank of 2,000. After Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he was granted an increase of 1,000 and exalted by the title of Mu'azzam Khān. In the 3rd year his rank, personal and by increase, was raised to 4,000 with 2,000 horse. Later he was appointed to the high office of the governor of Delhī[3]. Mukarram Khān[4] was his son, and son-in-law of Islām Khān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn[5], who was a high official and had been granted a flag. For a long time he served under his father-in-law, who was the governor of Bengāl. He behaved firmly in the expedition of Kūch Ḥajū[6], and distinguished himself

1 Shaikh Salīm Chishti, surnamed Shaikh-ul-Islām, was a descendant of Shaikh Farid of Shakarganj. Jahāngīr was named Salīm after him. For an account of him see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881), pp. 233, 234.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge), I, p. 32; where it is stated that Shaikh Bāyazīd's mother was the "first person who gave me milk, but for not more than a day." On the same page it is noted that Bāyazīd was promoted from the rank of 2,000 to 3,000. The grant of the title of Mu'azzam Khān is recorded on p. 79, and his promotion and appointment as governor of Delhi on pp. 137 and 171.

3 The biography of Shaikh Bāyazīd ends here and the remainder is devoted to an account of his son. Jahāngīr mentions Mu'azzam Khān's tomb at Fatḥpūr Sikrī in the record for the 13th year or 1618 A.D. (*op. cit.*, II, p. 73). Perhaps he died much earlier as the promotions of his sons and their being sent to Bengāl to Islām Khān are mentioned in the 6th year, 1611 A.D., *op. cit.*, I, p. 202.

4 A short account of Mukarram Khān based on the notice of his life in *Maāthir* is given in Salām's translation of *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, pp. 205, note 2.

5 For Islām Khān's governorship of Bengal see *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text, pp. 175-181, translation, pp. 173-179. For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 118-120, and Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 692, 693.

6 Kūch Ḥājū was the western part of Cooch Behār. For an account of Mukarram Khān's conquest of Kūch Ḥājū see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, pp. 64-67.

by his services. He brought Parichat the *Zamīndār* of the area before the governor. As his father-in-law died at that time, and the charge of Bengāl was assigned to Muhtasham Khān Shaikh Qāsim, the[1] brother of Islām Khān, he served under him for a year as the *Faujdar* of Kūch Hajū. At last becoming disgusted with the improper behaviour of Qāsim Khān he returned to the Court. In the 21st year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed governor of Bengāl in place of Khānazād Khān, and a *farmān* to this effect was sent to him. He got into a boat to go and receive the *farmān*. *En route* he asked the boatman to steer the boat to the shore as he wished to say the afternoon-prayers. A storm rose up meanwhile, and the boat was sunk. Mukarram Khān was drowned with his companions[2].

MUBĀRAK KHĀN NIYĀZĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 511-513).

He was the grandson of Muhammad Khān Niyāzī[3]. His father Muzaffar Khān died without attaining any distinction. He in his youth became a servant of Jahāngīr. When in the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign Burhānpūr became the seat of royal residence, Mubārak Khān's rank was increased to 1,000 foot with 700 horse, and he was sent with Rāo Ratan to Telingāna[4]. When Nasīrī Khān Khān Daurān

1 His name is given as Qāsim Khān in *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin*, Text, p. 181, translation, pp. 179, 180. His full name was Muhtsham Khān Shaikh Qāsim Fathpūrī. For an account of his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* III, p. 355.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 287 and *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭin*, Text, pp. 205, 206, translation, p. 207. Form the latter account it appears that the accident took place in 1036 A.H., 1627 A.D.), but the place whence he started is not mentioned. In Stewart's *History of Bengal*, p. 238, he is stated to have started from Dacca.

3 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 372-376.

4 *Bādshahnāma*, I, p. 298. The appointment of Nasiri Khān as Commander-in-Chief in place of Rāo Ratan is mentioned on p. 308. The details of various increases in the rank of Mubārak Khān are taken from *Bādshānāma*. In the list of officers is given as 2,000 horse.

was reappointed Commander-in-Chief in that area, Mubārak Khān—whose family was noted for bravery and courage, and with whom performance of duty and sacrifice was but natural—performed deeds of valour and distinguished himself in the company of the said Khān in the conquest of the Qandahār fort[1]. He was rewarded with an increase of 500 with 300 horse in his *manṣab*, and in a short time his rank was gradually increased to 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and he was raised to the dignity of an *Amīr*. And as he in the company of Khān Daurān again distinguished himself in the conquest of the forts of Udgīr and Aūsa[2], his bravery and loyalty became apparent to all. In the 10th year at the request of Khān Daurān he was granted a flag and drums. He was for a long time employed in the *Ṣūba* of Berār, and laboured hard to improve the town of Ashti[3], which his grandfather had made his home, and which his uncle Aḥmad Khān Niyāzī had developed. Consequently he is remembered there to this day. During the period of government of Islām Khān Mashhadī, hot words passed in the *Dīvān* in connection with some affair. Because of his anger and self-respect he could not restrain himself, and started for the Court. On arrival he was graciously received, and was attached to the auxiliary forces of Kābul area. In the 27th year he was appointed to the *thānadārī* and fief of the two Bangashes, which formed the assignment of Sulṭān Sulaimān Shikōh. As he could not properly manage this area which was a hot bed of sedition, he was removed from his office in the 29th year, but remained attached to that province. In the 2nd year of Aurangzīb's reign he was again appointed *Faujdār* of Bangash in place of Ḥusain Bēg Khān. It has not been possible to ascertain the date of his death. He was very fond of *faqīrs* and loved to

1 This is in the "Kandahār tāluk in Nānder District, Hyderābād"—see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 377.

2 "Udgīr tāluk in Bidar District, Hyderābād," *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, pp. 110, 111, and "Owsa in Osmānābād District, Hyderābād, *id*. XIX, 294.

3 "Ashti in Bhir District, Hyderābād," *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 11. In reference to Ashti also see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* III, p. 376.

serve darvīshes. None of his family after him acquired distinction. At present in Āshtī also nothing remains but ruins and vestiges.

MUBĀRIZ KHĀN 'IMĀD-UL-MULK[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 729-746).

His name was Khwāja Muhammad, and he came in his infancy with his mother from Balkh, his birth place, to India. When they reached Gujrāt in the Panjāb, he was presented to Shāh Daulāh[2], who was a Ṣūfī *darvīsh* and who was greatly revered by the inhabitants of the Panjāb. That great man foretold the child's good fortune and presented him with a portion of his own darvīsh-dress. Later, when he came to years of discretion, he, after searching for employment for some time, attached himself to Mīrzā Yār 'Alī, who, though he held only a minor office, had a high place in the Emperor's (Aurangzīb's) affections. The Mīrzā handed over to him his own signed papers and made him do his work. At last by the Mīrzā's kindness his fortune was made, and being appointed to government service he was made adjutant to the 3rd *Bakhshī*. Later he became known as the deputy of Sardār Khān Kōtwāl[3]. About the same time he married the daughter of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān[4], who was one of the great men of Kashmīr. The garden of his fortune started to blossom and the river of his pros-

1 This account with information from other contemporary sources forms the basis of the excellent biography of Mubāriz Khān by Irvine in *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition) II, pp. 138-150.

2 According to Davis, *Gujrat Gazetteer* (1892-93), p. 161, "Shāhdaula was a Pathān and claimed descent from the Emperor Bahlol Shāh Lodi; at the same time the Gujars assert that he belonged to their class, and the present high priest at the shrine professes to be a Saiyad." According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* XII, 374, the shrine of Shah Daula in Garhī Shāh Daula at Gujrāt in the Panjāb is famous throughout and beyond the Province; it is the home of "human monstrosities with narrow heads and weak intellects known as Shah Daula's rats."

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. 491-494.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. 829-832.

erity began to overflow. His rank was increased and he was appoin-
ed *Bakhshī* on the establishment of Prince Kām Bakhsh. During
he siege of the fort of Panhāla[1] he had charge of a battery, and
fterwards was appointed *Faujdār* of Sangamnēr[2] which was one of the
Crown-estates of Aurangābād. For his skill and ability he was
ewarded with the title of Amānat Khān, and in the 47th year was
ppointed *Faujdār* of Baidāpūr, which was 24 *kos* from Aurangābād.
n the time of Bahādur Shāh he was made Superintendent and *Faujdār*
of holy Sūrat, and went off there.

When Khān Fīrūz Jang[4], the governor of Gujarāt, died, Amānat
Khān hastened to Ahmadābād, seized all his money and property, and
ook proper measures for the protection and government of that
mportant area. His rank was increased as a reward, and he was
xalted by his appointment as the governor of Gujarāt and also
ised to the dignity of an *Amīr*. When Jahāndār Shāh became the
Emperor, the province of Gujarāt was granted to Sarbuland Khān[5],
nd Amānat Khan, through the intervention of Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān-
ahān, was appointed governor of Mālwa. After his arrival at Ujjain,
he capital of the province, he sent peaceful messages to Ratan Singh
Chandrāwat, the *Zamīndār* of Rāmpūra, who in Aurangzīb's reign had

1 Parnāla of Text and in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* is Panhāla the historic hill fort n Kolāhpūr State, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, pp. 396, 397. It was attacked on 19th March 1701, and on receipt of a heavy bribe delivered by the Commandant Trimback on the 7th June; see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 173-177.

2 Sangamnēr in Ahmadnagar District, Bombay, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 50.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 472.

4 His full name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghāzi-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 87-882, Beveridge's translation, pp. 587-592. He died in 1122 A.H., 1710 A.D., in the fourth year of Bahādur Shāh's reign.

5 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 693. Amānat Khān's appointment as the governor of Mālwa is mentioned on the same page, and his fight with Islām Khān is described on pp. 693-697.

become a Musulman, and taken on the name of Islām Khān. At this time, owing to the slackness of authority, he had imbibed ideas of power and leadership in his empty head, and having collected a number of men had laid hold of imperial estates. It is notorious, however, that Dhulfaqār, in view of his enmity with Kōkaltāsh Khān, had hinted to the Rāja that he should disturb Mubāriz Khān in his work in order that his patron (Kōkaltāsh Khān) might be discredited. Ratan Singh, who was weak in Islām and strong in rebellion, in his pride refused to accept Mubāriz Khān's overtures, and obstinately opposed him. He sent Dilēr Khān Rōhila, who was one of the leading men of the province, with a large force to the town of Sārangpūr, and he defeated 'Abd-ur-Raḥim the *Thānadār* of the place; a large number of persons were taken prisoners and many were killed. The great Khān, out of regard for his self-respect and due dignity could not stand this injustice on the part of that ignoramus, proceeded with a force which was not more than 3,000 horse, to put down the rebel, and prepared for battle near the town which was not more than 23 *kos* from Ujjain. Ratan Singh opposed him with 20,000 horse, many of whom were noted Afghans, such as Dōst Muḥammad Rōhila, who had not yet acquired a *Zamīndarī* there, but had 3 to 4,000 horse. He attacked that Khān on three sides so that he might capture him alive. After a fight with rockets and guns, which were the fiery sinews of battle, there was a stubborn engagement and the Khān was victorious. After the victory, a man found the Rāja lying on the field, and cutting off his head brought it (to the Khān). It appeared that while the fighting was in full swing, a cannon ball (*gola'-i-rahkala*)[1] had found its mark and killed him. The lucky Khān was loaded with booty, but wanted at this opportune time to plunder and devastate Rāmpūra the home of that rebel. The wife of the Rāja imploringly came with a tribute, and induced him to refrain from doing so. Jahāndār Shāh sent him congratulatory *farmāns* and granted him the high title of Shahāmat Khān.

In the beginning of the reign of Farrukh-siyar, he was again

1 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 135, 139.

appointed as the governor of Gujarāt. He had not been there a fortnight when the post was assigned to Dā'ūd Khān Panī[1], and he was granted the title of Mubāriz Khān and appointed as the *Ṣūbadār* of Ḥaidarābād; he took leave and started for his new post. He spent nearly twelve years there in punishing the rebellious, and favouring the submissive. The intractable recalcitrants were uprooted and the loyal subjects were honoured by his kindness ahd favours. He never ceased to exert himself, and was continually touring from one end of the territory to the other. Although he did not have more than 3,000 horse in his service, yet he drove off large armies of Mahrattas. One of the wretches, wherever he advanced beyond the borders received a severe reverse from the Khān, and every time he wanted to attack this zone, had to run away after being defeated by his strong force.

During this period Ḥusain 'Alī Khān came as the governor of the Deccan and Mubāriz Khān went to Aurangābād to interview him. The latter immediately recognized his merits and treated him with courtesy befitting his rank and position, and allowed him to return to his post. When Āṣaf Jāh embraced Muḥammad Shāh's cause, and started from Mālwa for the Deccan, the said Khān, as he had promised to support him, left Ḥaidarābād. Later, when Āṣaf Jāh after getting rid of his opponents, took up his quarters at Aurangābād, Mubāriz Khān established a closer contact by waiting on him. And both having agreed to a common cause he was promised the rank of 7,000 foot with 7,000 horse, and the title of 'Imād-ul-Mulk. Fortunately the Saiyids (of Bārah) from fear of whose malevolence, Āṣaf Jāh could not rest even at night, selected the road of failure, and serious suspicions were aroused. Mubāriz Khān was making arrangements for the marriages of his sons, and was preparing wedding feasts. At this time Āṣaf Jāh resolved to go to the Court, but Mubāriz Khān, who was very prudent and his well-wisher, did not approve of this idea and pointed out his objections. After reaching

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 63-68; Beveridge's translation, pp. 458-462. His appointment as governor of Gujarāt is mentioned on p. 460.

the pass of Fardāpūr, Āṣaf Jāh realized the importance of the reasons for his staying back in the Deccan, and turned back. He wrote a letter to the Khān praising him for his counsel and concluded with the following verse:

Verse

What youth sees in a mirror,
An aged man sees it in an old brick.

Afterwards by mutual agreement Āṣaf Jāh went to Adōnī. He demanded from the chiefs and the southern Afghāns, who had long been refractory and had accumulated a great deal of wealth, a fixed tribute[1]. Mubāriz Khān who was fully conscious of the change in the position, first went back to his own estates, and though he should, to inspire terror, have brought a large force, he only had a small force with him when he joined Āṣaf Jāh. Mubāriz Khān did not see his advantage in the Sardārs submitting and giving over whatever Āṣaf Jāh demanded[2], for he himself drank water from the same cistern, and as a result Fatḥ Jang could not obtain even a hundredth part of his expectations. Though in view of the prevailing situation he did not express his dissatisfaction and the dust of dissension did not rise, yet he was inwardly greatly displeased. From that time he and the other southern governors gave up all idea of their being accountable to Delhī, and took possession of the territory of Sēkāōl—which was a crown-land and for which he occasionally paid revenue dues—and of other estates as the proprietor. When Nawāb Fatḥ Jang came to the Court, and was seated on the ***masnad*** of the ***Vazārat***, he instituted an enquiry about the allowances of Mubāriz Khān and his sons and

1 Apparently Āṣaf Jāh demanded this tribute as a representative of the Emperor and with the intention of sending it to the imperial treasury at Delhi.

2 This was apparently in view of the fact that his interests and those of the Southern Afghāns were identical. He also was in unauthorised possession of imperial lands at Sēkākōl and elsewhere, and would have to pay for them. Sēkākōl is apparently the Chicacole subdivision in Ganjam District, Madrās, ***Imperial, Gazetteer***, X, p. 217.

companions, and raised the question of the decrease in the imperial revenue. A demand was also made upon his agent for the payment of the dues of the crown-lands. There was a verbal altercation, and the Nawāb openly declared his hostility. When the question about the appointment of the governor of Kābul came up, Āṣaf Jāh represented to the Sovereign that no one was better suited for the post than Mubāriz Khān; in the guise of friendship he wanted to get rid of him. Later when in lieu of the Deccan, Mālwa and Gujarāt were assigned to Āṣaf Jāh as a perquisite of the post of the *Vazārat*, he considered it better that Mubāriz Khān should be the *Ṣūbahdār*, rather than a foreigner being appointed to this post; he accordingly represented to the Emperor that perfect sincerity existed in the relations between him and Mubāriz Khān; and by a great deal of talk and writing made the latter agree to it (made the balance of his mind incline in this direction). But meanwhile his father-in-law ʻInāyat Ullāh, who was the *Khān-i-Sāmān* and Deputy *Vazīr* at the Court, at the instigation of the Emperor, held out prospects of castles in the air to him (showed him green gardens), and excited his ambition. He flattered him (rubbed in goose's oil), and inspired him with expectations. The Khān in spite of his long experience was misled, and without consulting Nawāb Fath Jang, obeyed the Emperor's commands on the grounds of fidelity and loyalty. He had spent six or seven months in the siege of the fort of Phūlcharī, which was near Machlībandar, and which was held by Āpā Rāo, rebellious *Zamīndār* who was showing bravery and courage in battle, when the *farmān* investing him with the government of the Deccan arrived. The Khān spent some further time there, and having obtained possession of the fort by treaty returned to Ḥaidarābād.

As the Southern Afghāns were also concerned in this affair, Bahādur Khān Panī *Faujdār* of Kurnul, Abūl Fatḥ son of ʻAbd-un-Nabī Khān *Faujdār* of Cuddapah[1], ʻAbdul Majīd Khān grandson

1 کرپه in the Text is the Cuddapah District in Madras, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI, pp. 57-71.

of Dilēr Khān and his adopted son 'Alī Khān, and as representative of Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān *Faujdār* of the Carnātic, Ghālib Khān son of Amīr Abū Ṭālib Badakhshī came with a well equipped force, and in the height of the rains crossed the Godāvarī near Nāndēr, and proposed to spend the rainy season in Aūndīh[1] which was a pargana of *Sarkār* Bālāghāt in Berār. Meanwhile Nawāb Fath Jang Āṣaf Jāh, who, on account of the improper behaviour of the imperial servants, had gone off on the pretext of hunting, heard of the incursions of the Marhattas into Mālwa, and advanced thither from Sōron[2] on the banks of the Ganges-Bhāgīrathī. After expelling the bandits from that area, he turned back from near Ujjain, and had reached the pargana of Sahūr near Sarōnj when he received a letter from Muḥammad 'Ināyat Khān Bahādur from Aurangābād informing him that at the instigation of the worthless courtiers of King and backed by Southern Afghāns, Mubāriz Khān had accepted the governorship of the Deccan, and having received the orders was proceeding in that direction. It was also generally reported that after taking charge of the government, he proposed to advance with the Deccanī troops to Mālwa. Further, a body of men had been deputed from the Court, who together with the troublesome elements among their servants would give them no end of trouble, as it would be objectionable to resist and difficult to submit. While he was cogitating, a letter of Mubāriz Khān's *Vakil* came into his hands. As this contained the very purport of Muḥammad 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān's message, it confirmed the statements of Muḥammad 'Ināyat. His hesitation was, therefore, at an end, and he turned the reins towards the Deccan. He marched rapidly and in the month of Dhūl Qa'da of the 6th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign (July-August, 1724)[3] he en-

1 Aundeh in Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 236.

2 Khāfī Khān, II. p. 949. Sōron is in the Etah District, United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, pp. 88, 89. Sahūr is Sēhōre in Bhopal, Central India, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 160-162.

3 Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 142, gives "end of Ramadan (21st June)" as the date of

tered Aurangābād. At first he wrote urgently (to Mubāriz Khān) strongly deprecating the shedding of the blood of Muslims. The noble-minded Khān, though he regretted that their concord should have ended in this fashion, did not think it consistent with his reputation and position, which was well known all over, to lose heart and turn back, especially how was such a thought befitting his name and honour while he was still an imperial servant. He, therefore, ignored internal exhortations and prepared for battle. Āṣaf Jāh in concert with Bājī Rāo and other Mahrattas marched forward with 6,000[1] Mahrattas to oppose Mubāriz Khān. When he reached the Chārthāna pargana, the doomed and accursed Khān in spite of all his courage and experience, listened to the advice of a number of visionaries and proceeded towards Ẓafarnagar, which was held in perpetual grant (*altamgha*) by Bahādur Khān and was inhabited by the Afghāns, with the intention that he would get there rapidly by night marches, and then without halting proceed straight to Aurangābād. There were two alternatives. One that the enemy would pursue them in a hurry, but then they would have to leave behind their artillery on which they mainly relied, and under such circumstances the chances would be in his favour. And the second was that the enemy would not leave their artillery behind, and so their arrival would be delayed. During that time Mubāriz Khān's army would be able to take possession of the city, which was the capital, and the family and the treasury of the leader (Āṣaf Jāh) and also the families and goods of the soldiers, and get ready for battle. Leaving the River Pūrnā[2], from which he had marched 10 to 12 *kos*, he returned and recrossed it. He forgot that

his arrival at Aurangābād; this is apparently based on Khāfī Khān, II p. 952, where Āṣaf Jāh is stated to have reached Aurangābād in the end of Ramaḍān. He stayed there for two months and repeatedly wrote to Mubāriz Khān. At last he marched in the end of Dhūl Qa'da and encamped at the bank of Jaswant near the city of Aurangābād.

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 955, has 7 or 8,000. Chārtrāna pargana is in *Sarkār* Basim, see Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 953.

in India to turn away from the enemy was looked upon as equivalent to flight, while it inspired in the enemy the ideas of victory. In fact the writer of these pages was with Āṣaf Jāh. From that very day the Khān's prestige and dread vanished. Doubts regarding his victory, of which most people were sure, were now expressed afresh; rather there was fear of life, and everyone wanted to run away, the congratulatory offerings disappeared from before his eyes. Versifiers composed chronograms. One author made an interesting chronogram in Hindī of this date:

Dar giyā Mubāriz Khān (Mubāriz Khān was frightened; 1136 A.H., 1724 A.D.).

In fine, at the time of crossing, some outstanding spirits of Fath Jang's vanguard attacked Mubāriz Khān's men, and there was a hot engagement. His Chief artillery officer and a number of the men were cut off. The vanguard were not satisfied with this result, and advanced along with the Mahraṭṭas in skirmishing order, and so restricted the movements of the enemy that they could hardly advance a few paces. Mubāriz Khān was obliged to turn back his baggage to the town of Shakar Khēra[1], and to remain outside with his soldiers. When this isolation lasted for two days and two nights, the men, who had nothing more with them than their horses and whips, were reduced to such a state as to be worse than dead. On 22nd Muḥarram 1137 A.H.[2] (30th September, 1724), when a third

1 Shakr Khera of Irvine, who notes (p. 1455, note) that it is "now called Fath Khera, in the southern part of Baldana district of Berar, some 80 miles from Aurangabad." Sharkar Khelda and Fath Khelda of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 86.

2 23rd in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 953 and in *Tārīkh-i-Muzzafari* as stated in a note on p. 741 of the Text. It is also 23rd in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 878. Khāfi Khān seems to place it in 1135 or 1136 A.H., but the battle took place in 1137 A.H., 1724 A.D. See also *Siyar-ul-Muta'ākhkharin* (Text, Newal Kishore edn.) II, p. 459, where the date is given as 24th Muḥarram, 1137. Irvine adopts 23rd Muḥarram, 1137, 11th October, 1724, and this date is followed in the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p 350.

of that day of Friday remained, Mubāriz Khān with less than 10,000 horsemen marched against Fatḥ Jang who had drawn up two armies, one under his own command and the second under 'Aḍad-ud-Daulāh 'Iwaḍ Khān Bahādur two *kos* from the town in question. Mubāriz Khān advanced on the right of 'Iwaḍ Khān, who commanded the right wing of Āṣaf Jāh's army. Suddenly there appeared such a stream (*nāla*) in front that men and horses sank in its mud up to their chests. Finally the arrangements for the advance broke down and their line became confused. There were hand to hand fights. If a horse reared up, the pressure owing to the want of space was such that it was pushed along in that posture. If a trooper fell, he did not reach the ground, but remained hanging between the heads and flanks of two horses and was carried aloft. At last the forces of the left wing arrived. Meanwhile, the artillery thundered and flashed, and leaving the enemy on the right, Mubāriz Khān's forces came like growling tigers and fell on 'Iwaḍ Khān's right wing and reserves (*Altamash*). The leaders of the victorious army (of Āṣaf Jāh) arrived and delivered a heavy fusillade and slew the rash foe. Mubāriz Khān and his two sons were slain, and many leaders, such as Bahādur Khān Panī who commanded the right wing, Mukarram Khān Khān Zamān the leader of the left wing, Ghālib Khān of the vanguard, Abūl Fatḥ Khān Miyānā, Ḥusainī Khān son of 'Alī Mardān Khān Ḥaidarābādī, Amīr Khān Deccanī, Jagdēo Rāo Jādūn, both of whom had deserted from this side and joined (Mubāriz Khān's forces), and Muḥammad Fā'iq Khān Kashmīrī who was the *Dīvān* of the deceased and one of the distinguished men of the times, were killed (gave their collars to the claws of death) with 3,500 men.

It is evident to the experienced that that unhappy Khān (Khān *Nākām*) owing to his bad fortune acted with inopportune negligence and languor in his enterprise. If on receipt of the *farman* he had withdrawn his hand from the siege of Pondicherry and had given his attention to the affairs in hand, things would not have come to such a pass. After the siege too it is not clear why matters should have been so protracted. Besides, he could have collected and equipp-

ed a large army. Even at the time of the battle the Marhatta leaders sent him messages offering assistance. Especially Kānhū Bhōnsle, who had 5,000 horse, would have been contented with a little grant. Mubāriz Khān, however, would not agree at all, and said that they all had felt his strong hand, and had been chastised by him, and that he intended to control them in the future as well. "I shall not make entreaties to them. If they will come without being paid, I have no objection."

He was buried near that town, in a charming plain. He was the head of the *Amīrs* of his day. Rather, he had nothing in common with the *Amīrs* of the day. He was like the leaders of old times. He had courage and wisdom, and his possessions were ruled by discipline. In firmness and solidity he was a mountain which could not be shaken by the fierce blasts of fortune. He was, for sound judgment and excellent planning, a marksman whose arrow never deviated to the right or left of the target. He was neither standoffish in his ways, nor was he rashly intrusive. Though he had favourites, and loved society, he was very considerate to his servants and befriended his comrades. He was not self-indulgent or a lover of pleasure. He had a soldierly bearing. He was also laborious and shrewd, and always enquired into details. He was neither violent nor quarrelsome. Alas! that he died in vain and did not reach the acme of his fortune. He had by the daughter of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān five sons and one daughter. Two sons, As'ad Khān and Mas'ūd Khān, died in early youth along with their father. One of them was married to the daughter of Maṭlab Khān, the son of Maṭlab Khān Banī Mukhtār, and the other to the daughter of Khān Zamān Mukarram Khān the son of the Khān-Khānān Bahādurshāhī. His eldest son was Khwāja Aḥmad Khān whom his father always left in the city (Ḥaidarābād) as his deputy. But all work was carried on by Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, who by his ability and honesty had gained such a place in Mubāriz Khān's estimation that he never objected to anything that he did or arranged. After his father was killed Khwāja Aḥmad with his followers put into order the fort of Muḥammadnagar or Gōloconda

by dispossessing the fort governor Sandal Khān. He conveyed materials and men into the fort, and strengthening its fortifications guarded it for a year. But he had no talent for such work and was helpless. He slept all day and kept awake all night, and carried on the work according to the advice and planning of others who were his well-wishers. Later Dilāwar Khān who was his father-in-law and had also married his aunt, acted as the mediator, and through him Aḥmad Khān received the rank of 6,000, the title of Shahāmat Khān and a fief in the same province. He was also excused service, and no enquiry was made regarding his father's property. He then surrendered the fort, and after some time received in lieu of Ḥaidarābād the fief of Ūthapūr and Qawāl. At present and since a long time he is in Aurangābād, and has no business with anyone; he has also received a fief in Khāndēsh. Another son was Khwāja Maḥmūd Khān, who was severely wounded in the battle, but recovered. Āṣaf Jāh granted him the rank of 5,000, and the title of Mubāriz Khān. At present he has the title of Amānat Khān, and holds in fief Āmnera (Amner?) in Khāndēsh. He is a true descendant (of Mubāriz Khān). In his father's lifetime he was governor of forts. He is a brave and intelligent man, and fitted for high offices. He is kind to the dervishes, and is adorned with every virtue. He is an honoured companion of Āṣaf Jāh. Another son was 'Abdul Ma'būd Khān, who went to the Court in his father's lifetime, and Muḥammad Shāh, as the price of his father's blood, granted him a high rank and the title of Mubāriz Khān, and appointed him Superintendent of the mace-bearers. He is no longer alive. The daughter was married to Thanā Ullāh Khān the grandson of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān. During the government of his father-in-law he was the *Faujdār* of Sīkākōl. Afterwards Āṣaf Jāh appointed him governor of Bījāpūr. There he was signally defeated by Ūdā Chōhān, a Mahratta leader, and later died as the governor of the fort of Parēnda. Though he was only a babbler he had acquired some taste for letters. Mubāriz Khān also had other sons. One of them was Ḥamīd Ullāh Khān. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, in accordance with the Indian custom of wiping out blood feuds by marriage married him

to his own sister, but even this close connection did not bring about a reconciliation.

MUBĀRIZ KHĀN MĪR KULL

(Vol. III, 595-597)

He was one of the Saiyids of Badakhshān. In the 23rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign he left his native land, and came to the royal Court in India with some of his brothers and other relations. And having been favoured by fortune he received the rank of 500 foot with 200 horse, and a present of Rs. 3,000. In the 22nd year he was appointed *Thānadār* of the *Tūmān* of Panjshīr[1], which was one of the *tūmāns* of the *Ṣūba* of Kābul. As he was not without resources, he regularly received further promotions and in the 29th year his rank was increased to 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse and he was granted the *tūmāns* of Alsā'ī and Badrā'ō[2] which are dependencies of the Kābul *Ṣūba*. In the 30th year 'Azīz Bēg Badakhshī[3], who was one of the auxiliaries of the Kābul forces, was treacherously slain by the people of the village of Balghain—a dependency of Maḥmūd 'Irāqī, which was in his (Mubāriz Khān's) fief. Bahādur Khān Dārā Shikōhī, the governor of the province, who was in Peshāwar, in accordance with the royal orders wrote to *Mīr Kull* that he in company with the *Nā'ib* (Deputy governor) and other officers of Kābul, and the men of

1 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 411, where this *Tūmān* is included in the northern dependencies as Panjhir or Panjshīr.

2 Various variants are given in footnote in the text, but the only likely dependencies are Badrā'ō and Alsā'ī and not Īsā and Baḥrā as in the text. See Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

3 Some details of the murder of 'Azīz Bēg Badakhshī are given in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 736, and a complete account is included in Wārith's continuation of *Bādshāhnāma*. 'Azīz Bēg had gone to celebrate his marriage. The inhabitants of Balghain (?) invested him, and murdered him and his companions some 900 in number, on account of his having formerly put to death two of their headmen. Balghain and Maḥmūd 'Irāqī are not mentioned in the *Ā'īn*.

Ghilza'ī and Sānī[1] tribes should proceed to punish the murderers. He with great energy and skill collected a large army and set off. With great exertions and excessive bravery, and leading their horses they crossed the difficult mountains, and arriving in the rebel country fought with them. Many of the enemy were slain. Among them were fourteen of the leaders of Badrā'ō, who had come to help. The sedition-mongers of Balghain were forced to withdraw into their entrenchments. The Khān pursued them relentlessly, but on account of snow and the very rocky nature of the terrain had to follow on foot, and by excessive exertions reached the retreat of the rebels. Though the latter did their best in the defence of their entrenchments, the Khān and his companions carried away by force their sheep, and at the time of return burnt their houses and returned victorious. As a reward the Khān was granted an increase of 500, and granted a flag and the title of Mubāriz Khān. In the time of Aurangzīb also he served for a long time in Kābul. In the 9th year he was appointed governor of Kashmīr[2], and in the 13th year governor of Multān in succession to Lashkar Khān. Later he was appointed as the *Faujdār* of Mathurā, but in the 19th year he was removed from there. Nothing further is known about him.

MUBĀRIZ KHĀN RŌHILA

(Vol. III, pp. 442-444)

In the reign of Jahāngīr he attained to the high rank of *Amārat*, and held the *manṣab* of 3,000 with 3,000 horse. From the time of

1 علزی , صائی of Text, but the variant غلزی و صانی is nearer Ghilzā'ī and Sānī which are two tribes of Afghānistān, *vide* Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

2 This appointment as governor of Kashmir is mentioned in the 12th year, 1079 A.H. in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 83, as governor of Multan in place of Lashkar Khān in the 13th year, 1080 A.H., *id.*, p. 104, and 'Ābid Khān's appointment in his place in the 14th year is recorded on p. 110. His dismissal from the *faujdāri* of Islāmābād Mathurā is mentioned in the nineteenth year, 1087 A.H. on p. 152.

that monarch up to the governorship of Lashkar Khān[1] in the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he was attached to the government of Kābul. In the battle which Ibangtōsh[2] Ūzbeg, the general of Nadhar Muhammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, fought against Khānazād Khān Khān Zamān near Ghaznī, Mubāriz Khān was in the victorious vanguard and did great deeds. Afterwards he became one of the auxiliaries of the Deccan and in the conquest of Daulatābād he distinguished himself[3], especially on the day when Khān Zamān conveyed treasure and provisions from Ẓafarnagar to Khirkī which is 5 *kos* from Daulatābād, and is at present known as Aurangābād. The 'Ādil-Shāhis and the Niẓām-Shāhīs formed one body and suddenly attacked the centre. The leaders stood firm, and there was a fierce fight. The enemy failed in their attack and retreated. With a view to retrieving the situation they attacked the rear. On one side Bahādurjī the son of Jādū Rāi attacked like a storm and dispersed the enemy who opposed him. On the other side Mubāriz Khān, who was also in the rear, advancing in a short while slaughtered with his mighty sword large numbers of the enemy, and mixed with the dust of the battlefield the blood of those wretched vagabonds on whose heads the hand of death had scattered the dust of misfortune, and so marked the end of their existence[4].

After the death of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān when the charge of the province of the Deccan was divided into two in the 8th year, the Bālāghāt being assigned to Khān Zamān, and Pāyānghāt to Khān Daurān, the auxiliaries were also distributed. The fixed land customs were also settled by mutual agreement. Mubāriz Khān was appointed to serve with Khān Zamān and went to Daulatābād, and received an

1 He is Lashkhar Khān Abūl Hasan Mashhadī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 163-167, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 831-834.

2 He is called Palangtōsh in Banarsi Prasad's *History of Shahjahan*, p. 189.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*. I. p. 517. The whole chapter beginning from p. 496 is devoted to an account of the conquest of Daulatābād.

4 This is a highly rhetoric passage meaning only that he defeated the enemy.

increase of 500 with 500 horse in his rank. Later he returned to the Court and in the 11th year received promotion to the rank of 4,000 foot with 4,000 horse. As he had spent a long time in Kābul, he had become well acquainted with the Afghāns' mode of fighting and also knew the country and the people, and was, therefore, deputed as an auxiliary to that province. In the 18th year, 1056 A.H.,[1] while he was *faujdār* and fiefholder of Dīpālpūr, a house fell over him and he was killed. He was famous for his saintliness and piety. He spent his days in fasting and prayer and in reading commentaries and theological works. His soldiers, whether infantry or horsemen were faimilar with the *Qur'ān*, and while marching used to repeat the *Kalima*. By this habit they were distinguished as Mubāriz Khān's *men. They say that Mubāriz Khān in piety was the equal* of Omar, the son of 'Abdul 'Azīz, and in planning and thoughtfulness a second 'Amrū[2], the son of Ās. His whole life was spent honourably and respectably.

(RĀJA) MUDHKAR SĀH BUNDĪLA[3]

(Vol. II, pp. 131-134)

He belonged to the Gaharwāra[4] tribe. In former times they had not so much distinction, wealth and property, and lived by robbery and infesting the roads. When Partāb who had founded Oorcha[5],

1 The date in the Text is wrongly given as 1056 A.H. It should be 1054 A.H., 1644 A.D., see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, p.386.

2 The conqueror of Egypt who destroyed the Library at Alexandria.

3 The history of Bundilas written as Bundelās is described in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, pp. 70-72. They claim to be descended from Pancham, a Gaharwār Rājpūt. The name is written as مدکهر ساه بندیله in the text.

4 See Note 3 above. According to tradition the Gaharwār Rājpūts were the first rulers of British Bundēlkhand, *vide Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 69, کهروار in the Text.

5 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, *I* (2nd edn.), p. 509, note 1, *Ūdcha* of the text is Ondchhā, Urcchā Orchhā or Tikāmgarh, which is a Treaty State of

became the Rāja, he acquired power and frequently fought with Shēr Shāh and Salīm Shāh. His son Rāja Bhārath Chand succeeded him. As he was childless, his younger brother Mudhkar Sāh succeeded him. He became famous by his skill, diplomacy, courage and bravery and surpassed his ancestors. In course of time he seized many places in the neighbourhood. As a result of his large property, following, and the increased territory, he became proud and challenged Akbar's authority. Akbar frequently sent armies against him, and he submitted sometime only to reassert himself again[1]. In the 22nd year Ṣādiq Khān of Herāt, Rāja Askaran and Rāja of Mirath were appointed to chastise him. The generals tried to come to terms with him, but he refused, and they had to cut down the jungle. The area was very heavily forested and consequently it was very difficult for the army to march. One day they cut the trees, and the next day they marched. They arrived at the river Sawā[2](?) which was known by the name of Satdhārā (seven channels) and arrived in the north of Oorcha. Rāja Mudhkar prepared for battle with a large force on the bank of this river. A great fight took place, and the imperial army was nearly on the point of defeat. But Mudhkar Sāh with his son Rām Sāh fled and Hōdal Rāō[3], the 2nd son, was killed by a ball from a *Gajnāl*[4]. Ṣādiq Khān after the victory took up his quarters there, and Mudhkar Sāh finding himself in difficulty sent his brother's son to him, and asked for pardon. In the 23rd year he, on hearing the good news of forgiveness, came with Ṣādiq Khān to the Court, and received various favours.

When Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, the commander-in-chief of

Central India in the Bundēlkhand Agency. The State lies "in the Bētwa-Dhasān Dōāb, and is bounded on the north and west by Jhānsī District"—see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 241.

1 On 26 Rabi'I, 985. *vide* Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 475, and *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 229, 230. Beveridge's translation III, pp. 324-326.

2 Apparently Bētwā river, see Note above.

3 He is called Hōral Dev the eldest son in *Akbarnāma*, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

4 A gun carried on an elephant, see *Akbarnāma*, *op. cit.*, p. 326, note 1,

Mālwa, was appointed with Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka to the Deccan campaign, the Rāja was also ordered to accompany him. He was recalcitrant, and Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad with other officers proceeded to chastise him. When he came within four *kos* of Oorcha, Mudhkar came forward with pledges, and through the intermediate of Rāja Askaran obtained deliverance, and came and saw the commanders. His ruinous ideas again compelled him to flee, and his abode was plundered. His son Indarjīt took up his quarters in the fort of Khajwa and opposed the forces, but soon fled. In the 36th year, 999 A.H. (1590-91 A.D.) Prince Sulṭān Murād was appointed to Mālwa and all the leaders of that country waited on him. Rāja Mudhkar Sāh kept aloof, and so the Prince led an army against him. The Rāja retired. Akbar recalled the Prince and afterwards on the recommendation of Ṣādiq Khān, the Rāja came and did homage. In the 37th year, 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) he died. His son Rām Sāh[1] came with Ṣādiq Khān and waited on Akbar in Kashmīr, and was graciously received. Another of his son was Bīr Singh Dēō Bundēla, whose account[2] is given separately.

MUGHAL KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 490-492)

He was the son of Zain Khān Kōka[3]. During the reign of Jahāngīr[4] he had been promoted to the rank of 1,000 and 500 horse. In the beginning of the reign of Shāh Jāhan he was appointed to the

1 He is called "Rām Chand son of Madhukar (Bundela)" in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 545. Jahāngīr in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) I, p. 160, refers to his marriage with Rām Chand's daughter in the 4th year.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 197-199, Beveridge's translation, pp. 423-425.

3 For an account of Zain Khān Kōka see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 362-3370, and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 367-369.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 184.

governorship of Kābul[1]. In the 9th year when Daulatābād became the seat of encampment for the royal force, and the triumphant armies under the leadership of distinguished officers were despatched for the plunder and destruction of the 'Ādil-Shāhī territory, and the subjugation of all the Niẓām-Shāhī forts, Mughal Khān's heart's desire was fulfilled by an advance in his command by 500 and 500 horse, and he was attached[2] to Khān Daurān Naṣrat Jang. And at the end of this year on the 8th Jumāda I, 1046 A.H. (28th September, 1636 A.D.) through the bravery and courage of the great Sardār (Mughal Khān) the fort of Udgīr[3], which was one of the strong forts of the Bālāghāt Deccan and is now included in the *Ṣūba* of Muhammadābād Bīdar, passed into the royal hands after a siege lasting a little more than three months. The said Khān as a reward was granted an advance in his rank of 500 foot and 500 horse, and appointed to look after and safeguard that fort. He spent some time there, and became well known for his humanity and bravery.

The author of these lines, during a sightseeing tour, visited the said fort in the 15th year of the reign of Shāh 'Ālam (in 1188 A.H., 1774 A.D.), and observed that in the wall of a building, which was situated inside the fort, an engraved stone was fixed bearing the date of the conquest of the fort and the appointment of Mughal Khān; probably it was fixed at the instance of the said Khān. Later in the 18th year he returned to the Court, and his rank was increased to 2,500 and 2,000 horse[4]. As about the same time Khān Daurān was appointed as the governor of the Deccan, the said Khān was granted kettle drums, and attached to the forces under him[5]. In the

1 *Bādshāhnāma,* I, p. 191. The name on this page is Mughūl Khān instead of Mughal Khān.

2 *Bādshāhnāma,* I, pt. 2, pp. 136, 138.

3 Udgīr in Bidar district, Haidarābād, *vide Imperial Gazetteer,* XXIV, p. 110. For Bālāghāt or the upland country of Berār see *Imperial Gazetteer,* VI, p. 22. The appointment of Mughal Khān as governor of Udgīr is mentioned in *Bādshāhnāma,* I, pt. 2 p. 221.

4-5 *Bādshāhnāma,* II, pp. 417, 423, 641.

25th year on being appointed as the governor of Thatha[1] he set off for that area *via* Gujarāt. He was full of valour and pleasant disposition. He always tried to gain the confidence of the people who were in trouble, and to comfort them; he thus gained a good reputation.

As Mughal Khān, owing to laziness and carelessness, did not come to Qandahār for service under the exalted Prince Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh, he was for this lapse of duty deprived of his rank of 3,000 foot and 2,000 horse, and his fief. He passed some time in these wretched circumstances, and later in the 30th year, at the request of Dārā Shikōh, was granted an annual allowance of Rs. 1,500. No record of his death has been found. They say that he was fond of hunting, and as he loved to hear vocal and instrumental music, he had collected a large number of musicians and singers.

MUGHAL KHĀN 'ARAB SHAIKH[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 623-625)

He was the son of Ṭāhir Khān[3] of Balkh. He was presented to Aurangzīb in his father's lifetime, and attracting his attention was in the 9th year was granted the title of Mughal Khān. Later he was appointed Reviser of Petitions. In the 13th year his rank was increased to 2,000, and he was appointed Superintendent of the Mace-bearers in succession to Multafat Khān. In the same year he was appointed *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies) and received a golden staff. In the 15th year he was made Chief falconer (*Qūshbēgī*) and in the 19th year he was for some reason deprived of his rank and fief. Afterwards he was reappointed to a lower rank, and in the

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 417, 423, 641.

2 The biography is mainly based on references to Mughal Khān in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* where further details about his appointments and his expedition are given.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 751-754.

21st year he was made Master of Horse in succession to Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, and later was deputed to the Deccan. When the King marched from Udaipūr to Ajmēr he was exalted with the grant of the *Khil'at* of the 1st *Mīr Tuzuk*. He was later deputed to put down the turbulent elements of Sāmbhar and Dandwāna. When in the 26th year Durjan Singh Hāra besieged Būndī[1] and captured it, he set about putting down the rebels. When the Khān reached the borders of Būndī Durjan Singh shut himself up in the fort. The courageous Khān started to assault the fort and arrows and bullets rained for some nine hours. Whereupon Durjan Singh made the night a cover for his wickedness and fled. Anrūdh Singh, the grandson of Rāo Bhāo Singh Hārā[2], who had also obtained leave from the King, was, by the King's orders, admitted into the fort. Mughal Khān returned and after kissing the threshold was exalted with the grant of a robe of honour. In the beginning of the 28th year, he, on the death of Khān Zamān,[3] was appointed the governor of Mālwa. He was presented the elephant by the name of Dhul-faqār, and his rank was increased to 3,500 with 3,000 horse. In the end of the same year, 1096 A.H.(1685 A.D.) he died. His son was granted his father's title and did good service. After Aurangzīb's death he was long without employment in the capital, and died some years before this account was written. He was not without self-respect and nobility of character. The sister of Saiyida Bēgam the wife of Āṣaf Jāh Fatḥ Jang[4] was married to him. When the Nawāb

1 Būndī State in Rajputana, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, pp. 77-87.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text II, pp. 305-307. Beveridge's translation I, pp. 405-407.

3 For Khān Zamān see *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, I, pp. 785-792. He died in the 27th year (1095 A.H.) of Aurangzīb's reign, and Mughal Khān was appointed in his place in the 28th year. *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 246.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, III, pp. 875-910. According to this account he arrived in Delhi in 1134 A.H., and was appointed *Vazīr* on the 5th Jumāda I (p. 877). See Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.), II, p. 106, where the date of his leaving Aurangabād is given as dhul Hijjah, 1133 (October, 1721) and

returned from the Deccan to the Court and became a distinguished Amīr, Mughal Khān did not visit him at all, in fact he had no intercourse whatsoever with him.

MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ KHĀN KHĀN-I-SĀMĀN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 625-627)

He was the son of Taqarrab Khān Ḥakīm Dā'ūd[2]. He was born in Persia. His father, who was an exceptionally clever physician, long served Shāh Jahān, and received royal favours as a reward for his skill and was raised to the dignity of an *Amīr*. Muḥammad 'Alī also was granted the rank of 1,000. After Aurangzīb's accession when the victorious army returned to the Capital from the Panjāb, Muḥammad 'Alī was granted the title of Khān. As Taqarrab Khān had for treatment been kept in attendance on the King(Shāh Jahān), who had been deprived of the sovereignty, Aurangzīb for some reason became displeased[3] with him, and censured him. The son also, in view of his following his father, was deprived of his rank and fell out of royal favour. When in the 5th year the father died a natural death, the son was awarded a robe of honour as an instance of his restoration to royal favour, and granted the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse. In the 17th year on the death of Ḥakīm

appointment as the Chief Minister 20th February, 1722, but 5th Jumāda I was 21st February.

1 He was the *Khān-i-Sāmān* of Aurangzib from ? 1678—May 1687. See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 71.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 490-493 and Yazdani's edition of *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 395, 396.

3 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 493. In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 42, it is stated that Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, the son of Ḥakim Dā'ūd, who had been deprived owing to the Emperor being annoyed with his father, was restored to favour, and was granted a mourning *Khil'at* and the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse.

Ṣāliḥ Khān he was appointed Superintendent of the Furriery[1] (*Kar Karāqkhāna*), and his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse. Later he was made Superintendent of the China-ware department (*Chīnī Khāna*).

As he had been found trustworthy, careful, capable and skilful, he was, before the march to Ajmēr appointed to the high office of *Khān-i-Sāman* in succession to Rūḥ Ullāh Khān. His good qualities, such as his integrity, truthfulness, righteous counsels and piety, gained him a place in the King's heart, and he became the most trusted of his compeers, and he became an object of envy even to the *Amīrs.* At the time of the siege of Gōlconda, before it fell, he died[2] on 18th Rajab 1098 A.H. (20th May, 1687 A.D.). He was distinguished for his skill in physiognomy, wisdom, magnanimity[3] and high-mindedness. He was scrupulously honest, and exercised great care in looking after the royal property. He was very affable, and whoever approached him was gratified. He was also very pious and very abstinent. He spent his days in prayer and fasting. He was always reciting chapters of the Qur'ān. Ni'mat Khān, the satirist (*Ḥājī*) jestingly designated him as a dry ascetic and a hypocritical devout. Presumably when Muḥammad 'Ali held the superintendencies in connection with the post of the *Khān-i-Sāmān*, he kept Ni'mat Khān at a distance, and that is why the latter has relieved his mind about him. Muḥammad Ali used to wear a large turban like those of the *Qadis*, and Ni'mat Khān referring to it says:

Verse

You may have plenty of grandeur in your head,
We, however, see nothing but a turban.

1 These appointments are mentioned in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, pp. 131, 165.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 207
3 [illegible] in the Text, which may also mean saintliness.

MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ KHĀN MUḤAMMAD 'ALĪ BĒG
(Vol. III, pp. 488-489)

He was the son-in-law of Qulīj Khān, and one of the officers of the *Dākhili*[1] troops of Prince Dārā Shikōh. As the *Sarkār* of Hisār[2] (Hissār) had always been the appanage of the heir-apparent—as for instance in Bābur's time it was held by Humāyūn, in Humāyūn's time by Akbar, and similarly it formed the *Tankhwāh* (the allowance or assignment) for Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān—it was in Shāh Jahān's reign assigned to the eldest Prince (Dārā Shikōh) and Muḥammad 'Alī was appointed its *Faujdār*. As the solution of every problem is intimately connected with its appointed time, and the agents of Providence are able to achieve their ends by very simple means, it so happened that the dress of the Bēgam Ṣāhiba[3] caught fire, and she received severe burns on her limbs. Although she was medically treated and got better, but the pain occasionally returned. Muḥammad 'Alī[4] reported to the Court, that there was a poor *faqīr* by the name of Ḥāmūn in his *Sarkār*, and a balsam (or an ointment) prepared by him was said to be very efficacious for such injuries. He was ordered to produce him, and the balsam proved most effectual. The King gave the *faqīr* a sum of money equal to his own weight, a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant and an *Altamgha* (perpetual) grant of a village near his home. Muḥammad 'Alī who had been the agent

1 *Dākhili* troops, according to Blochmann *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 241, are soldiers "who accept the imperial brand."

2 Hissār District in the Panjāb, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIII, pp. 144-155. The *Sarkār* of Hissār Fīrūzah was much more extensive and included 27 Maḥals, see Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, pp. 293-295.

3 Jahānāra, the favourite daughter of Shāh Jahān. She was burnt on 27th Muḥarram, 1054 A.H., 6th April, 1644, *vide* Yazdānī's edition of *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 400. Details of the burns and treatment are given on pp. 400-403, and it is stated that the burns were healed not by the treatment of the *Ḥakims* and doctors, but by an ointment prepared by 'Ārif, one of the royal slaves. See also *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, pp. 363-369, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 63-66.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pt. 2, pp. 408, 409.

for this important happening, became an object of favour, and in the 18th year received the title of Khān. In the 26th year when the Multān Ṣūba was assigned to the said Prince (Dārā Shikōh) in lieu of the Ṣūba of Gujarāt, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān received a Khil'at and was appointed to guard Multān. When Thatha (Sind) was also added to Prince Dārā Shikōh's provinces, he was ordered to take charge of it. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.) he died.

(I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULA) MUḤAMMAD AMĪN KHĀN CHĪN BAHĀDUR
(Vol. I, pp. 346-350)

He was the son of Mīr Bahā'-ud-Dīn son of 'Ālam Shaikh of whom an account has been given in the biography of Qulīj Khān[1] 'Ābid Khān. Mīr Bahā'-ud-Dīn lived for a long time in his ancestral home. When Anūsha Khān[2] the ruler of Organj had a quarrel with his father 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān[3], the ruler of Bokhāra, the Mīr was put to death on suspicion of his being in league with the son (Anūsha Khān). On this the Khān (Muḥammad Amīn) left his home and proceeded to India. In the 31st year of the reign of Aurangzīb he took off the sandals of exile in the Deccan (where Aurangzīb was), and entered the Emperor's service. He obtained the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Khān. He served along with Khān

1 *Maāthir ul Umarā*, III, pp. 120-123.

2 Anūsha is a form of the name Enoch.

3 Anūsha's father was 'Abul Ghāzī the historian, and not 'Abdul 'Azīz. Organj is in Khiva. Apparently Muḥammad Amīn's father must have been killed some considerable time before 1098 A.H. for 'Abdul 'Azīz the ruler of Bokhāra and who was the son of Nadhr Muḥammad seems to have retired to Mecca in 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.), see Vambery's *Bokhara*, p. 327.

The statement that Anūsha quarrelled with his own father is apparently the result of a copyist's error. The passage is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīr* p. 303, where it is stated that Anūsha quarrelled with his father-in-law 'Abdul 'Azīz—*ba pidr-i-zan-i-khud*, not, *ba pidr khud*. I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn's father Bahā'-ud-Dīn was killed, apparently, by 'Abdul 'Azīz on suspicion of his being in league with Anūsha.

Fīrūz Jang who had been appointed to capture the forts and chastise the enemy (Marhattas). In the 42nd year when Qāḍī 'Abdullāh the *Ṣadr* died, he was summoned to the Presence, and received the robe of the supreme Ṣadrship (*Ṣadārat-i-Kull*) and a present of three enamelled rings studded with emeralds. When the imperial army marched to capture the fort of Khēlna, which after its capture received the name of Sakhkhar-un-na[1] ("He hath subjected (these) unto us"), the Khān received an increase of 200 horse and was appointed to hasten by the pass of Ambāghāt[2] to the Tāl-i-Kōkan[3] (Cōncan) and to prevent ingress and egress from the forts on that side. He rapidly went there and by his energy took possession of the ridge which had been in the hands of the besieged. As a reward for this he received the title of Bahādur. In the 48th year his commission was of 3,500 with 1,200 horse, and in the 49th year he did good service in the siege of Wāgingēra[4] and in pursuing its *Zamīndār* who had taken to flight, and received a commission of 4,000 with 1,200 horse. Afterwards he was sent to chastise the rebels, and when he returned safe and rich, he, in the 51st year, received an increase of 300 horse and the title of Chīn Bahādur.

1 Text *Taskhar-al-nā* تسخر لنا but the passage is copied from *Ma-āthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 457 where it is *Sakhkhar-an-nā*, and it appears that Aurangzīb chose this name because he had taken an omen from the Qur'ān. The news of the capture reached Aurangzīb when the chapter of the Qur'ān in which the word occurs was being read, for he was probably too good a Muslim to take omens, see Khāfī Khān. II, p. 501. The passage in the Qur'ān is in Sūra 43, verse 12 which is translated by Sale "Praise be unto him who hath subjected these unto our service." The fort was afterwards called Vishālgarh, and is in the Sahyādrī Range in the Cōncan and S. Satāra, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p. 381.

2 In the Ghāts just below Lat. 17, see Elliot, VII, p. 371 and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 492.

3 There is the variant Nāl, but Tāl, a hill, is probably right; for a ridge is mentioned later.

4 Wākinkera in Text, is Wāgingēra, the Capital of the Berāds. The siege began on 19th February, 1705, and the fort was evacuated on 8th May, 1705, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 298, 299.

He had been appointed to accompany Sulṭān Kām Bakhsh and when a few days afterwards news came of the death of Aurangzīb he without giving notice to anyone, went off to A'ẓam Shāh. But as he did not like his position there, he separated from the Prince when he was going to Upper India and came to Aurangābād. Later when Bahādur Shāh was victorious and proceeded towards the south to fight with his brother Kām Bakhsh, Chīn Bahādur, who had joined him, was made after the return to Upper India *Faujdār* of Murādābād. In the 4th year of the reign of that Sovereign he in the affair of the Sikhs[1] bound the skirt of zeal round the waist of devotion. When the sovereignty came to Muhammad Farrukh Siyar he, through the instrumentality of the Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, entered into service and obtained commission of 6,000 with 6,000 horse and the title of I'timad-ud-Daula Naṣrat Jang, and was appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*. In the 5th year of the reign of that Prince he was sent off to make a settlement of the province of Mālwa. As at that time Ḥusain 'Alī Khān left the Deccan for the Court, he sent messages containing both promises and threats to the Khān, who was then near Ujjain and engaged in collecting troops. He without waiting for orders proceeded towards the Capital and was censured on this account, and dismissed from his appointments. When Ḥusain 'Alī Khān had arrived at the Capital and had imprisoned Farrukh Siyar, the Khān went with the troops and joined the Saiyids. In the time of the sovereignty of Sulṭān Rafī'-ud-Darājāt he was restored to his rank and to his post of the 2nd *Bakhshi*. After some time there was a quarrel between him and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān when the latter was killed in the beginning of Muhammad Shāh's reign in the manner described in his biography, and when his sister's son Ghairat Khān was also killed, the Khān was raised to the rank of 8,000 foot with 8,000 horse consisting of two-horse and three-horse troopers. He received a present of one kror and fifty lacs of *dāms*, and was appointed *Vazīr* with the

1 Text ر, ,د or کرہ should be گورو. The affair referred to was the attack on the Sikhs, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 669 and Elliot, VII, p. 423.

title of ***Vazīr-ul-Mamālik***. In the same year four months after his appoinment, he died in 1133[1] A.H. (1721 A.D.). He was an ***Amīr***, possessed of courage and talent. He helped his companions, especially those who were Mughals. During the short time of his ***Vazīrship***, whoever of the King's servants complained to him of being without a fief received one from him out of the fiefs[2] in reserve. He appointed his own usher (***Chōbdār***) as collector of its revenue, and had ***sanad*** for the fief made out, and delivered it with his own hand. His son was I'timad-du-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn. A separate biography[3] has been given of him.

(MIR) MUḤAMMAD AMIN MIR JUMLA SHAHRISTANI

(Vol. III, pp. 413-418)

He was one of the noble Saiyids of Iṣfāhan (District), who were known as the Saiyids of Shahristān. His elder brother Mīr Jalāl-ud-Dīn Ḥusain had the pen-name of Ṣalā'ī. He was very learned, and a great favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I. He was appointed the ***Ṣadr*** which was one of the chief appointments in the Iranian administration. When he died, his nephew Mīrzā Raḍī son of Mīrzā Taqī succeeded him in this office, and by his ability and good fortune

1 On 10 Rabi' II, 1133 A.H., 9th February 1721, after a short illness, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 939.

2 Text has ***jagir pānbati*** and there is the variant ***panpati***. But the true reading is ***jagir paibaqi*** or estates in reserve for which see Wilson's *Glossary* according to which, p. 388, ***paibaqi*** in Muhammadan finance is the designation of such lands as were set apart for *Jāgir* grants, if required, and also the revenue from lands so reserved and not yet alienated.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 358-362. Both biographies are by 'Abdul Ḥayy. There is a notice of Muḥammad Amin in Irvine's ***Later Mughals*** (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.), I, pp. 263, 264. Muḥammad Amin seems to have been the man who instigated the assassination of Ḥusain 'Ali of Bārah. He is mentioned several times in the first volume of Siyar-ul-***Muta'akhkharin***; its author abhorred him as being a Sunni and a Mughal.

became connected with the Shāh by marriage. On account of his talents he had charge of the properties assigned by the King to the *Imāms*, and in addition to holding the office of the *Ṣadārat*, he was the Keeper of the Royal Seal. He died in 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.). The *Ṣadārat* of Iran was conferred on his son Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, who was the Shāh's daughter's son and an infant, while Mīrza Rafīʿ, the cousin of the deceased, was appointed his deputy; later he was confirmed in this office.

Mīr Muḥammad came in 1013 A.H. (1604-05 A.D.) from Iran to the Deccan, and entered the service of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh[1], the ruler of Telang (Ḥaidarābad and Gōlconda) through the intermediation of Mīr Mū'min of Astarābād. Mīr Mū'min was the sister's son of Mīr Fakhr-ud-Dīn Samākī, and had a high reputation for devotion and piety, and in Iran was the tutor of Sulṭān Ḥaidar Mīrza son of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī. After the Shāh died and Mīrzā Ḥaidar was killed, and Shāh Ismāʿīl II succeeded to the throne, Mīr Mū'min could not remain (in Iran), and migrated to the Deccan. As he belonged to the same religious sect as the rulers of that area, he became a servant of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and was appointed as the *Pēshwa* and *Vakīl*, and for a long time he was the factotum of the Quṭbshāhī government. Mīr Muḥammad Amīn by his good fortune gained such influence with Muḥammad Qulī, who on account of his continuously drinking wine all day long could not attend to state affairs, that he was granted the title of Mīr Jumla, and was left in charge of all business. As Muḥammad Qulī had no son, the sovereignty after his death devolved on his brother's son Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh[2]. He, out of his sense of justice and prudence, himself attended to the affairs of the State, and the Mīr did not succeed very well with him. Sulṭān Muḥammad

1 He was the 5th ruler of Gōlconda from 1580-1612; see *Cambridge History of India*, III, p. 706.

2 He was also the son-in-law of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh. His period of rule was from 1012-1626, *op. cit.*, p. 706.

honourably dismissed him and did not lay hands on his property and goods. The Mīr went from Gōlconda to Bījāpūr, but could not get on with 'Ādil Shāh. Consequently he returned by sea to his native land, and entered the service of Shāh 'Abbās. On account of Mīr Rafī'[1] *Ṣadr*, who was his nephew, he was treated with much favour. Several times he presented fitting *pēshkashes* to the Shāh, and spent four years with honour and respect. The Mīr wanted to enter the service of a King who would confer great offices on him, while the Shāh repaid him by verbal favours only for his presents, which he had collected during this period. When the Mīr realized the true state of affairs, he applied for a post under Jahāngīr. Several people through a lack of understanding represented him to Jahāngīr not accurately as they should have done, but extolled his merits a hundredfold. The King wrote a *farmān* with his own hand and sent for him. He fled from Iṣfahān, and entered Jahāngīr's service in 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.). He received the rank of 2,500 with 200 horse, and the appointment of the Reviser of Petitions. In the 15th year he was appointed *Mīr-i-Sāmān* in succession to Irādat Khān.

When Shāh Jahān succeeded to the throne, he[2] by virtue of his long service retained the office of *Mīr-i-Sāmān* for a time. In the 8th year he was appointed to the high office of *Mīr Bakhshī*[3] in succession to Islām Khān; and by an increase of 1,500 his rank became 5,000 with 2,000 horse. On the 10th Rabī' II, 1047 A.H. (22nd August, 1637 A.D.), in the 10th year he died of paralysis and

1 He is called "Mir Riza' in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 3, 4 and notes on p. 3. The biography appears to be adapted from the account in the *Tūzuk*. The grant of the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse is recorded on p. 15, appointment as *'Arḍ-i-Mukarrir* on p. 37, promotion to rank of 2,000 with 300 horse on p. 154, and increase of rank by 200 horse on p. 175, and final promotion to the rank of 3,000 with 200 horse on p. 276.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 181, and *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdānī edn.) I, p. 280, where the grants of robes of honour, rank etc. are mentioned.

3 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 98. His death is mentioned on p. 251.

hemiplegia. Though the Mīr was of a high birth and a Saiyid, he was without good manners. He was hot-tempered and rude, and was very bigoted in his Imāmiya religion. One day in the presence of Shāh Jahān, the question of religion came, and the Mīr spoke forcibly. The King said "The Mīr is a true Iṣfahānī—for the men of that city are noted for their roughness and vehemence". It is said that in the 4th year when Shāh Jahān was residing at Burhānpūr, there was such a scarcity of corn on account of insufficient rain that men offered their lives for bread (*lāne ba nāne mēdādand*), but no one bought them. They were willing to sell a *sharīf* (a nobleman) for a *raghīf* (a loaf of bread), but there were no customers. In accordance with the King's orders, the imperial secretaries and the leading men set up in every city kitchens for cooking broth (*āshpuzkhāna*), which were commonly known as *langars*. On this occasion Mīr Jumla gained a name for liberality. He kept open night and day eating houses in Burhānpūr, and also distributed money and clothes. But even at that time the Iranians said "The Mīr's kindness is not innate; scoldings and abuse are the genuine products of his soul." Still what he did was praiseworthy, and should obtain recompense.

Iṣfahān is one of the chief towns of Iran.

Verse

Iṣfahān has been designated as half the world,
They only described half the virtues of Iṣfahān.

According to accredited accounts[1] Iṣfahān should be included in the Fourth Clime, although some owing to its longitude and latitude include it in the Third. It is one of the old cities of ‘Irāq. In olden times it was called Judea, as the descendants of Isrā’īl, in the course of their forced wanderings, finding the earth of this place similar to that of the Holy Land, founded a city here, and named it Judea. Some

1 The rest of the note is devoted to a rambling description of Isfahān and its people.

connect its foundation with Iṣfahān son of Sām, while others regard it as one of Alexander the Great's establishments. Ibn Duraid states that Iṣfahān is a compound word, *Isf* meaning a city, and *Hān* meaning horsemen. According to *Farhang-i-Rashīdī Ispah* and *Ispa* are army and dogs, and so also *Sipah* and *Sipa*, and from this is derived Ispahān, as the city in question was always the headquarters of the army of Iran. It also had large numbers of dogs, as was recorded by 'Alī son of Hamzah the author of the History of Iṣfahān. And *alif* and *nūn* are connecting letters. Here ends the account of *Kalām-i-Rashīdī*. Iṣfahān is the Arabic form of Ispahān. It is stated that there were originally four villages, Kirān, Kōshak, Juyāra and Dasht. When Kaiqubād made it his Capital, it grew into a large city, and the four villages were designated as its streets. Zinda Rūd also known as Zāyinda Rūd—and from which, it is said, that 1,000 canals originate—flows below the city. Shāh 'Abbās II during his reign made it his Capital; he built such grand buildings and laid out such pleasing gardens in the layout of the city, that nothing better could have been thought of. It was the Capital up to the end of the Ṣafavī dynasty. During the disturbances of the Afghāns the city suffered materially. It has a salubrious climate. The people are very handsome and good mannered. It was the home of many leading men in all branches of worldly and religious affairs. Earlier on the people were of the *Shāf'iy* sect, but now they are all Shī'as. Most of them are rough, bold and impetuous. It is stated that Iṣpahānīs are not without avarice and covetousness. It has been recorded of Ṣāhib son of 'Ibād, that he used to say "Whenever I reach Iṣpahān, covetousness comes on to me. In reference to this city it has been widely circulated:

Verse

It has all good qualities, but
Iṣpahānī does not exist there any more".

(QUṬB-UD-DAULA) MUḤAMMAD ANWAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. III, pp. 141-143)

He was descended from Shāh 'Isa Jandālla[1], who was a pupil of Shāh Lashkar Muḥammad 'Ārif, and who was buried in the city of Burhānpūr. Shāh Lashkar was a disciple of Shāh Muḥammad Ghauth[2] of Gwāliyār, and was buried outside the city (of Burhānpūr). Quṭb-ud-Daula was a favourite of Shāh Nūr Ullāh *darvīsh*, who was greatly trusted by Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Ḥusain 'Alī Khān (the Bārah Saiyids). On Shāh Nūr Ullāh's recommendation the Saiyids befriended him, and he was taken in the imperial service in the reign of Farrukh-siyar. During the time when 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[3] was the Deputy-governor of Aurangābād, he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Deccan and Deputy-governor of Burhānpūr. His cousin Muḥammad Anwar Ullāh Khān, who was the *Dīvān* of the province, had charge of the defence of the city under him.

When the news came of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Fatḥ Jang having crossed the Narbadā, 'Ālam 'Alī Khān sent him and Sankrā Malhār[4], a Brahman, to look after Burhānpūr. When the Niẓām-ul-Mulk arrived near the city, Quṭb-ud-Daulah waited upon him and afterwards remained with him. In the time of Nāṣir Jang Martyr, he was *Bakhshi* of the Deccan. In Ṣalābat Jang's time he had the title of Quṭb-ud-Daula. He died in Burhānpūr in 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.). He was a worthy man, and made his devotions every day; he was, how-

1 It is not clear whether this was part of his name or means that he was of Jandiala, of which name there are two villages in the Panjāb.

2 One of the most highly respected saints of India. For his life see Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 187.

3 The nephew of the Saiyid brothers of Bārah. He was killed in the battle of Bālāpūr on 10th August, 1720.

4 His name is Shankar Malhār. He was a Deshasth Brahman who was sent by Ḥusain Ali Khān as an ambassador to Shāhū's court at Satāra. He was killed at Bālāpur; see Kincaid and Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, pp 212, 217

ever, a time-server in the extreme. He left no children. His maternal cousin Anwar Ullāh Khān was for a long time the *Dīvān* of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh[1]. He was not devoid of rectitude, and was celebrated for his religiousness. Descendants of his brothers are still flourishing.

(QĀḌĪ) MUḤAMMAD ASLAM
(Vol. III, pp. 89-92)

He was a descendant of Maulānā Khwāja Kōhī. He was born in Herāt and lived in the city of Kābul. In the early years of Jahāngīr's reign he came to Lāhōre and studied under Shaikh Bahlūl, who was one of the famous 'Ulemā of the place. After acquiring a knowledge of the usual subjects he went to Āgra, and entered the service of Jahāngīr. On account of his connection with Maulānā Mīr Kalān[2] Muḥaddith, he received royal favours and was appointed Qāḍī of Kābul. The above mentioned Maulānā was Maulānā Khwāja Kōhī's daughter's son. He studied tradition under Saiyid Mīrak Shāh son of Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muḥaddith. When he came to India, Akbar developed ties of faith and friendship with him and appointed him as the tutor of Jahāngīr. Many people learnt the traditionary lore from him. He died in Āgra.

When Qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam had served for a long time and had acquired a reputation for piety and asceticism, he was summoned to the Court by Jahāngīr, who appointed him as the *Qāḍī* of the Camp. Shāh Jahān, after his accession, confirmed him in this post,

1 The first Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād, Deccan, and one of the most outstanding personalities of the later Mughal period; see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā,* III, pp. 875-910, Irvine's *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.) I, II, and *Cambridge History of India,* IV, pp. 377-386.

2 According to Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I, (2nd edn.) p. 610, he was Jahāngīr's first teacher. He died in 981 A.H., and was buried at Āgra. He is mentioned in *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 76, Beveridge's translation III, p. 106 where the ceremony of Prince Satun's going to school is described. محدث is an orthodox believer in the Traditions, and was apparently an appellation of the Maulānā in view of his great knowledge.

and appointed him to a rank of 1,000. In the 16th[1] year a present of Rs. 6,500, which amount was equal to his weight, was given to him. He remained the *Qādi* for nearly thirty years. In the 24th year 1060 A.H.[2] (1650 A.D.) when horses were, as usual, being paraded before the King, a horse-trainer brought one galloping (in the arena). When it came near the *Qādi*, he out of apprehension slipped, and was confined to bed for nearly four months. When he was somewhat better, he was deputed to go to Mecca to take offerings to Arabia and to divide them among the holy places. But he had not the honour of doing so. He pleaded his lameness, and begged that he might be sent to Kābul. His request was granted, and he received a fief in Kābul which yielded more than Rs. 10,000 in addition to the *Manṣab*, which was conferred on him. There he died in 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.).

They say that he was very dogmatic and bigoted in his religious views. It is reported that at Kābul he put into fire the work of Kulainī[3] which is one of the four books on traditions of the Imāmiya sect. His heir was Mīr Muhammad Zāhid. He was famous for his learning, specially of Qur'ān, and in philosophy and became the leading scholar of his time. He wrote a valuable commentary on the *Sharaḥ-i-Mawāqif* (pilgrimage solemnities?) and other works. His loftiness of thought and correct reflections would be apparent to the wise and pious from these works, and many of the people through his company and teaching attained a high degree of proficiency. In the 28th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Wāqi'a-navīs* of Kābul, and in the 8th year of Aurangzīb's reign, on the death of

1 *Badshahnāma*, II, pp. 321, 322; and *'Āmal-i-Ṣāliḥ* Yazdāni edn., II, p. 370.

2 The year of this event is wrongly given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, as according to *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 113, 114, it occurred in the 23rd year on 4th Rabi' II, it is, however, included in the account of the 24th year.

3 The author's name is Abū Ja'far Muhammad son of Ya'qūb al-Kulaini, and the name of the work is *al-Kafi fi 'Ilm-ad-Din*, see M. Hidayat Husain, *Cat. Arabic Mss. Buhar Library, Calcutta*, II, p. 51 (1923).

Qādir Khān, he was honoured by his appointment as the Censor (*Iḥtisāb*) of the Royal Camp. Later he was promoted to the high office of the *Ṣadr* at Kābul, which was his home. A separate account has been given of his son[1] Muḥammad Aslam, who rose to higher ranks than his grandfather and father, and became an *Amīr*.

MUḤAMMAD ASLAM KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 666, 667)

He was the son of Mīr Zāhid of Herāt, whose biography[2] has been separately written. In the time of Aurangzīb, he, after reaching the age of discretion, received a suitable rank and was granted the title of Khān. He was for a long time the *Dīvān* of Kābul, and latter was appointed in addition the *Dīvān* of Shāh 'Ālam. In the 48th year he was relieved of these duties, and appointed *Dīvān* of Lāhōre[3] in succession to Saiyid Mīrak Khān. In the 50th[4] year he was transferred from this appoinement, but later served for a few years as the governor of Lāhōre[5]. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he died there. His sons, Muḥammad Akbar and Muḥammad Ā'ẓam, as they were in the King's service, relinquished their names out of respect to the Princes, and took up the names of Muḥammad Akram and Muḥammad Asghar. The first one was granted the title of Khān, and died in Upper India. The second received his father's title, and after Nādir

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 666, 667.

2 *Ibid.*, II, p. 370. His name there is Zāhid Khān.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 482. On this page his appointment as *Dīvān* of Lāhōre and the appointment of Mun'im Khān as the *Dīvān* of Kābul in his place are mentioned.

4 41st year in the Text is certainly incorrect, as 48th year is mentioned above. In the *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 513, on the other hand, it is stated that in the 50th year, 1117 A.H. (1705-06 A.D.) he was relieved of his office, and Ḥāfiẓ Khān appointed in his place.

5 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 660, in the course of a long discourse on Sikhs mentions an Islām Khān as the Prince's Deputy and Deputy-governor of Lāhōre in 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.); apparently he was the Islām Khān of this note.

Shāh's invasion went[1] to the Deccan with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. For a time he was the *Dīvān* of the provinces there, and later was exalted by being appointed as the Chief of the Artillery. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang[2] he was promoted to the post of the *Bakhshī* of the Deccan. Afterwards he was granted the title of Hashmat Jang Bahādur and appointed in charge of Burhānpūr. In the time of Niẓām-ud-Daula Āṣaf Jāh[3], he was granted the additional title of Ḍiyā-ud-Daula. He died a few years prior to this account was written. He had attained the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse. He left some heirs.

MUḤAMMAD BADĪ' SULṬĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 636, 637)

He was the son of Khusrau[4] son of Nadhr Muḥammad Khān. He came to India with his father in the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign. In the 20th year he paid his respects to the Emperor[5] and received a robe of honour, a *jighā* (an ornament for the turban), and a horse with a gilded saddle. In the 27th year he was granted a yearly pension of Rs. 12,000[6]. Later he was exalted by the grant of the rank of 1,500, and this was increased by 500 in the 28th year[7]. In the 30th year

1 Āṣaf Jāh left Delhi on 7th August, 1740, and reached Burhānpūr on 19th November, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 383.

2 The fourth Niẓām of Ḥaidarābād (Hyderābād) who ruled from 1751-1762.

3 Apparently the fifth Niẓām, Nāẓim 'Alī who deposed Ṣalābat Jang in 1762, and was created the Viceroy of the Deccan with the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh II, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 391.

This biographical note is by 'Abdul Ḥayy who apparently included events up to his own time.

4 For the biography of Khusrau Sulṭān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 767-772, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 820-823.

5 This is based on *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, see Yazdānī's edition, II, p. 492.

6 See *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 180, 181, but he is described there as the پسر زادهٔ محمد شاه

7 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, op. cit., p. 192.

his rank was 2,500 with 300 horse[1]. Later when Aurangzīb succeeded to the throne, he paid his respects at Āgra along with his father and uncle. In the battle with Shujā'[2] and the second engagement with Dārā Shikōh he attended the King's stirrups. He was appointed to serve with Sarbuland Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* and Ra'adandāz Khān *Mīr Ātish*. Later he fell into disgrace, and was deprived of his *manṣab*. In the 36th year he was again received[3] into favour, and was granted the rank of 3,000 with 700 horse. His later career is not known.

(SHAIKH) MUḤAMMAD BOKHĀRI[4]

(Vol. II, pp. 541, 542)

He was one of *Amīrs* of the rank of 2,000, and one of the distinguished Saiyids of India. He was the maternal uncle of Shaikh Farīd Bokhārī. He was well known for his wisdom and sincerity. Having spent several years in the service of Akbar he had fully developed these high ideals. Fattū Afghān Khāṣa Khail, who, having taken possession of the fort of Chunār, had made it his refuge[5], through the mediation of Shaikh Muḥammad[6] left the fort and handed it over (to Akbar's forces) when an army was appointed for its conquest.

In the 14th year of the reign he was appointed[7] by the Emperor to take charge of the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn—May his heart be sanctified !—as the Khādims were continually quarrelling about the

1 See *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, op. cit., p. 458, where his rank is wrongly given as 2,500 with 600 horse, شش being a mistake for سه

2 The two battles referred to were Khajwa, 15th January 1659, and Dēorā'i, 22nd-24th March 1659, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 486-496, and 507-517.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 350, he is designated there as Muḥammad Badi' Balakhī.

4 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 432, 433.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 150, Beveridge's translation II, p. 231.

6 Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 232, note 1, has wrongly identified Shaikh Muḥammad with Muḥammad Ghaus of Gwāliyār.

7 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 351, Beveridge's translation II, p. 511.

emoluments and offerings (presented by the pilgrims) and the claims of their being the offsprings of the Khwāja had not been upheld. In the 17th year he was appointed an auxiliary to the force of Khān A'ẓam[1] Kōka who had been posted to the *Ṣūba* of Gujarāt; and was later summoned back to the Presence. When the disturbance of Muhammad Husain Mīrzā, who in conjunction with Shēr Khān Fūlādī, had created a disturbance, became fully known, Khān A'ẓam recalled the said Khān, who was preparing at Dūlqa to go over to the Emperor at Sūrat[2], and placed him in the left wing of the army. When the force of the battle was at its height, several of the royal army became scattered. The Shaikh fought bravely[3], and was severely wounded. During the assault he fell from his horse to the ground; and died of a spear wound received in the year 979 A.H. (1571-72 A.D.). The ever appreciative Emperor had the debts, which were outstanding against this truly devoted servant, paid to the creditors from the royal treasury.

(MIR SAIYID) MUHAMMAD CHISHTI OF QANAUJ
(Vol. III. pp. 604-611)

He was a learned man with an excellent nature and one who had an experience of poverty. His ancestors had long resided in Qanauj[4], which in old times was the capital of the powerful Hindū Rājas, and was a great city—they say that it had 3,000 shops of sellers of *Pān* (betel leaf). At present it is a dependancy of Āgra and lies between it and the provinces of Allahābād and Oudh. In

1 Khān A'ẓam Mirzā 'Azīz Kōka, for his life see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 343-347.

2 *Akbarnama*, Text III, p. 24, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 32.

3 *Op. cit.*, III, p. 25, Beveridge's translation, pp. 34-35, where the battle and death of Shaikh Muhammad are described.

4 Kanauj in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 370-372, ancient town in Farrukhabad District, United Provinces.

the early days the Mīr[1] lived in his native town, and spent his days in retirement, and in poverty and full reliance upon God and in contemplation of spiritual ideals. About the end of Shāh Jahān's reign, he at the urgent request of that appreciative Sovereign came to the Presence. Shāh Jahān was a true patron of learned men, and he regarded the arrival of the venerable Saiyid, who was a paragon of esoteric and exoteric knowledge, as a rare boon, and fervently welcoming him admitted him to his intimate circle. Many days had not passed before the merciless and destructive Fortune threw the dice of retirement and loss of power of that great Sovereign, and by Aurangzīb's orders people were prohibited from waiting upon him. But the Mīr in question was constantly in attendance on him, and from the beginning of the 32nd year to his (Shāh Jahān's) death[2] profitably discoursed to him on spiritual matters and Traditions. Afterwards Aurangzīb summoned him with all honour from Āgra, and exalted him by admitting him to his intimate circle. For three days in the week he used to discuss with the venerable Saiyid the writings of the Ḥujjat-ul-Islām Imām Muḥammad Ghazzālī,[3] especially the Traditions recorded in *Iḥiyā'-ul-'Ulūm* and the *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīrshāhī*[4] which was compiled under the superintendence of that Monarch. That great man (the Saiyid) was always zealously

1 This part of the biography is based on the account in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdānī edn.) III, p. 379.

2 For an account of the last years of Shāh Jahān see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, pp. 122-143. In the account of his death in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 931-933, the summoning of Saiyid Muḥammad Qanaujī and Qāḍi Qurbān to perform the last rites is mentioned on pp. 932, 933, also in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 53.

3 Ḥujjat-ul-Islām Imām Muḥammd Ghazzālī; for his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 96, and (1889 edn.), p. 144.

4 For the preparation of *Fatawa-i-'Ālamgīri* see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 530. It was prepared under the editorship of Shaikh Niẓām and cost nearly two lacs of rupees. The preparation of this work was started during the first decade of the reign, as it is mentioned in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 1086, 1087.

engaged in giving religious instructions, and in trying to improve the religious views of the people. On the journey to Ajmēr he did not accompany Aurangzīb. In the 24th year[1] after the flight of Muhammad Akbar (the Prince) he came to the Presence from the Capital, and was accorded a royal welcome. After the Saiyid's death Aurangzīb often referred to him as: the Teacher of *Ā'lā Ḥadrat* (Shāh Jahān) and myself who am forgetful of death.

It is well known that the Saiyid was a disciple of Shaikh Muḥibb Ullāh[2] of Allahābād, who was well versed in esoteric and exoteric learning. Though he was inclined towards the *Khwājgān-i-Janat*[3], but his teachings were similar in many respects to those of the great Shaikh Muḥyy-ud-Dīn 'Arabī[4]. He wrote a commentary called the *Akhāṣ-i-Khawwāṣ* on the *Faṣūṣ-al-Ḥukam*. In his lifetime and up to the present day, perverse people create a commotion alleging that the book was heretical. The treatise on fallacy by the Shaikh acquired great celebrity. They say that when it was brought to the notice of Aurangzib, the Shaikh himself was dead at the time, but two disciples of his were well known in Delhī at the time. One Mīr, who was a person generally respected and honoured, and the other Shaikh Muḥammadī, who dressed as a *darvīsh* and lived a religious life. The King first asked the Mīr about the difficult passages in the treatise, but the Mīr denied that he was a disciple of the Shaikh. After that a message was sent to Shaikh Muḥammadī to the effect that if he was a disciple of Shaikh Muḥibb Ullāh, he should reconcile the statements in that treatise with the sacred laws

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 206.

2 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881 edn.), p. 194, (1894 edn.), p. 275, where he is stated as being "the author of a book on Ethics called *'Ibādat-ul-Khawāṣ*," this is apparently the same work as the *Akhaṣ-i-Khawwāṣ* referred to later.

3 The Chishtiya sect of the Ṣūfīs founded by Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī the well known saint of Ajmēr, see Beale, op. cit. (1894 edn.), p. 276.

4 See Beale, op. cit. (1881 edn.), p. 112, (1894 edn.), p. 167, where the book *Faṣūṣ-al-Ḥukam* is described; for this work also see Rieu, *Cat.*, p. 831b.

of the *Sharī'at*, otherwise he should renounce his discipleship, and put the treatise into the fire. He replied that he did not deny his discipleship, and that he also could not renounce the doctrines. He had not yet attained to the station (*Muqām*) from which the Shaikh had discoursed. As soon as he would attain that high station, he would, in accordance with the request, write an exposition of the difficulties. If His Majesty had decided to burn the book, there was more fire available in the King's kitchen than in the houses of religious mendicants trusting in God. The King ordered it to be burnt. In short, the Mīr showed no desire for office or for Amīrship, and did not leave the ranks of the learned (the owners of broad turbans), but in his own country became the owner of land and villages[1]. His two sons, Saiyid Amjad Khān and Saiyid 'Abdul Karīm Sharīf Khān, who became famous as the sons of the King's teacher, attained to *Manṣabs* and *jagīrs*, and suitable offices. The first in the 13th year was appointed the Censor of the Camp[2] on the death of Qāḍī Muhammad Husain of Jaunpūr, and for a long time performed the duties of that office with great dignity. His son also had the name of his father, and was exalted and respected as the *Ṣadr* of Delhī. Later he was made the *Bakhshī* and the *Wāqi'a-navīs* of the same place. It is stated that he used to hold a review of the *manṣabdars* for the Friday prayers (*i.e.* he saw that they attended the Friday prayers). In the reign of Bahādur Shāh he was promoted to the office of the *Ṣadr-i-Kull*, and granted the title of *Ṣadr-i-Jahān*, and a high rank. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh he was removed (from his office). He was really trustworthy. In the beginning of Muhammad Farrukh-siyar's reign he, at the instance of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, was appointed *Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣudūr*, but was removed on account of the differences between the Mīr and the *Vazīr*. Perhaps he was also for a time the

1 In the *'Ālamgirnāma* the grant of a present of Rs. 4,000 to him is mentioned on p. 1062.

2 The appointment of Saiyid Amjad Khān as the Censor of the Camp احتساب رکاب is mentioned in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, p. 98.

Dīvān of Ajmēr and *Faujdār* of Sāmbhar. About the end of Farrukh-siyar's reign he took on lease some of the crown-lands, and on the settlement of the accounts suffered a heavy loss. The second son Saiyid 'Abdul Karīm, who also had studied the prescribed courses at school, was appointed as the *Amīn* for collecting the poll-tax (*Jizya*) in the city of Burhānpūr during the time when the Court was stationed there. He worked honestly, and vigorously, and used strong measures in the collection of the tax. In the past year only Rs. 26,000 had been collected from the whole city, but in three months he collected Rs. 1,20,000 from half the city and deposited it into the royal treasury. His salary was increased, his services were recognized and praised, and he was appointed *Amīn* for the collection of the poll-tax in the four provinces of the Deccan. Later he was exalted by the receipt of the title of Saiyid Sharīf Khān. When during the seige of Ḥaidarābād, owing to the heavy rain and consequent flooding of the river Mānjara, the arrival of the provisions was stopped, and there was such scarcity that living did not refrain from eating the dead, and heaps of dead were to be seen everywhere, the post of *krōrī*[1] of the market fell upon Saiyid 'Abdul Karīm whose probity and strictness had become well known; while Mīrzā Yār Bēg, although such an appointment in the four provinces was likely to lead to an increase in honour, refused to undertake the task in face of the great havoc that prevailed. As such an employment could result in nothing but disgust and a bad name, the people bitterly complained of his severity, but the royal secretaries, who had worked under him, were greatly pleased at his appointment. When the rains lessened, things became cheaper, and the Khān received permission to proceed to the four provinces and collect the poll-tax according to the *Sharī'at* law.

After his death, his sons, Imām-ud-Dīn Khān and Mīr 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm Sharīf Khān who were real brothers, fell out with their half brothers Faṣīḥ-ud-Dīn and others. After some time a signed note (by Aurangzīb) was received by 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān (saying) that they

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 292.

:come accustomed to *Manṣabs* and *jagīrs*, and had given up the of poverty and of the children of *faqīrs*. "And their father righteous[1] man." So their appointments should be confirmed. them Saiyid 'Abd-ur-Raḥīm was appointed *Amīn* of the poll- the province of Berār, and during the reign of Bahādur Shāh d the title of his father. In Jahāndār Shāh's time he was nomi- is the Deputy-governor of Āgra, and in the reign of the present ign (Muḥammad Shāh) he was appointed *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr as puty of 'Aẓīm Ullāh Khān, and received the area on lease. He ed a large force, but could not manage it, and losing his ances- operty left for the Deccan. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh recognized his and appointed him for a time the Deputy-governor of the 1, and later made him Superintendent of Aurangābād. When Shāh the Great invaded India, he was summoned to the ce for certain explanations together with the clerks of that great Āṣaf Jāh). The Khān presented himself before Nādir Shāh— whose majesty even the planet Mars trembled—and without swered all questions. On the return of Āṣaf Jāh to the Deccan appointed the *Bakhshī* and granted the rank of 3,000 with horse, and received the gift of drums. In the end of Ṣafr 1159 (March, 1746 A.D.) he was nominated as the Deputy-governor r. He was an accomplished military man, and one who had e world, but it is stated that he was not generous. Out of a d promises that he made not one was fulfilled.

Hemistich

is happy, whose hand is longer than his tongue.

d be merciful! Aurangzīb, who was highly suspicious of his offi- rote to 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān—as appears in *Kalmāt-i-Taiyibāt*[2]— l-ur-Raḥīm son of Sharīf Khān who was a *Saiyidzāda*, and a

[1] Sale's translation of Qur'ān, Sūra 18, verse 81, chapter Cave.

[2] For details see Ethé, *Cat. Persian Mss. India Office, I,* Nos. 373 Ivanow. *Descr. Cat. Persian Mss. A.S.B.* (1924), p. 167.

trustworthy student of theology, has sold pearls worth nearly Rs. 10,000 to a jeweller. Call for his explanation and take over the money. Do not give him any employment for he displays wheat and sells barley (is deceitful), and is only gilt (*zarandūd*—gold-encrusted or unreal). In fact, the characteristics which he showed in his youth have now become more marked. The lines of his character have deepened with his years."

MUḤAMMAD GHIYĀTH KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. III, pp. 769-771)

His name was Ghiyāth Bēg. His father Ghanī Bēg was a servant of Khān Fīrūz Jang. He placed the hand of reliance in the prosperous lap of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and attached himself to him. In the beginning he was the Superintendent of the Artillery, but later was attached to Murādābād and appointed the *Deputy-faujdār*. As he was prudent and sagacious, and brave and courageous, he obtained a position of trust and confidence and no important business was transacted without his advice. When the Niẓām-ul-Mulk went from the Mālwa to the Deccan, Ghiyāth Khān played an important part in the battle[1] with Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān. He was already blind of one eye. His second eye also became useless as a result of a wound by an arrow in the last battle. Niẓām-ul-Mulk recognised his worth and fidelity, and after the victory granted him the title of Bahādur, the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse and appointed him the *Faujdār* of Baglāna in Khāndēsh *Ṣūba*.

1 According to a footnote by the editor the battle according to the *Tārīkh-i Muzaffari* took place opposite the town of Ḥasanpūr in the *Sarkār* of Handiya, 14 *kos* from Burhānpur, but see, *Irvine's Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) II, pp. 28-34, where it is called the battle of "Pandhar between Burhanpur and the Narmada" on 19th June, 1720. Ghiyāth Khān was in command of the vanguard, and played a very important part. He and 'Iwaḍ Khān were the only two officers of Niẓām-ul-Mulk's army who were wounded in the battle

-ater he was exalted by the charge of the estates in the province of Aurangābād; he held this post for a long time. In 148 A.H. (1735 A.D.) he died. He was buried in the courtyard f the *Madrasa* in Mughalpūra which he had founded. He was istinguished for his constancy in friendship and his liberality. His on Raḥīm Ullāh received a suitable appointment and the fief of the argana Sēona[1] (Sēonī) in the Berār, and for a time was the *Faujdār* f Baglāna in Khāndēsh. He also acted for a time as the Collector of e Estates in Aurangābād. In the time of Salābat Jang Bahādur he ad a high rank and was honoured with the title of Manḍūr-ud-Daula Authawar Jang. He died a few years back. He had inherited his ather's courage. . He left several sons. The best of them was Faḍl Jllāh Khān, who has at present his father's title and his fief.

(ḌIYĀ'-UD-DAULA) MUḤAMMAD ḤAFĪZ

(Vol. II, pp. 748, 749)

He was the son of Khwāja Sa'd-ud-Dīn Khān, who at first was a ervant of Sulṭān Jahān Shāh[2], and was *Qūrbēgī*[3] (Head of the rmoury) and Reviser of Petitions until the Prince was killed in the attle against his brothers. Afterwards Ḍiyā'-ud-Daula became attached o Āṣaf Jāh and was appointed his *Khān-i-Sāmān*. He had an active hare in the battle against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān[4], and after the attle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[5] he received the rank of 3,000 with ,000 horse, and was granted the title of Bahādur and the gift of rums. When Muḥammad Shāh son of Jahān Shāh became the

1 Sēonī in the Jubbulpore Division, Central Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 164-175.

2 Fourth son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. He was killed in the battle gainst Jahāndār Shāh on 27th March, 1712, at Handu Gujar (Māndū Gūjrān) ear Mian Mīr, Lahore; *Irvine's Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, pp.179-183.

3 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 205.

4 Battle of Pandhār, 19th June, 1720, see Irvine, *op.* cit., II, pp. 28-4. .

5 Battle of Bālāpūr, 9th August, 1720, Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50.

King, Ḍiyā'-ud-Daula took leave from Āṣaf Jāh and hastened to the Capital (Delhī). He joined the service of the Emperor, and was first appointed Superintendent of the office of Revision of Petitions, and later in charge of *Buyūtāt*. Finally he was raised, in addition, to the high post of *Mīr Ātish*. When he died his son received his title and office, and was also appointed *Khān-i-Sāmān*. Gradully he rose to high rank, and received the title of Ḍiyā'-ud-Daula. They say that he settled down in Delhī after the affairs of the Sovereignty became disorganised. He was dependant for his living on his *Jāgīr*. He was with Najīb-ud-Daula[1] in the battle with Jawāhir Singh Jāt. He died in 1179 A.H. (1765-66 A.D.).

(MĪRZĀ) MUḤAMMAD HĀSHIM[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 677-682)

By two intermediaries he was a grandson of the famous Khalīfa Sulṭān, and by three intermediaries the daughter's son of Shāh 'Abbās I. In the 4th year of Bahādur Shāh's reign he opened the load of his poverty at the port of Sūrat (*i.e.* arrived there from Iran). Bahādūr Shāh was an ocean of kindness. When he heard of his arrival he because of his perspicacity and bounteous nature assigned him an allowance of Rs. 3,000 and appointed an attache (*Mehmāndār*)[3] to honour him. He also ordered Fīrūz Jang, the governor of Gujarāt that after Muḥammad Hāshim's arrival in Aḥmadābād, he should look after him, and send him to the Court, and treat him in the same

1 *Maā'thir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 865-868; see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar *Fall of the Moghul Empire*, II, pp. 382-416. The battle referred to is apparently the attack on Delhi by Jawāhir Singh in November, 1764, and which ended with his defeat on 4th February, 1765, on the hill close to the Sabzi-mandi, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 459-466.

2 The biography is based on the account in Khāfi Khan's *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, II; see pp. 663,665,677-680.

3 An attache or secretary appears to be the correct equivalent of *Mehmāndār*, though later on host appears more suitable.

way as Muḥammad Amīn Khān, a former Governor of Gujarāt, had, in the time of Aurangzīb, treated, according to orders, Qawām-ud-Dīn-Khān the brother of Khalīfa Sulṭān when he came from Iran. Fīrūz Jang sent his young son to welcome him, and himself advanced a few paces to meet him; he presented to him Rs. 15,000 in cash, a horse and an elephant. Later when the Mīrzā reached the royal camp, Kōka Khān—whose mother was a companion (*Muṣāḥiba*) of the King—was nominated as his host. On the day of paying his respects he received various gifts, and as owing to heat the sweat of weakness appeared on his face, it was ordered that he should be taken to the *Khaskhāna* (cool chamber) and given iced water.

At this time the Khān-Khānān[1] had died, and there were talks about his successor to the *Vazārat*. Muḥammad 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān[2], the second son of the King, who had great influence in the matters of government, wanted that Dhulfaqār Khān[3] should be nominated as the *Vazīr*, while the two sons of the late Khān-Khānān should respectively be appointed *Mīr Bakhshī* and Governor of the Deccan. Dhulfaqār Khān[4] said that while his father[4] was alive, the *Vazīrship* was his right; and in this way wished to keep all the three appointments in his hands. The dispute lasted a long time, and the King often said in private that he was tired of the altercation, and proposed to give the *Vazārat* to the Prince of Iran, and appoint one of the *Dīvāns* of *Tan* and *Khālṣa* as his Deputy, and make the latter do the work of the *Vazārat*. But before the Mīrzā paid his respects and after his

1 Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 667-677, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-127. The wrangles about the appointment of his successor and the project of appointing Mīrzā Muḥammad Hāshim are described in the same work on p. 128.

2 He was really the third son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh; see *Irvine's Later Mughals* (Sarkar edn.) I, pp. 143,144. For his proclamation as Emperor see p. 134, his struggle with his brother Jahāndār Shāh and final death pp. 163-177.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 93-107, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 9,10.

4 Asad Khān Āṣaf-ud-Daula Jumlat-ul-Mulk, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 270-279.

coming, certain representations had been made to the King, by princes, especially in reference to his misplaced arrogance and : The Mīrzā did not lower his head in respect to the princes, and annoyed all the officers. At last his host (Kōka Khān), at the insta of Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī[1]—who was the Mīrzā's rival fi early days, and was very envious of him—made a written represe tion to the King. In this he requested for information as to how guest should behave towards the princes on the road, *i.e.* in process and in the *Darbār*, how he should treat the officers, and finally wl he should sit if he happened to come to the *Darbār* (hall) before King's arrival. The King put his signature (*i.e.* replied to the p tion) on the face of the petition, to the effect that with regar the princes, during processions he should dismount and pay respects, and in the *Darbār* he should salute in the way prescr for the *Amīrs*. For the Amīrs up to the rank of 3,000 he sh raise his hand to the head. When the King came to the third que. he turned to Mīrzā Shāh Nāwāz Khān and asked what signa (order) should be made. He represented that till His Majesty's arr he (the Mīrzā) should sit in the *pēshkhāna* (ante-room) of Khān Khān. Accordingly next day when the Mīrzā arrived in the *Da* before the King, the *Sazāwals* (Court messengers) came, in accord with Shāh Nawāz's suggestion, and seated the Mīrzā in the *pēshkh* of Shāh Nawāz Khān. The owner of the house in view of the Mīr arrogance did not treat him with the usual etiquette and reg Though Shāh Nawāz Khān on the next day went to his house offered apologies, but the representation and the mode of con became the subject of jests and the matter was talked of in cour and assemblies. At last he received the rank of 5,000 with 3, horse, and the title of Khalīfa Sulṭān, which he himself had app for. He had not an accommodating nature. Though the assem notables behaved rudely and without regard, but he turned his

1 He should not be confused with Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavi of *Maā al-Umarā*, II, pp. 670-672.

from their sour looks and displayed his arrogance. His fief had not so far been allotted to him when Bahādur Shāh died; and after that no one paid him any attention. He lived in the Capital for a long time, and died at his appointed time.

Khāfī Khān,[1] the author of the history known as *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, who was very intimate with the author of these pages—whom Khān Fīrūz Jang from Ahmadābād had by chance appointed on his own behalf as an attache to the Prince, and who had also been appointed by the Prince as his *Dīvān*—used to say that the Mīrzā's stock of knowledge was his lineage. Except for *selling the bones of his ancestors* and a worship of his lineage he had learnt nothing; and further he was so proud of his birth that he acted as if he had no connection with mortals. He forgot the saying:

Verse

To be proud of lineage is folly and lack of sense.
How can one be like a signet ring and live by the name of others.

When he came from Aḥmadābād to Delhī, his companions who had accompanied him in the hope of advancement, induced him to have an interview with Āṣaf-ud-Daula[2]. The latter put another seat (*sōznī*) opposite his own seat for the Mīrzā. This displeased him. After the interview though Āṣaf-ud-Daula expressed himself warmly towards him, he did not expand (respond). At last to please him Āṣaf-ud-Daula said, "When you enter the King's service, you will get the rank of 7,000 (which is the highest rank in India) on the first day." The Mīrzā at once became angry and replied, "Here every mean fellow (*pājī*) has the rank of 7,000. What honour is such a rank to me." Good God ! afterwards when the affairs of Iran became confused, and the Ṣafavī dynasty came to an end, many of this family saved themselves by migrating to India. When the

1 خوافی خان in Text, but more correctly خافی خان. His real name was Muḥammad Hāshim Khān.

2 For Asad Khān, see note 4, p. 137.

Empire here also fell from its glory, and the administration was in disorder, the respect and honour formerly paid to them disappeared. All of them went away somewhere, and obtained a livelihood by becoming connected with some high family. Stranger still some people by giving them their daughters in marriage established a connection with that august family (Ṣafavī), and gave themselves out as *Khalīfa Sulṭānis*. For example one of the Governors of Bengāl established a relationship with one of them. Later it became known that the alleged claim (of being a Ṣāfavī) was false. Some also came to the Deccan, and were honoured as scions of that family. Later when the Mirzās, who really belonged to the family, came, it became known to all that they had in fact no relationship with the family.

(KHWĀJAGĪ) MUḤAMMAD ḤUSAIN

(Vol. I, pp. 671, 672)

He was the younger brother of Qāsim Khān *Mīr Baḥr*[1] whose life has been separately described. In the 5th year of Akbar's reign he[2] came from Kābul with Mun'im Bēg Khān-Khānān, and did homage and was exalted by royal favours. When a disagreement arose between Ghani Khan the son of Khān-Khānān and Ḥaidar Muḥammad Khān Akhta Bēgi, to both of whom the Khān-Khānān had committed the charge of Kābul, the King recalled Ḥaidar Muḥammad and sent Abūl Fath, the brother's son of the Khān Khānān to Kābul to assist Ghanī Khan. He went to Kabul with Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain[3]. They spent some time there and then the latter returned to the Court. In the journey to Kashmir he was attached to the royal stirrups. As he had few equals for truth and honesty, he harmonised with the King's

1 *Maāthir ul Umara*, III, pp. 62-66.

2 When Mun'im Khān returned from Kābul in obedience to the royal command and joined Akbar at Sirhind in the Panjāb, he was accompanied by a number of officers among whom Khwājag Muḥammad Ḥusain is mentioned; see *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 114 Beveridge's translation II, p. 174.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 122, Beveridge's translation II, p. 1847.

disposition. At last he was appointed *Bakāwal Bēgī* (Superintendent of the Kitchen) and received the rank of 1,000[1]. In the 5th year of Jahāngīr's reign when the governorship of Kashmīr *Ṣūba* was assigned to Hāshim Khān[2], his brother's son who was the Governor of Orīssa, the King sent him to Kashmīr to administer the province till Hāshim Khān's arrival. In the 7th year[3] he returned to the Court and paid his respects. In the end of the same year corresponding to 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) he died. He left no son. The King writes in the *Jahāngīrnāma*[4] that he was beardless and had not a single hair on his beard or moustache, and at the time of speaking his voice resembled that of eunuchs.

(MARḤŪM MABRŪR)[5] MUḤAMMAD KĀẒIM KHĀN MAGHFŪR
(Vol. III, pp. 715-729)

He was the paternal grandfather of the writer. When his father Mīrak Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Amānat Khān[6] went to Paradise, the appreciative and judicious King Aurangzīb gave suitable ranks and appointments to all the virtuous and deserving descendants of that noble and

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 790, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1184. This appointment was made in the 46th year or 1601 A. D.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 940,941. Khwājagī Muḥammad Ḥusain's deputising for his cousin is mentioned on p. 941. Also see *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 199; his name there is given as Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥusain.

3 The year is wrongly given as 6th in the Text, it was the 7th, 1021 A.H. (1612 A. D.) during which he returned to the Court from Kashmir, see *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī, loc. cit.*, p. 229. His death also occurred not in 1020 A.H. as in the Text, but in 1021 A.H. (*op. cit.*, p. 233).

4 This is from *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge), *loc. cit.*, p. 233.

5 These epithets literally mean, the late, the purified and the forgiven.

6 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 258-268, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 221-230. He died in 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.).

dignified nobleman. Kāẓim Khān had his rank increased in his early youth, and was first appointed to the *Buyūtātī* of the Bījāpūr province, and afterwards to the *Faujdārī* of Jālnāpūr in the Aurangābād province; other parganas were also assigned to him. At the time when Brahmapūrī[1] was the seat of the imperial camp, he was sent off to the *Dīvānī* of Lāhōre. In those days household-born ones were promoted. They say that in those days the Khān was addicted to wine-drinking. One of Vazīr Khān Shāhjahānī's grand children—who was the reporter for the Capital (Lāhōre)—mentioned this among the report of events, and the Superintendent of Posting (*Dārōgha-i-Dāk*) laid this report word for word before the King. After it had been read, Aurangzīb discussed all the facts with Irshad Khān[2] the brother-in-law (of Kāẓim Khān) who was the *Dīvān* of the *Khālṣa* and observed that such a trait was extraordinary in a descendant of Amānat Khān[3], but then the writer also was a household-born (and so reliable). After reflection, and in spite of all his observance of the law and his strictness, he, in consideration of his father ordered the Superintendent (of Post) that he should write in reply that both of them were Khānazāds, and that it was highly improper for one Khānazād to write to the Court such disgusting things about another Khānazād.

When Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh) the eldest son of Prince Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam Bahādur Shāh—who was going to[4] Multān—came to the city (Lāhōre), Kāẓim Khān waited upon him, and was treated with great honour, appreciation and regard.

1 Brahmapūrī later named Islāmpūrī some 20 miles south-west of Pandhārpūr Shōlāpūr District on the southern bank of the Bhimā river. Aurangzīb stayed there for four and a half years from May, 1695—October 1699, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V. p. 6.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I. pp. 290,291. Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, p. 687.

3 The reference is to the upright nature, disinterestedness and honesty of Amānat Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge's translation I, p. 228.

4 The appointment of Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn as the governor of Multān is mentioned in Khāfī Khān II, p. 444 and his victory over Baluchis on pp. 462, [illegible]

After two or three days he became an intimate[1] friend of the Prince so that the latter was always eager for his society. The position developed so favourably that he several times petitioned the King about this, and an order came adding to his charge the *Dīvānī* of Multān, Thatha, and parts of Bhakkar and Sīwīstān. When he came to Multān—and as both of them were fond of drinking and consumption of wine—their intimacy increased, and Kāẓim Khān was treated with great distinction even in the most select and private entertainments. But with all this—in contrast with the conduct of the other *Amīrs* who knew that the coming and going of their ladies to the palace was indispensable to their position—though the Prince came for a night and day to his garden and walked about with his special attendants and there were hints about the attendance of Kāẓim Khān's ladies, the latter did not consent to such impropriety. In the Balūch expedition, which was one of the special activities of the Prince and of which Aurangzīb was also proud, after the army had devastated the territory, and the force of the tribe had been disintegrated, the Prince wanted that a body of men under the leadership of one of his immediate followers should be stationed in the houses of the Balūchīs. Many refused, but this sincere officer (Kāẓim Khān) readily accepted the task. The Balūchīs out of respect for his Saiyidship, and in spite of their strength, left their property and took to flight. When the Prince's report was received, his (Kāẓim Khān's) rank was increased and he received the title of Khān. Afterwards, when Aurangzīb died, and the Prince[2] accompanied his father (Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam), who

1 مصحب in place of مصحبت in the Text.

2 According to Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 573, 574. the news of Aurangzib's death reached Muḥammad A'zam Shāh 'Ālam or Bahādur Shāh as he was known after his coronation at Pēshāwar on 27 Dhūl Ḥijja 1118 A. H. (2nd April, 1707 A.D.). He started immediately and reached Lāhōre about the end of Muḥarram 1119 A.H. The *Khutba* was recited and the coins struck in his name, and he was crowned as the King there, and an order was sent to his son prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn governor of Multān and Thatha to join him at Lāhōre. In

marched from Pēshāwar to engage in battle with his brother Muhammad A'ẓam Shāh—both of whom struck money and recited the *Khutba* in their own names—Kāẓim Khān was left in Multān as the Deputy-*Sūbadār*. After removal from office—as he came to Lāhōre, and Bahādur Shāh went to the Deccan, Kāẓim Khān on account of the distance, could not accompany him. He spent two or three years in that city without employment, and his expenditure was greater than his income, while the opposite condition was necessary for happiness. As he possessed perfect integrity, and as most of the income of his fief was expended on the purveyors of delight and amusement, every artist being in receipt of a salary, the proceeds of the lands of his sons and their money allowances—they being both officers under the King and the Prince—were also spent. When in Sādhaurā[1], a district of Sirhind, he had the good fortune to wait upon the King and the Prince, he was granted a fief in the Panjāb and appointed to the office of 2nd *Bakhshī* of the Prince who had received the title of Jahāndār Shāh. After Jahāndar Shāh[2] became the Sovereign of India, Kāẓim Khān obtained the rank of 4,000, but owing to his independent and careless disposition, and want of regard for the prevailing conditions of the times, and the malice of Kōkaltāsh Khān[3]—who in the guise of friendship worked against him—the gates of affluence did not open for him. He became disheartened, and even left off attending the Court. One day he by chance met the King who remembered his former regard and made inquiries after him. He regretted his unemployment and his distressed circumstances and justly rebuked Kōkaltāsh Khān. A proposal was made for his appointment as the Governor of

Irvine's Later Mughals (Sarkar edn.) I, the date 22nd March, 1707, is apparently according to the Old Style. The news, it is stated, reached Bahādur Shāh at Jamrud twelve miles west of Pēshāwar.

1 It is Sodhra near Sirhind in the Patiāla State, Panjāb.

2 Jahāndar Shāh was crowned as the King in March, 1712.

3 His full name was 'Alī Murād Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh Khān Ẓafar Jang, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 817-819, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 196,197. Also see Irvine, *op. cit.*, I, p. 197.

Gujarāt or Lāhōre, but as bribery and intrigue were the order of the day and Mīrs and Vazirs were the arbiters of destinies. As such practices were quite foreign to Kāẓim Khān's nature, nothing was arranged. At last he had to be content with the government of the fort of Lāhōre. Some months had not elapsed before another flower bloomed and Farrukh-siyar came to the throne, and Kāzim Khān was nearly being censured on account of his long companionship with Jahāndār Shāh. Quṭb-ul-Mulk (the Bārah Saiyid), who had been for a time in Multān, and knew the facts, came to his assistance. He explained that Kāzim Khān had held himself aloof on account of Jahāndār Shāh's consulting Kōkaltāsh Khān in all affairs and himself remained content with nominal power; and so the danger passed away. At the close of Farrukh-siyar's reign when I'tiqād Khān Farrukh-Shāhī became influential, he, in consequence of old acquaintance—for he too had been a servant of Jahāndār Shāh—procured for the pleasure-loving Kāzim Khān the position of the *Dīvān* of Kashmīr, which was an agreeable haven for pleasure loving sybarites and was a beautiful and exhilarating landscape. When the affair of Mūḥtawī Khān—which has been described in detail in the biography of Aḥmad Khān II[1] who was the Deputy governor of that province—produced confusion there, and though Kāẓim Khān's skiff reached the shore of safety while the boats of many officials were wrecked, yet he was put on the unemployed list by the Court officials. Afterwards he came to Dehlī, and spent some years without office or comfort and died in 1135 A.H. (1723 A.D.) when he had passed his sixth decade.

His eldest son, the pardoned Mīr Ḥasan 'Alī, was the honoured father of the writer of these pages. He died in the early spring of his youth when his years had not exceeded nineteen. As yet the plant of his wishes had not bloomed, when he died in Lāhōre in 1111 A.H. (1700 A.D.). The flower of his life shed its petals from the calamity of the autumn of death. Fifteen days afterwards,

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 760-765, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 160-163.

namely on the 28th Ramaḍān, 1111 A.H. (9th March, 1700 A.D.) this imaginary image showed itself on the page of existence (that is, the author was born)[1]. Though his paternal uncles and some of his maternal relatives were still in Lāhōre, yet this weak slave left Lāhōre in his grandfather's lifetime on account of his meeting with other relations. This he did in the year[2] when Amīr-ul-Umara Ḥusain 'Alī Khān marched (for the first time) to the Deccan. The writer came to Aurangābād, and having for the sake of a home (*āb khūrd*) loosened the sandals of travel, he cast his anchor there. On account of his protracted stay there remained no chance for his return. He abandoned friends and country and became bound by family ties (*i.e.* he married) and turned his face to the profession of service. In 1145 A.H. (1732-33 A.D.) he was appointed by Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh *Divān* of the province of Berār. That disordered copy was rearranged and became resplendent, and that withered flower, by the help of the water of exertion, acquired new colour and fragrance. Excellent performance and good service displayed themselves and there fell from the truthful lips of Āṣaf Jāh the words "The work of such an one has smartness (*nimakī*)."

When Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daula Bahādur Nāṣir Jang[3]—May his

1 See 'Abdul Ḥayy's life of Ṣamsām-ud-Daula, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 16-18, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 14,15. His date of birth there is given as 29th Ramaḍān and not 28th as here; Beveridge gives the corresponding date 9th March, 1700, according to the Old Style.

2 See Beveridge, *op-cit.*, p. 15 notes 2-4, p. 16, notes 1-3; also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, p. 326 and translation I, p. 631 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, p. 631. He started for the Deccan in the 4th year of Farrukh-siyar's reign.

The rest of the note is an autobiography of the author Ṣamsām-ud-Daula Shāh Nawāz Khān up to the time he completed the preparation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*.

3 See in the account of Nāṣir Jang in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text III, pp. 848, 849; also in the biography of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, *id.*, pp. 844-846. The battle took place near Aurangābād on 20th Jumāda I, 1154 A.D. (3rd August, 1741 A.D.); also see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 383. For an

:ortune endured—was obliged by circumstances to take over the nanagement of the affairs of the Deccan, a happy chance brought he writer also to Aurangābād. By kissing the carpet of association /ith that youth of genius and happy fortune the gates of success pened for my countenance of loyalty. As Divine clemency through he intermediation of some agents admitted one to close association, .nd the glorious Fortune brought to the forefront a patron less :nknown, so without the intervention of anyone that exalted ersonality recognised my inability as my qualification and made ıe smell of my service fragrant with his special favours. And aving admitted me to a position of close association and trust and ʼithout any rival or partner, he exalted me to his close companionship ıd intimacy.

As the accomplishment of everything is dependant on its appoin- :d time, after an interval I was appointed by him as the *Dīvān* of ıe Deccan and the Deputy-*Dīvān* and *Khān-i-Sāmān* of Āṣāf ih's establishment, and in thankfulness and gratitude, therefore, I ound the straps of devotion and service round my waist. In accord- ıce with the practice of my ancestors I regarded bribery and corrup- on—which men of the day called the dues of labour, and considered ; even more legitimate than the mother's milk—as utterly abominable ıd unbecoming, and cast them away from me. It is well known ıat this exalted nobleman is never forgetful of the fear and dread f the Almighty. It is never possible nor allowable for one to isplay more than normal concern for the master or to expect excessive ıvours beyond what are due to one's position and dignity; these latter ave disappeared in these terrible times. Not even one out of a

count of Muthawwar Khān in whose house Samṣam-ul-Daula took refuge see *.aāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 776-793 and p. 108, in the notice of Quṭb-ud-Dīn ıān Khwēshgī. The work of compilation of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, according the account, took 6 years and so must have been completed in 1747 A.D., ıen he was appointed *Divān* of Berār.

For the life of the author by Ghulām 'Alī Āzād see Text I, p. 19, Beveridge's ınslation I, p. 16.

hundred possessed these virtues in these days when incapacity and unsteadiness were the outstanding characteristics. God be praised! in this case the last mentioned quality is absent. This noble Lord of ours, from obedience to whom our store of felicity was increased, was in the matter of courage like a sun, which provides an example for all and sundry. His excessive kindness is like an uncomparable cloud which grants favours to all; and his contemplative judgment by simple orders, which cannot be faced or ignored, makes people avoid committing sinful acts.

Verse

You cannot raise your head because of shame;
To some it is like a wolf, the capture of which is an art.

When things assumed another aspect and that high born well-wisher (Nāṣir Jang) out of own judgment went into retirement, as has been detailed in his account, the writer followed him as the shadow follows the substance, and consoled himself with drinking the wine of Shīrāz.

Verse

When throne and glory depart,
To suffer sorrow is not right, 'tis better to drink wine.

We spent some days in retirement and happiness; and we used to repeat :-

We have not retired into seclusion for the sake of contentment,
Preservation of our bodies has been our guiding motive.

Suddenly the envious heavens changed their lot. They who had withdrawn their feet from the world, found themselves exposed to mountains and wilderness, and were driven out of the narcissus garden (*Rauḍa-i-'Abbar*). In the midst of these changes most of them lost courage. The writer and his friend and patron had only taken a few breaths when the malevolent influence of the untoward heavens forced them into a battle. And on that day, as always, the writer accompanied his patron, and was seated behind him on his

elephant. And when the affair was extended, and the injury was changed into a defeat, and the leaders and commanders of their party took refuge in an enclosure (*muḥauwaṭa'*) near the battlefield, and nothing remained on the field except the elephant of that noble one; it also had approached the wall of the enclosure, and the others had meanwhile disappeared. On this happening of the Fortune Nāṣir Jang asked the writer as to what was now to de done. I replied, "I see no advantage in staying in this sheltered place, which is worse than no shelter—it is the target of bullets and rockets from all sides; and sacrificing one's life would be to no purpose." On hearing this that brave hearted, quick witted warrior rushed into the battlefield. He saw that elephant riders, perceiving that he was alone, were advancing against him at full speed, but he courageously and all by himself pushed on his elephant. When the enemy saw this, they shouted praises for his bravery, and refrained from attacking him. They formed a circle round him, and took him away towards Āṣaf Jāh. They were only a few paces from where he (Āṣaf Jāh) was, when some brave men, who valued their honour, drew their swords and came out like lightning from their shelter. As the day was lost (the time had gone out of hand)—and though that gallant man (Nāṣir Jang) and the writer strongly forbade them—the only effect of the proceeding was the irritation of the opposing party, and they in self-defence were compelled to restrain them by pouring in a rain of bullets. Through a strange happening of our fate, though we came safely out of the battle, we were wounded when peace prevailed. Suddenly during that commotion some vagabonds rushed at me with uplifted swords and attacked me. An officer (*'umdat*) shouted "Why are you letting yourself to be killed?", and I realizing the situation climbed down from the elephant. As God was protecting me, I fell down among a herd of elephants whose trunks and tails were entangled. Another officer out of loyalty for the great man (Nāṣir Jang) placed him on his own elephant and carried him out of danger; and the flames having blazed up settled down. Thus abandoned and in distress I met a friend and was taken to the house of Muthawwar

Khān deceased, of whom an account has been given. Though I w deserving of severe punishments for my offensive conduct, the clemei cy of Āṣaf Jāh—which is a Divine quality—was satisfied with censu ing me and depriving me of my rank and fief, and by appointir someone to attach my house.

Although in the world of fancy and mediation there was tl possibility of grave dangers, but, God be praised, for my corner retirement was not disturbed by unheard of and unseen worries.

Verse

O! corner of retirement, you have made my face glorious;
If I do not realize your worth, I become a vagrant.

It was this retirement, which led to the compilation of this worl as has been hinted in the preface. Till the invisible mystery unfolc itself and the indubitable grace comes forth, and a suitable occupatio is found, I have attempted to fill up my unemployed time wit this pleasant work. It is apparent that it is nothing more than recor ing foolish sayings and useless talk. As my mind is averse to th scourge of unemployment, and to keep away vain thoughts from wo ry ing my mind during this forced situation I could do nothing bett than to employ myself diligently to this task; and nearly six yea have passed.

Verse

We have shunned even the suspicion of pleasure as a result of misfortune
The wine was not enough to leave even a trace of intoxication.

Although for some time as a result of this pre-occupation I w safe from the disturbances of the time.

Verse

Whoever is busy, Fortune sets to something else.
The time has come when my unemployment proves useful to me.

Once again as a result of my natural inclinations which again become active as action increases—so do the results—water becomes polluted if left stagnant for a long time—how long can the mind remain afflicted—I am unable to divine.

Verse

We do not complain against the unjust heavens,
They have taken a bond with the seal of silence from us.

As the world has been endowed with hope, there is no harm in hoping.

Hemistich

Perhaps our night will also have a morning.

A chasm of difficulties has appeared between two stages of opulence; and the light of the moon of the morning is chasing the darkness of the night.

Verse

The shield of the face of hope comes round despair
The dust of the eyes of Jacob in the end becomes the collyrium.

Oh God! I do not possess the necessary courage for the management of affairs, and without means there is no hope for my achievement. Grant a little support to straighten the affairs of this destitute, and if you do not make me helpless, make the affairs easier for me, and do not leave me to my fate; and whatever is to happen, let it happen. Oh God! we crave your forgiveness for what we have done to you, and may Your gracefulness always be on the increase, and may we always receive Your favours, and may these always be on the increase; and for the sake of the Prophet Muḥammad and his descendants! May God grant blessings to Muḥammad and his descendants!

(MIR) MUḤAMMAD K͟HĀN, *known as* K͟HĀN KALĀN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 211-216)

He was the elder brother of Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad K͟hān Atka[2]. In courage and bravery he was unique in his time. He distinguished himself in the company of Mīrzā Kāmrān and in attending upon the stirrups of Humāyūn, and also did great deeds during Akbar's reign. For a long time he was the governor of the *Ṣūba* of Panjāb. Many parganas in that province were held in fief by the Atka-Khail which was a name for the brethren, sons and other relations of the Atka K͟hān. He did good work in conquering the Gakkhar country, in routing Sulṭān Ādam, and in establishing Kamāl K͟hān in the government of that area. Along with his brethren he showed bravery and daring, and a victory, which former sovereigns of Delhī had been longing for all the time, fell to his lot by the good fortune of Akbar[3]. In the 9th year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm[4], Akbar's half-brother and ruler of Kābul, who was oppressed by Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshan, crossed the Indus and begged for Akbar's help. The Emperor appointed Khān Kalan with the Panjāb officers to accompany the Mirza. It was ordered that the officers should stop Mīrzā Sulaiman from interfering with the Kābul territory, and having established Mirza Muhammad Ḥakim there under the guardianship of K͟hān Kalan's younger brother Quṭb-ud-Dīn K͟hān[5] return to their posts. When Khan Kalan with the Panjāb army and in company with the

1 In Blochmann's translation of *Āīn.* I (2nd edn.), pp. 338, 339, his name is given as Khān-i-Kalān Muḥammad.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. [illegible], and Blochmann, *op. cit.* pp. 337-338.

3 For the Gakkhar campaign see Kamāl K͟hān's biography, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text III pp. [illegible] and Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 758-[illegible].

4 This is based on *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 238-242, Beveridge's translation II, pp. [illegible].

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III pp. [illegible] and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, 353, [illegible]

Mīrzā (Muḥammad Ḥakīm) arrived in the neighbourhood of Kābul, Mīrzā Sulaimān gave up the siege and started for Badakhshān. Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm having achieved his object entered Kābul with the royal officers. Khān Kalān remained there, as he preferred to act as the *Vakīl* of the Mīrzā and manage the affairs of that province, and sent back to India Quṭb-ud-Dīn and other officers. But the Mīrzā owing to his youth was not possessed of sound reason, and always lent his ears to the falsehoods of the sedition-mongers of Kābul, who in this way wanted to stir up a strife. Khān Kalān, who was known for his loyalty and impetuosity, did not have recourse to conciliatory methods. He was upset by minor matters, and used harsh measures; as a result things did not proceed harmoniously between him, the Mīrzā and the Kābulīs. Though the Mīrzā professed submissiveness, he transacted most important matters without consulting Khān Kalān. At last, he without referring to Khān Kalān gave his sister[1], who was previously married to Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī, in marriage to Khwāja Ḥasan Naqshbandī who was passing his days in Kābul. The latter as a result of this noble alliance became arrogant, and began managing the Mīrzā's affairs. Khān Kalān, who in spite of his imperious disposition was acute, far-sighted and a good judge of men, realized that things would become unpleasant in the end. Out of far-sightedness, therefore he, one night and without anyone knowing about it, marched out of Kābul and took the high road to India, and on reaching Lāhōre breathed the sigh of ease and relief.

As the spiritual gardeners and ancient sages[2] have likened kingship to gardening, for as a gardener improves a garden by taking up a tree from one place and planting it in another; he rejects many, waters others moderately, labours hard for their proper growth, uproots wild trees, lops off ugly branches, removes trees that are huge, grafts some

1 Fakhr-un-Nisā Bēgam, a daughter of Humāyūn by Jūjak Bēgam and widow of Mīr Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī.

2 This highly elaborate simile is copied almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 332, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 486, 487.

upon others, collects fruits of different kinds and flowers of varied colours, enjoys their shades when necessary and does such things as are laid down in the science of horticulture; so the far-sighted kings by their instruction and regulation of the affairs of their servants keep alight the lamp of wisdom, and raise the standard of guidance. Wherever a large number of people of one mind and language are gathered and there are signs of crowding and commotion, the rulers must disperse them, firstly for their own good, and secondly for the welfare of the community, even though no improper acts by this crowd may have been noticed or suspected. They regard this dispersal as the basis of union, particularly as peace cannot be established when mischief comes about from the consumption of potent liquors, resulting in the intoxication of the weak-headed consumers of these cups of inebriation. This is specially the case when strife-mongers, tale-bearers and disturbers abound. As negligence is naturally implanted in human constitution, the loyal members of the Atka-Khail, who had for a long time been gathered together in the Panjāb and were administering these territories, were in the 13th year removed from their charges, and summoned to the Court. In 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.) they came to Āgra and did homage, and each of them was granted a select and fertile fief. The *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal[1], which was the finest district in India, was granted as a fief to Mīr Muhammad Khān, and Husain Qulī Khān Dhūlqadar[2], the fief-holder of the Nāgōr *Sarkār* was appointed the Governor of the Panjāb. That wide tract (Sambhal) was given to Khān Kalān[3]. In the 17th year when Akbar was encamped at Ajmēr and decided on the conquest of Gujarāt, Khān Kalān[4] and many other officers were

1 *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal in the Moradabad District, United Provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 18, 19.

2 His name is given as Khān Jahān Husain Qulī Bēg in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text III, pp. 645-653, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 645-649. See also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-351.

3 This sentence is only a repetition, as the grant of Sāmbhal to the Mīr is already described in the previous sentence.

4 See *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 4, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 6, 7;

sent in advance in that direction. When Khān Kalān reached near the town of Bahādrājan, near Sirōhī, Rāja Mān Singh Dēohara who was the chief of the area, played a trick. After reaching Gurbazi he professing obedience sent some Rājputs by way of a mission. After they had waited on Khān Kalān, he at the time of their taking leave was, in accordance with the Indian custom, giving each of them a *pān* and bidding them adieu. One of these daring and furious men struck the Khān with a dagger under the collar-bone so hard that its point came out three finger-breadths under the shoulder-blade. His men killed the Rājpūt and his companions. In spite of the severity of the wound the Khān recovered within fifteen days.

When Gujarāt was conquered in the same year by Akbar, Khān Kalān was appointed Governor of Pattan[1], which was an old town and was also known as Nahrwāla; it was formerly the Capital of the country. In the 20th year, 983 A.H.[2] (1575 A.D.) Khān Kalān died. He was a very accomplished man[3], and composed poetry both in Turkish and Persian. He composed a *Dīvān* consisting of odes and *ghazals*. His pen-name was Ghaznavī. He was also a skilled musician. It is stated that his assemblies in no place were without poets and scholars. He was an ardent admirer of elaborate compositions, pleasant and sweet songs, and a patron of master artists. The verse is his:

and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's Text II. pp. 237, 238, translation II, pp. 371, 372. Sirohi is a state in Rājpūtāna, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, pp. 28-37. Bhadrājan is situated to the north of Sirohi and east of Sīwāna.

1 Pattan is described as Anhilvada Patan in *Imperial Gazetteer*. XX, pp. 24, 25. It is famous for its Jain Temples. Khān Kalān's appointment as its Governor is mentioned in *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 33, Beveridge's translation III, p. 46.

2 In *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 163, it is stated that he died on Farwadin 19; December 1575 according to Beveridge's translation III, p. 231.

3 This appears to be adapted from Badāyūni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* Text III, p. 287, where some more of his verses are given. See also Haig's translation III, pp. 396, 397. According to Badāyūni, he told Akbar that the glory of his reign was that a man like me has lived in it.

Verse

During youth the best part of my life was spent in folly;
What was left, has been passed in repentance.

Verse

None gives water save the pupil of the eye[1];
No breath for me save a morning sigh.

Fāḍil Khān his son had the rank of 1,000. During the time when Mirzā ʿAzīz was besieged at Aḥmadābād, and every day zealous men went out to fight, he displayed devotion and was killed[2]. His second son was Farrukh Khān[3] who in the 40th year of Akbar's reign attained the rank of 500.

(SHAMS-UD-DĪN) MUḤAMMAD KHĀN[4] ATKA

(Vol. II, pp. 531-535)

He was the son of Mīr Yār Muḥammad of Ghaznī, who was a spiritually-minded landlord. When Shams-ud-Dīn was twenty years old[5], he dreamt in Ghaznī that the moon came into his arms. He related this to his father, who interpreted the dream as meaning that some good fortune would happen to him: and this would be the means of exalting the family. At first he was the servant of Mīrzā Kāmrān the brother of Emperor Humāyūn. When Humāyūn went

1 There is a play on the word مردم in the expression مردم چشم. It generally means a man, but in this verse it is the man in the eye or the pupil.

2 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 43, Beveridge's translation III, p. 61.

3 He is often mentioned in Vol. III of *Akbarnāma*.

4 His life based mainly on the account in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* was published in Blochmann's translation of the *Aʾīn* I (2nd edn.), pp. 337-338.

5 See *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 14, Beveridge's translation I, p. 43, where the dream is stated to have been in the 22nd year of his life. Beveridge added a note (p. 43, note 2) about Atga stating that it is the Turkish word Ataga meaning "the state of being a father". but in the later volumes of *Akbarnāma* adopted Atka, and this is followed here.

rom Āgra a second time to encounter Shēr Khān Sūr[1], Mīrzā Kām-
ān did not accompany him, and leaving his troops with the Emperor
roceeded to Lāhōre. Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn was one of them. When
n 10th Muḥarram 947 A.H. (17th May, 1540 A.D.) near Qanauj
nd one *farsakh*[2] from the river a great defeat was inflicted on the
yal army; the officers fled without fighting, and rushed to the river;
large number of them were drowned. Humāyūn himself attacked
he enemy twice, but later at the urgent requests of his well-wishers
:ft the field and crossed the river on an elephant. He dismounted on
he opposite bank and was looking for a way of escape. As the bank
ras high he could not find one. One of the soldiers escaped from
ne whirlpool and reached there, and taking hold of the Emperor's
and drew him up. Humāyūn asked his name and birthplace. He
:plied that his name was Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, that he was
orn at Ghaznī and was a servant of Mīrzā Kāmrān. Humāyūn made
im hopeful of royal favours. Accordingly after reaching Lāhōre he
ras taken into royal service.

Near the time of Akbar's birth[3], Humāyūn as a reward for the
:rvice rendered at Qanauj promised Shams-ud-Dīn's wife that she
ould have the nursing of the Prince. Maryam Makānī, in accord-
nce with the royal order, made over the fortunate baby to the wife of
ne said Khān who had the title of Jījī Anaga. As her delivery had
ot yet taken place, other nurses suckled the Prince, till Jījī Anaga
:tained this blessing. When Humāyūn went to 'Irāq (Iran), Mīr
nams-ud-Dīn was left at Qandahār in the service[4] of the Prince.

1 *Akbarnāma* Text I, pp. 162-167; Beveridge's translation I, pp. 349-354.
or details of the battle of Qanauj see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh* (1938), pp.
13-249.

2 *Farsakh* or *parasang* about 18,000 feet in length.

3 This is adapted from *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 44; see also Beveridge's
inslation I, pp. 130, 131, where the names of all his nurses are enumerated
d valuable notes are added regarding a number of them.

4 This is not quite correct, as Humāyūn had to fly from Mustung when
rsued by Mīrzā 'Askarī leaving Akbar behind, see Johar (Jōhur) Stewart's

When Humāyūn returned, he at the behest of Mīrzā Kāmrān came with the Prince to Kābul. On hearing of the conquest of Qandahār by Humāyūn's forces, the Mīrzā[1] took the Prince to his house, and imprisoned the Mīr in an unworthy place. As Fortune was his fate, he remained safe from the machinations of his enemies, and after the conquest of India when the Sarkār of Ḥiṣṣār was assigned as appanage of the Prince, Atka Khān was appointed to the government of that area. When the dais of the Caliphate was adorned by the enthronement of Akbar, Atka Khān[2] and other grandees were sent to Kābul to bring Maryam Makānī and the other Bēgams. When Akbar's mind became alienated from Bairām Khān, an order was sent to the said Khan, who was in his fief in Bhēra-Khūshāb[3] to make over Lāhōre to his elder brother Mīr Muḥammad Khān, and to present himself at the Court. On his presenting himself he received a flag, drums and the *Tūman-tōgh*[4] of Bairām Khān, and was appointed Governor of the Panjāb.

When it became certain that Bairām Khān was advancing to the Panjāb from Bikānīr with rebellious intentions, Atka Khān was sent in advance[5], and the Emperor himself left Delhī. Though Shams-ud-Dīn[6] Khān was not a warrior like Bairām Khān, but by the Emperor's good

translation (1832), pp. 51, 52, Erskine, *History of India* (1854) II, pp. 267-270, and Bayazīd's Memoirs Text, Hidāyat Ḥosain's edn. (1941), p. 7.

1 *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 236, Beveridge's translation I, p. 468.

2 *Ibid* Text II, p. 17. *Ibid* II, pp. 30, 31.

3 Bhera and Khūshab, in the Shāhpur District, Panjāb.

4 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.), p. 52, pl. ix, fig. 4 where it is called *Tumāntoq*. In Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 34, it is *Tumāntōgh*, while the Text has تومان و توغ.

5 *Manqalā* or *Manqalah*, advanced troops, *vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

6 The appointment of Atka Khān to quell the sedition of Bairām Khān and the battle are described in the *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 110-115, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 168-176. In note 1 on p. 169 the author suggests that Dikdār is probably Dardak in Jālandhar District, Panjāb. An exact copy of the petition is reproduced on pp. 119-121 of the Text and pp. 182-185 of the translation.

fortune, a great battle took place between them in the village of Gūnāchōr, pargana Dikdār near Jālandhar. Bairām K͟hān's men fought bravely, and threw most of Atka K͟hān's forces into confusion. But:

Verse

If you fight with your benefactor
Even if you are in heaven, you will fall head downwards.

Atka K͟hān attacked Bairām K͟hān's centre and dispersed it, and was victorious. At Sirhind he did homage, and was exalted with the title of A'ẓam K͟hān. When Mun'im K͟hān was appointed the *Vakīl*, Atka K͟hān showed his dissatisfaction and wrote from Lāhōre to Akbar that as he had rendered invaluable services in confronting Bairām K͟hān, he ought to have received his appointment. Accordingly in the 6th year he came to the Court, and received charge of the political and financial affairs. Both Māham Anaga, who considered herself as the real *Vakīl* and Mun'im K͟hān who ostensibly held that post, were vexed. At last in the 7th year[1], on 12th Ramaḍān, 969 A. H. (16th May, 1562 A.D) when Atka K͟hān, Mun'im K͟hān and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad K͟hān were engaged in public business in the Hall of Audience, Adham K͟hān son of Māham Anaga, who out of his pride of youth and prosperity was a fearless desperado, and innately given to creating disturbances, came there and all the officers stood up out of respect. As Adham K͟hān was full of envy and regarded him as a rival, he laid hold of his dagger and advanced. He said to K͟hūsham Bēg his servant "Strike this traitor". He unsheathed his dagger and struck it into Atka K͟hān's breast. The latter was wounded and in consternation fled towards the royal harem. Another of the servants of that murderer (Adham K͟hān) struck him with a sword in the courtyard of the Hall and finished him. There was a great uproar in the royal palace, and the

1 For a detailed account of the murder etc. see *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 174-178 and Beveridge's translation II, pp. 269-275.

Emperor waking up asked for an explanation. He then inflicted retribution on Adham Khān, as has been related in his account.

Verse

Would that he had been martyred the following year
As then the chronogram of his death would have been *Khān Shahīd*[1].

On hearing of this catastrophe, the Atka Khail[2] armed themselves and blocked the way of Adham Khān. Although they heard that he had been killed, but on account of the high position and influence of Māham Anaga they regarded the statement as false and went on creating a disturbance. At last some of them went and saw for themselves what had happened; and the disturbance was over. Akbar took great pains to comfort and console the sons and brothers of the martyred Khān, and to train and promote the members of the clan. Atka Khail were a large crowd. Offices of 5,000 to 100 were in their hands. No other family was at that time so large and powerful. There were also many foster-brothers of the Emperor, and most of them attained the ranks of 5,000 and 4,000. It is not known whether there were ever so many foster-brothers so highly placed under any other Sovereign.

MUHAMMAD KHĀN BANGASH[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 771-774)

In the beginning he was *Jamā'atdār* (*Jama'dār*). The Bārah Saiyids brought him to notice and introduced him into royal ser-

1 The martyred Khān, which according to *Abjad* yields 970.

2 The Atka Khail formed a very influential clan in the Panjāb, and Akbar found it necessary to remove them from there in the 13th year; see *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 332, 333. Beveridge's translation II, pp. 486-488, and note I on p. 486.

3 A much more detailed account of Muhammad Khān Bangash was published by Irvine in his classical article *The Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhābād*, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, pp. 268-357. The account in *Maāthir* deals not only with Muhammad Khān, but includes short notices of his sons Qā'im Khān and Ahmad Khān.

vice[1]. In the 3rd year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign[2], in the battle which took place with Quṭb-ul-Mulk under the generalship of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, the Khān was with Quṭb-ul-Mulk. He came with his following and joined the Emperor, and rendered useful service, and received a high rank and the title of Ghaḍanfar Jang[3]. In the 13th year corresponding to 1143 A.H[4]. (1730-31 A.D.) he was appointed Governor of Mālwa on the death of Rāja Girdhar[5] Bahādur. At that time he led a force against Chattarsāl[6] Bundīla, and having fought with him for a year he released from him the royal estates of which he had taken possession. Chattarsāl was awaiting his opportunity, and after the said Khān had dismissed the additional forces, Chattarsāl joined with the Mahrattas, and suddenly advanced and besieged him in Garhī. After a siege of four months, as there was an outbreak of Plague, the Mahratta army abandoned the siege and left. Chattarsāl was still persisting with the siege when Qā'im Khān the son of the Khān arrived with a force, and as a result Chattarsāl made peace. The Khān was

1 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 274. He was presented to the Emperor Farrukhsiyar at Bārahpul on 9th February, 1713, and received various honours and assignments.

2 Muḥammad Shāh's enthronement took place at Bidyāpūr (at Tājpūr about 4 miles from Bidyāpūr according to a footnote of Sir Jadunath in *Irvine's Later Mughals*, II, p. 1, note) on 15th Dhul Qa'da 1131 A.H. (28 September 1719 A.D.). The battle referred to is that of Hasanpūr which took place on 13th and 14th Muharram, 1133 A. H. (13th and 14th November, 1720 A.D.). see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 85-93. See also Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, pp. 280-282.

3 قائم جنگ in the Text is certainly incorrect.

4 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, p. 305, where it is stated that the "Sanad for Malwa is dated 17th Rabi I of the 12th year", *i.e.* in 1730 A. D.

5 Rāja Girdhar Bahādur was appointed Governor of Mālwa in place of Niẓām-ul-Mulk in 1725 and was killed in a battle with Mahrattas in the neighbourhood of Ujjain on 8th December 1728, see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 152, 243.

6 ستر سال in the Text is an error for چتر سال. For an account of the expedition against the Bundīlas see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 284-305.

now free and proceeded to the Court. In the battle with Nadir Shāh he was in the rearguard. He died at his appointed time. After his death his eldest son Qā'im Khān[1] became *Faujdār* of the estates of Farrukhābād etc. in the *Ṣūba* of Akbarābād. Later when Ṣafdar Jang became the *Vazīr*, he, at the instance of the latter (Ṣafdar Jang), attacked Sa'd Ullāh Khān son of 'Alī Muhammad Khān Rōhila and besieged him in Badāyūn. Though the latter made entreaties, they were of no avail. Being helpless he came out and engaged in battle. Qā'im Khān and his brothers were killed. When Ṣafdar Jang incited Emperor Ahmad Shāh and wanted to confiscate Qā'im Khān's estates, the latter's mother came veiled, and settled the matter for sixty lacs of rupees[2]. Ṣafdar Jang confiscated all the *parganas*, but gave back Farrukhābād with twelve villages which had formed the perpetual grant (*Altamgha*) of Qā'im Khān's mother since Farrukh-siyar's time. He appointed Nawal Rāi to collect the revenues, and went off to Delhī after the Emperor. Ahmad Khān the brother of Qā'im Khān collected a force of Afghāns, and killed Nawal Rāi in a battle. Ṣafdar Jang who had set out from Delhī to help Nawal Rāi on hearing of the catastrophe came to a place between the towns of Patiyālī[3] and Sahāwar in 1163 A.H. (1749-50 A.D.), and engaged Ahmad Khān. He was signally defeated, and escaped in his canopied (brass) *haudah*. Though he was wounded, and his driver and a special attendant (*sawār-i-khawāṣ*) had been killed, but he escaped from the clutches of the Afghāns owing to their being unware of his being in the *haudah*. Ahmad Khān sent his son Mahmūd Khān to confiscate the province of Oudh, and himself went to Allahābād. He did not fail to plunder and to take prisoners (on the way). In 1164 A.H. Ṣafdar Jang

1 For Qā'im Khān, see Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVII, pp. 371-383.

2 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVIII, p. 53, where the amount is given as fifty lacs of rupees.

3 Sālī in the Text should be Patiyālī (Patiali). see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 71. The battle took place on 24th September, 1750.

collected a force and having allied himself with Mulhār Rāo Hōlkar and Jai Āpā Sindhia advanced to retrieve the position.

The Mahrattas first drove off Shādil Khān[1] who was the Governor of Kūl Jalēsar on behalf of Aḥmad Khān. Aḥmad Khān, who was besieging Allahābād, on receipt of this news started for Farrukhābād. The Mahrattas followed him and besieged him there. He made most of his opportunity and went away to Ḥusainpūr which was a better fortified place. On the day when Sa'd Ullāh Khān son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān came to his assistance, a battle took place. He was defeated and took refuge in the skirts of the hills. His country was devastated. At last he humbled himself and made peace in accordance with Ṣafdar Jang's wishes. For a long time he managed affairs in his country, and his good nature became well known. He was most assiduous in attending to many high born men and women who took refuge with him after the sack of the Capital[2], and without expecting any service of them sent monthly allowances to the house of each one of them. His behaviour to people was very gentle and humble, and he left a record for the time of doing good without expecting a return[3]. There is no information about his descendants[4].

MUḤAMMAD KHĀN NIYĀZI

(Vol. III, pp. 372-376)

He was an *Amīr* of the time of Akbar, and was distinguished by his services among the Afghan officers of his Court. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* states that he had attained the rank of 2,000[5], but

1 Shādī Khān in the Text, but it should be Shādil Khān Ghilza'ī, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 86.

2 Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 128 *et seq.*

3 For Aḥmad Khān's habits and character see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 154-159.

4 For his children see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.

5 This is apparently incorrect, as in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text II,

Shaikh Abūl Faḍl in the 40th Ilāhī year does not place his rank higher than 500. In Jahāngīr's reign, however, he rose to a high rank and became famous. It is stated that Jahāngīr proposed to award titles to three persons, but they refused. They were Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī[1], Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī[2] and Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī[3]. The last mentioned said "What name can I take that is higher than mine, which is Muḥammad?" In the beginning of his career he distinguished himself in Bengal in company with Shāhbāz Khān[4] Kambū. He specially acquired a name for bravery and courage in the battles on the Brahmaputra. It is stated that Shāhbāz Khān in view of his companionship and service used to give him a lac of rupees every year from his own resources. In the Thatha campaign he was an auxiliary of Khān-Khānān.

When in the year 1000[5] A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) Mīrzā Jānī Bēg the ruler of Sindh came out of the fort where he was besieged, and proceeded towards Sīwistān so that he might attack the boats of the victorious army, Khān-Khānān sent a force, which included Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī, in that direction and himself followed later. When the force sent reached the boats, some thought that they should fortify

p. 452, it is stated: "از طائفهٔ افغان نیازیست - و به پایهٔ امرای رسید" See also De's translation II, p. 680.

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 540, 541, where a short biography of his is given.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 434-441.

3 *Ibid* I, pp. 737-739. Beveridge's translation I, pp. 128-130.

4 For Shāhbāz Khān Kambū see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 590-601 and Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 436-440. The battles on the Brahmaputrā are detailed in *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 438-440, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 657-659, in the account of the 28th year of Akbar's reign in 1584 A.D. There is no mention, however, of Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī there. See also *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn* (Salam's translation), p. 167, and Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 178, 179.

5 *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 608, 609, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 929—931; see also *Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī* (Hidayat Husain edn.) II, pp. 357-373.

Lakhī, and await reinforcements, but on the urgent representation of the brave men it was decided to fight. Under the leadership of Muhammad Khān Niyāzī they passed Lakhī, and engaged the enemy. The latter drove off the vanguard and the right and left wings and were exultant at their success. Muḥammad Khān arrived with the centre and by hard fighting defeated the enemy which were 5,000 strong, while the imperial force did not consist of more than 1,200 soldiers. Mīrzā Jānī turned back several times and fought, but it was without effect. It is stated that from this date Khān-Khānān had full confidence in his leadership. In the time of Jahāngīr in the battle of Khirkī—which was one of the famous engagements in the Deccan—Khān-Khānān entrusted the charge of his son Shāh Nawāz Khān[1] to Muḥammad Khān and Yāqūb Khān Badakhshī who were both experienced soldiers of the time. On that day Muḥammad Khān employed an excellent stratagem. He took possession of the stream which flowed through the plain (of battle), and stopped all its crossings. He held its bank, and did not allow Shāh Nawāz Khān to rush forward. Malik ʻAmbar with all his force and equipment was met by a shower of arms and bullets wherever he tried to cross. Malik ʻAmbar lost many of his troops and was compelled to fly; owing to the pursuit of his brave foes he found no resting place till he reached his base (home).

When Prince Shāh Jahān undertook the campaign in the Deccan, Muḥammad Khān did not slacken in the performance of brave deeds.

1 His name was Iraj and he was the eldest son of Khān-Khānān ʻAbd-ur-Raḥīm. He was granted the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān in the 6th year, 1611 A.D., of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Tuzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers and Beveridge) I, p. 197. For his life see *Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī* (Hidayat Husain edn.) II, pp. 612-635, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* II, pp. 645-648. The battle of Khirkī is mentioned in the last work on p. 646 as having taken place in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign in 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). It is called Karkī in *Tuzūk* (*op. cit.*, p. 314) and Kirkī by Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 263; while in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 647, it is stated that it is now known as Aurangābād, and is situated 5 *kos* from Daulatābād. The battle took place some miles from Kirkī.

In fact Muḥammad Khān was a conscientious official and was generally liked by most people. It is said that he had divided his time, both during day and night, and during his life of eighty-five years made no change whatsoever in it; occasionally, however, when travelling or during sudden expeditions there were some omissions. From the last three hours of the night till sunrise he spent the time in reading the Qur'ān, and till six hours of the day he used to read commentaries and books of travel. Consequently he was fully conversant with the Afghān genealogies. After that he took his food and rested, and in the end of the day he attended to business. The first part of the night he spent in discussions with soldiers, *'Ulamā* and *faqīrs*, and spent the next six hours in the harem. He was also ceremonious about eating, and had a posse of sentries on duty at that time. Most of his soldiery belonged to his tribe. If one of them died, he assigned his full pay to his son. If, however, he was childless, his other heirs received half his pay. He was possessed of devotion, piety and orthodoxy in full measure. He never failed to perform ablutions. People told tales about his miracles. He died in 1037 A.H. (1627-28 A.D.). *Ba-murd aūliyā Muḥammad Khān* (The saint Muḥammad Khān is dead) is the chronogram.

As he spent much time in the Deccan, and the pargana of Āshtī[1] in Berār on the further (*i.e.* east) side of the river Wardhā[2] was in his fief, he made his home in that town. Through his efforts he greatly developed the place by increasing its population and erecting buildings. He was buried there. Aḥmad Khān[3], his son and successor, built a tomb and a mosque, and laid out a garden; this public park was greatly frequented by the public. At present the town, the pargana and in fact the whole neighbourhood has become desolate.

1 In the Wardhā District due west of Nāgpūr in the Central Provinces, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 11.

2 *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIV, pp. 375, 376.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 185-188, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 167, 168.

Out of a hundred houses there is only one with a light in it (i.e. is occupied), and one village in ten yields rent. No one of the family either is left, who holds any position[1].

(ḤĀJĪ) MUḤAMMAD KHĀN SĪSTĀNĪ

(Vol. I, pp. 548-551)

He was one of the distinguished servants of Bairām Khān[2], who always treated him as a companion and counsellor. Accordingly in the year 961 A.H. (1551 A.D.), when a number of insurgents made certain representations to Humāyūn about Bairām Khān, who was then Governor of Qandahār, the King went there from Kābul. After reaching there he was convinced that there was no truth whatever in all that had been said, and after spending the winter there, he confirmed Bairām Khān in his post at Qandahār, and returned. As a precautionary measure, however, he took Ḥājī Muḥammad[3] with him, as people always suspected him of plotting. After the conquest of India, he, through Bairām Khān's instrumentality, received the title of Khān and promotion to a high office. In the 1st year of Akbar's reign, when the Emperor started towards Delhī from Jālandhar to extirpate Hēmū, he sent Khiḍr Khwāja Khān[4] with Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī and other officers to Lāhōre to put down Sikandar Shāh Sūr and to settle the affairs of the *Ṣūba* of Panjāb. When the defeat of Tardī Bēg Khān in the vicinity of Delhī introduced confusion in the affairs, Mullā 'Abdullāh Makhdūm-ul-Mulk, who outwardly declared himself as a supporter of the Emperor, but in secret was a partisan of the

1 See Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, p. 541, note 2 and Beveridge, loc. cit., pp. 168, 169, note 5 in respect to Āshti and the tombs of the father and the son.

2 For Bairām Khān Khān-Khānān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 381-384, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 368-378.

3 *Akbarnāma* Text I, p. 334, Beveridge's translation I, p. 612.

4 In *Akbarnāma* Text II, p. 31, Beveridge's translation p. 50, it is stated that Akbar left Khiḍr Khwāja Khān to settle the Panjāb affairs and quel the disturbances caused by Hēmū.

MUHAMMAD MURĀD KHĀN I

(Vol. III, pp. 219-221)

He was the son of Amīr Bēg[1] Mughal, and one of Akbar's officers of the rank of 3,000. In the 9th year he was appointed with Āṣaf Khān[2] 'Abdul Majīd to conquer the country of Garh Katanka[3]. In the 12th year he received a fief in Mālwa and was sent with Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad[4] to put down Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā and Muhammad Husain Mīrzā. When the Mīrzās becoming frightened of the royal armies fled and took the route to Gujarāt, the officers of the expedition all halted in their respective fiefs, and the said Khān also took up his quarters in Ujjain which formed a part of his fief. In the 13th year[5] when the Mīrzās again came to Mālwa from Khāndēsh, and stirred up strife round Ujjain, the said Khān and Mīr 'Azīz Ullāh *Dīvān* of the *Ṣūba* of Mālwa having received news of their evil intentions two days ahead, took steps to strengthen the fort of Ujjain. When the news reached the Emperor (Akbar), he deputed a force under Qulīj Khān. The Mīrzās were frightened of the royal army and hastened towards Māndū. The Khān and other Amīrs pursued them. The Mīrzās crossed the Narbadā. In the 17th year when the Mīrzās stirred up a disturbance in the province of Gujarāt, and the Mālwa fiefholders in accordance with the Orders, joined Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka, Muhammad Murād Khān also came, and on the day of the battle[6] was in the left

1 Amir Khān Mughal Bēg according to Blochmann's translation of *A'īn*, (2nd edn.), p. 404 where Murād Khān's biography is given.

2 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text I, pp. 77-83, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 36-40, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-398.

3 For Garh Katanka or Gōndwāna see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 39[?] note 2.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 567-570. His appointment to the Mālwa expedition in the 12th year of Akbar's reign is mentioned on p. 568.

5 *Akbarnāma* Text II, pp. 330, 331, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 484-486.

6 *Akbarnāma* Text III, pp. 24,25, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 33-3[?].

wing of the army. When the enemy was victorious, and dispersed both wings of the imperialist army, Muḥammad Murād withdrew and became a spectator. Later according to orders, he went with Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka in pursuit of Muẓaffar (Gujarātī). Afterwards he was deputed with Mun'im Khān to conquer Bengāl. In the 19th year he was sent by Khān-Khānān towards Fatḥābād and Bōgla[1] with a view to maintaining peace in that area. When Khān-Khānān died, and Dā'ūd and others raised disturbances in that country, the said Khān left Jalēsar[2] (in Orissa) and came to Tānda. In the 25th year corresponding to 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.) he died in the same district.

MUḤAMMAD MURĀD KHĀN II

(Vol. III, pp. 682-692)

He was the son of Murshad Qulī Khān Muḥammad Ḥusain. His maternal grandmother had the name of Māh Bānū; she was brought up by Najība Bēgam[3], an aunt of Aurangzīb. Later she had great influence in the royal seraglio. On this account the Khān and Mīr Malang his sister's son—who was Kām Bakhsh's *Mīr Bakhshī* and received the title of Aḥsan Khān—were brought up in the harem. His father had the title of Murshad Qulī Khān. His brother Mīrzā Muḥammad[4] was at first the Accountant of the *Ghusulkhāna*, and in the 27th year, when he was deputed to collect the balance of the

The battle took place at Pattan on 22nd January, 1873, and was nearly lost, but was retrieved by Mīrzā Azīz Kōka and Quṭb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka.

1 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 119, Beveridge's translation III, p. 169. Bāglana in the Text is a mistake for Bōgla in the Bāqargunj District, Bengāl.

2 *Akbarnāma* Text III, p. 161, Beveridge's translation III, p. 161.

3 She was the sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, the famous queen of Shāh Jahān who is buried in the Tāj Maḥal at Āgra.

4 Apparently the Mīrzā Muḥammad who is mentioned in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 245, as having been sent to Quṭb-ul-Mulk.

tribute due from Abūl Ḥasan[1], an order was passed that "As we know you to be a household-born and one who is acquainted with our wishes, it is proper that, as others have been led away by avarice, you should not flatter him. Rather you should speak to him plainly, and be rude to him so that he also may be rude to you, and we may thus have a cause for his extermination[2]." So he went, and, in accordance with the Emperor's wishes, used audacious language and behaved improperly. Abūl Ḥasan bore all this patiently. It is stated that one day Abūl Ḥasan remarked: "I also am a King of this country. Why am I treated with contempt?" Mīrzā Muḥammad became angry and replied, "You have no right to use the appellation of king with your name; this very presumption will be the cause of anger on the part of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh." Abūl Ḥasan replied, "Mīrzā Muḥammad, this objection of yours is incorrect. If I am not to be called a king, how can His Majesty 'Ālamgīr be styled as the King of Kings?"

In the beginning of his career the Khān was granted the title of Sa'ādat Khān, and appointed to the high post of the Recorder for the whole of the Deccan. In the 27th year when the King deputed Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam on the expedition of Rāmdara, the Khān was appointed Recorder of the Prince's army. Later when the Prince was sent against Abūl Ḥasan, he was promoted to the post of the *Dīwān* of Khān Jahān Bahādur's army. In one of the battles there his loyalty was made apparent by his being wounded. Afterwards when the Prince's expedition after repeated fights with Abūl Ḥasan ended in a peace, the Khān was greatly favoured and left behind to collect the balance of the tribute. As the peace was not approved of by the King, he, in the 29th year, after conquering

1 For Abul Ḥasan Tānā or Quṭb Shāh see Irvine's note in Manucci, IV, p. 444 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 330-386.

2 This is apparently adapted from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 294, but there is no mention of the precious stones which Aurangzib demanded of Abūl Ḥasan. See also *Siyar-ul ul-Muta'akhkhrin* (Nawal Kishore edn.), I, p. 349, translation, Calcutta reprint edn. IV, pp. 166-168.

Bījāpūr proceeded to Gōlconda. He communicated to the Khān what was in his mind, and sent him strict orders for the collection of the tribute. Abūl Ḥasan out of vain hope deposited as a security with the Khān nine trays of jewels with a memorandum, and arranged that whatever cash also could[1] be raised should be sent to Aurangzīb with the jewels, the value of which was to be appraised. It so happened that after this arrangement Abūl Ḥasan sent some loads[2] (*Babngīs*) of fruit as an offering to the King, and Sa'ādat Khān also on his account sent some bearers with presents of fruit. Meanwhile it became certain that the King was marching in that direction; Abūl Ḥasan demanded back his jewels from the Khān, and appointed a force to go to his house. The commotion lasted two days. The Khān did not surrender his loyalty and remarked, "You are undoubtedly right. But when I knew that the King and his victorious army were marching in this direction, I saw that my deliverance lay in my sending the trays of jewels to him[3], and this I did by bearers. My head is at your disposal. You may kill me, but the King could not desire a better excuse for your extirpation than the killing of his envoy." Abūl Ḥasan left him alone.

After the conquest of Gōlconda the Khān, as he did not, out of his good nature, wish to increase the fire (of discord), made no mention of one or two matters in his reports. The King came to know of these from some other sources, and he was censured; his rank was reduced by 200 and 200 horse, and he was deprived of his title. During this time he tried to hand over the trays of jewels, which were worth about ten lacs of rupees, to the royal officials, but no one agreed

1 The Text here is rather confused, but is quite clear in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 323, where it is stated that as Abūl Ḥasan found it impossible to pay the tribute in cash, he sent to Sa'ādat Khān nine trays of jewels and promised to raise as much cash as he could within two or three days, after which the whole lot was to be sent to Aurangzīb.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 324, 325.

3 This was not correct, as he had not sent the trays of jewels to Aurangzīb

to take charge of them. After a year the officials reported about t matter. The King, who was appreciative of his character, remarke "I am satisfied about his honesty. Take over the goods and give hi a receipt." During those very days he was restored to his former ran and it was proposed to grant him his father's title. He, howeve asked for the title of Khān to be added to his name, and was design ed Muḥammad Murād Khān. Up to the end of Aurangzīb's reig as he was rather indifferent to the officials of the *Bakhshī* departmer he only attained the rank of 700 with 400 horse. Contrary to regul arrangements he was the Recorder of the city and parganas of the *Ṣū* of Aḥmadābād in succession to various officials, and also serve as *Faujd* of Gōdrah[1] and Thāsrah[2] in the same province. Laterd when Bahād Shāh succeeded as the King, though the Khān had behaved loyal ever since he was a Prince to the Ḥaidarābād expedition—when t said Khān was deputed by Aurangzīb as the Recorder of the Roy Army—but as he had the title of Sa'ādat Khān at the time, I'tim Khān represented through Dhulfaqār Khān, who also was in ignoran of the change of the title, that Muḥammad Murād Khān was related Kām Bakhsh's *Bakhshī*, and was in charge of the lands in the provin of Gujarāt which was a good recruiting ground for soldiers. Accordit ly he was removed from service and summoned to the Presence.

Though Khān-Khānān on hearing of this business, which h been instigated by his foes, convinced the King of his innocenc and an order was sent reinstating him in his charge, but he to pro the assignments in his charge left the affairs to other officials, a came to the Court in the 2nd year of the reign. After his present tion he received a robe of honour and a decorated *sarpēch*, and w raised to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. Later on review rank was advanced to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was appoint Superintendent of Branding. In the 3rd year when the King, aft

1 Headquarters of Panch Maḥal district in Bombay, some 50 miles nor east of Barōda, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 301.

2 Thāsrah of the Text is probably Tausrah which is shown west of Gōdl in Bayley's map of Gujarāt.

disposing the affair of Kām Bakhsh proceeded from Haidarābād to Upper India, his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and he was awarded the drums and appointed Governor of Bījāpūr. But for want of funds—although Dhulfaqār Khān helped him—he could not proceed to his *ta'lūqa*. He was consequently made the Deputy governor of Aurangābād—the substantive appointment of which was with Dhulfaqār Khān—and he went there. In the same year he was removed from there. In the 4th year corresponding to 1122 A. H. (1710 A. D.) he died. He was unique for courage and zeal. In the later years[1] when 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh required more troops, he sent orders to most of the governors that they should send to the Court the unemployed sons of officers on the prospect of their being taken into service. Muḥammad Murād, who was then the *Faujdār* of Gōdra and Thāsrah, on hearing of this represented that while His Majesty was himself proceeding to put down the infidels, it was unbecoming that his servants should sit in the shade of the wall, and rest in ease. Whatever order he issued in regard to the officers' sons, he hoped that this slave (himself) might be allowed to serve in person. The King in reply greatly praised him, and sent an order requiring him to come with the troops. He also wrote a letter of censure to Shujā'at Khān Khān Muḥammad Bēg the *Ṣūbadār* of Gujarāt, who had reported that there were no more men fit for service. Muḥammad Murād's representation was added as an appendix. Shujā'at Khān on receipt of this censure warned the inhabitants of the city against agreeing to accompany Muḥammad Murād Khān. The latter on seeing this situation was helpless, but he arranged with a man—who formerly had been the *Bakhshī* of Shuja'at Khān's household, but, as he was dissatisfied, had retired from his service sometime back—and by giving personal guarantee (?) collected[2] men through him, and

1 This account is adapted from Khafi Khān, II, pp. 478-483.

2 According to Khāfī Khān, III, p. 481, he as a result of great efforts collected some 500 men, and he promised to intercede specially for Hidāyat Ullāh, the retired *Bakhshi* of Shujā'at Khān.

left for the Presence. On arrival at the royal Court he was appointed to the charge of a battery at the siege of the fort of Panhāla[1].

One day one of his sons went out of the battery for recreation, and with a bow and arrows went in pursuit of some buffaloes which were grazing on the plain. As the buffaloes belonged to the fort, they as usual went up the hill. He came and informed his father of this discovery. The latter with his men established a battery in the waist of the hill, and representing the matter to the Emperor asked for assistance. The Emperor ordered Rūḥ Ullāh Khān and Tarbiyat Khān to assist him. They purposely delayed, and sent a message to the Khān that they would never help him, and that he had better report that the position was untenable and he had erred in selecting it. When his representation was laid before the Emperor, he remarked, "Why did he make a futile movement? He should return to his battery." But the Emperor came to know of the real facts from his scouts. Next day the Khān contrary to custom came alone to pay his respects. The Emperor said, "Why have your companions not come?" He said in reply, "Because they are tired of the futile movement that was made yesterday."

He was a master of repartee. It is stated that while he was an envoy at Ḥaidarābād, one day in Abūl Ḥasan's assembly, when the learned men of the place were all present, there was a talk about the virtues of 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh. The talk brought up a reference to the occasion when a disagreement arose between the Emperor[2] and the ruler of Iran in regard to the disrespect shown to Tarbiyat Khān the ambassador. An order was issued that the horses sent by

[1] Parnāla in the Text. It is Panhāla the historic hill-fort in Kōlhāpūr State, Bombay; *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIX, pp. 396, 397. For the siege of Panhāla in 1701 A. D., see Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 477-489, where Muḥammad Murād Khān's part in occupying a hill between Panhāla and Pāvangarh is described in detail. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 173-179.

[2] Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 325-327.

the ruler of Iran be slaughtered and the carcasses distributed among the poor. It was said that in spite of the very strong grounds for resentment this act could only be ascribed to their acting to the dictates of passion. The horses should have been given to the learned and the pious. The Khān said, the ruler of Iran played no part whatsoever in the matter. The real facts were that the Master of the Horse brought the animals for inspection while the King was engaged in reading the Qur'ān. He wanted to defer the test of the reading to the next day and inspect the horses. Just then the verse[1] was read which mentioned that prophet Solomon while inspecting the gift of horses had omitted to perform the necessary prayers, and how in atonement he had slaughtered the horses. Accordingly Aurangzīb, with tears in his eyes, passed the order to regulate his will. They thereupon asked, "What was the reason for sending the horses to the gates of the houses of the Iranian officers[2]?" The Khān replied, "This is an incorrect report. The real facts are that Shāhjahānābād was a newly founded city, and there was no ward in which there was not the house of some Iranian officer; and such wards were known by the names of these officers. As the killing of horses in one place was objectionable on account of the crowd of the poor, it was decreed that one or two horses be killed and distributed in each ward." The Reporter sent this news to the Court, where it reached the royal ears; and the Khān was praised for his skill.

It is stated that when Ibrāhīm Khān Zīg after his appointment as the *Ṣūbadār* of Gujarāt arrived there and Prince Bīdār Bakht was summoned to the presence, Muḥammad Murād Khān, who was the *Faujdār* of Gōdrah and Thāsrah, received a robe of honour at night from the Prince and was allowed to depart to his assignment.

1 The verses referred to are in Sūra XXXVIII entitled Ṣ (*Ṣād*), verse 31 onwards, see Sale, II, p. 320, note p; also Abdullah Yusuf Ali, pp. 1224, 1225, notes 4183-4187.

2 See Irvine's edn. of Manucci II, p. 146, and note 2 for the story in reference to the horses.

As soon as he reached his home he was summoned by Ibrāhīm Khān[1], and the latter after enquiries about the Prince informed him about the death of Aurangzīb—news of which had just reached him—and said it was essential that he should go immediately and inform the Prince. The Khān reached the Prince's *Darbār* at midnight. The eunuch on duty said that the Prince was sleeping. The Khān remarked that the matter was urgent and the Prince must be informed. As the Prince turned in his bed, the eunuch represented that Muḥammad Murād was in attendance. The Prince enquired whether he was wearing the dress that had been presented to him or had changed it. The eunuch replied that he was wearing a white dress. The Prince sent for him, and after hearing the news showed signs of grief. The Khān after expressing his sympathy congratulated him on his inheriting the sovereignty. The Prince said, "Certain people did not appreciate Aurangzīb. What likelihood is there that time would be favourable to us. Now it will be seen what a madman they will have to deal with".

Muḥammad Murād Khān had many sons and daughters. His eldest son Jawād 'Alī Khān was an expert calligrapher. In his old age he was afflicted by weak eyesight and lived in retirement at Aurangābād. His eldest daughter was married to Mīr Ḥusain son of Amānat Khān Mīr Ḥusain. Some other descendants of his sons are living in Gujarāt and Aurangābād.

MUḤAMMAD QĀSIM KHĀN BADAKHSHĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 202-204).

His pen-name was Maujī[2], and he was the son-in-law of Mīr Muḥammad Jālahbān[3]. He held the office of *Jālahbān* (Raft-

1 See also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, p. 299, where the statement of Prince Bīdār Bakht is differently worded.

2 *Akbarnāma*. Text I, p. 223, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 450,451.

3 In Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, p. 599, he is mentioned as having built a bridge on the Ganges in 934 A. H., 1528 A. D. See also p.

Superintendent) in Badakhshān. When Humāyūn[1] in obedience to his father's orders went from India to Badakhshān and spent some time there, he favoured Muḥammad Qāsim, and the latter, considering the constant favours of that exalted personality to his advancement and benefit, continued to serve him zealously. It is stated by some authorities that in his early days he was a servant of Bābur, and from his boyhood he grew up in the service of Humāyūn. In any case he was with Humāyūn on the hazardous journey to Iran which had to be undertaken owing to adverse circumstances and misfortune, and was a real test of the fidelity of his followers; he followed Humāyūn on the royal stirrups. After the return from 'Irān and the conquest of Kābul[2] in 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.), Humāyūn stayed in Badakhshān to settle the affairs of that area. Mīrzā Kāmrān, who had been waiting for an opportunity, regarded Humāyūn's absence as favourable to himself, and coming to Kābul took possession of the city. Humāyūn returned rapidly, and besieged it. The Mīrzā[3] in his foolishness addressed himself to the punishment of innocent children and dishonouring chaste women, and cruelly exposed Akbar, who was then four years old and was in the fort of Kābul, in front of guns, but he was protected by God. One day Mīrzā Kāmrān hung up the wife of Qāsim Khān by the breasts, but even this treatment did not shake Qāsim Khān's loyalty and zeal, it rather increased his devotion. Later in the reign of Akbar Qāsim Khān was promoted from the post of *Jālabbānī* to that of *Mīr Baḥr* (Admiral) of India. He built a delightful residence in the capital on the bank of the Jumna[4]. In later

633, Mīr Muḥammad the raftsman was awarded a dagger as a reward for the excellent bridge built by him.

1 In 1527 A. D. Humāyūn left from near Alwar for Badakhshān, see *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. III, Beveridge's translation I, p. 267; also Mrs. Beveridge's *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, p. 579.

2 This is a reference to the recovery of Kābul by Humāyūn for the second time in April 1547, *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 267, Beveridge's translation I, p. 514.

3 See *Akbarnāma*, Text I. pp. 264,265, Beveridge's translation I, p. 510.

4 See *ante* note 1.

days he resigned service and went into retirement. In the end of 979 A.H. (1572 A.D.) he died[1]. He wrote a poem of 6,000 verses on the theme of *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikhā*[2]. These two verses are from this composition[3] :

Verses

In passing her hand of refusal she displayed its dexterity;
From the new to the full moon are exhibited on her nails.
Her walking transcends the bounds of description;
For there the utmost delicacy is evident.

And this verse is also his:

Verse

Cup-bearer, how long shall I dilate on my tale of woe at the hands of fate?
Fill the cup, that I may free my mind of grief for a moment.

MUHAMMAD QULĪ KHĀN (the Convert)
(Vol. III, pp. 577-580).

He is Nētūjī Bhonsle[4]. He was nearly related to the famous Sivājī (Shivājī) and was the chief officer of his state. When as a

1 Literally—He drew the boat of his life to the bank of non-existence; apparently an allusion to his office as the Admiral.

2 The famous *Mathnavi* of Jāmi, see Ivanow, *Descriptive Cat. Persian Mss. A. S. B.* (1924), p. 270

3 Other verses by Mauji are reproduced in Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh*, Text III, pp. 324-326, Haig's translation III, pp. 448-450.

4 More correctly Nētūjī Pālkar, or Nētājī Pālkar (*Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 254), the famous general of Shivājī, who played an important part in the rout of Bijāpūri army after Afdal Khān's murder. According to Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 39, he was one of the three people whom Shivājī took into his confidence, and he was to be the Regent for his young son Shambhūjī in case Shivājī was killed. His name is Nathūjī in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 191. According to Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas* (1921 edn.) I, pp.

result of the masterly campaign of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, Sivājī, in the 8th[1] year of Aurangzīb's reign, entered on the path of obedience and loyalty to the Emperor, and his son Sambhājī (Shambūjī), who was eight years old, became a servant of the State, it was also agreed that he (Shambūjī) would accompany the Rāja, and his army and attendants will be in attendance to perform service. Sivā also, in case there was an important duty in those regions, would gird up his loins and render military duty in person. At this time Nētūjī, who was his confidant and the head of his troops, was on the recommendation of Mīrzā Rāja raised to the rank of 5,000. When the Rāja, after the conclusion of the expedition against Sivā, was deputed to attack the Bījāpūr territory, Nētūjī, in the beginning of that campaign as the leader of Sivā's forces, rendered valuable service. He by his own exertions conquered Mangalbēra[2] and other forts on the border of Bījāpūr from the 'Ādil-Shāhī forces, and established imperial stations (*Thānas*) there.

As the Rāja did not really intend to besiege Bījāpūr, and moreover did not have the necessary paraphernalia for the siege, he turned back when he was five *kos* from Bījāpūr, and proceeded to chastise the Bījāpūrī leaders who had entered the imperial territories and had stirred up a commotion. He sent Sivā to the fort of Panhāla[3], which was one of 'Ādil Shāh's great forts, in order that the enemy might be alarmed and send part of their forces in that direction; and if Sivā was successful he should conquer the fort. Sivā arriving at the foot of the fort attacked it with his men, but, as the garrison had been forewarned,

128,157, he was appointed *Surnobat* in 1657 and continued to play an active part in all campaigns up to 1664. According to *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 58, and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 200, he was the son-in-law (*Khwēsh*,) of Shivājī.

1 Rāja Jai Singh was appointed to the Deccan campaign in the 7th year, 1074 A.H., and successfully concluded the campaign with the Treaty of Purandhar (Purandar) in the 8th year, 1075 A.H.(1665 A.D.), see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 48, 50, 51. Also see Irvine's edition of Manucci II, pp. 120-125, 137, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji*, pp. 105-138.

2 Mangalbirah (Mangalvedhe) in Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 133.

3 Parnāla in the Text, see also Manucci, IV, p. 436, where it is called Panālah.

they resisted and a battle ensued. Sivā lost a number of his m and retired to the fort of Khēlna which was twenty *kos* distant a in his possession. At this time there arose a disagreement betw him and Nētūjī the general of his forces, and the latter left a joined the Bījāpūrīs. He, in company with the Bījāpūrī officers, l no stones unturned in creating disturbances in the imperial territor The Mīrzā Rāja, in view of the prevailing conditions and as a mat of policy, by cajolery and skilful handling conciliated him, and again entered on the path of obedience. In the beginning of the 9 year through good luck he gave up his wicked ways and leaving i enemy joined the Rāja. When the Rāja turned his reins towa Aurangābād, he kept Nētūjī under surveillance in Fathābād Dhārwā

It happened that at this time[1] the crafty Sivā, who, of his ow accord had gone to the Court, fled from Āgra where the Emperor w staying at the time. Accordingly an order[2] was sent to the Rāja contrive to get hold of Nētū, and to send him to the Court, lest should once again be induced by his old companionship to join t fugitive. The Rāja appointed a force to take him and his son fr Farhābād, and place him at Bīr in the charge of Dilēr Khān, who acc dance with orders was proceeding to the Court. Dilēr Khā crossed the Narbadā and according to orders was appointed to Chānc Nētū after arrival at the Court was handed over to Fidā'ī Khān[4] M Ātish, and a party of the artillery men was appointed to look af

1 This happened in the 9th year of Aurangzib's reign in 1076 A.H. (16 A.D.), see *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 971; Manucci, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 140; Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-157. In the last work full details and references to most sources a given.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 205.

3 Dilēr Khān Dā'ūdza'ī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 42-56, Beveridge translation, I, pp. 495-505.

4 His account is given under his titular name Ā'zam Khān Kōka *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 247-252, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 311-314. H was appointed Superintendent of Artillery or *Mīr Ātish* in the 4th year Aurangzīb's reign.

him. After some days[1] he conceived a desire to turn a Muhammadan. When the King was informed of this through the Khān (Fidā'ī), he pardoned Nētū's offences, and favoured him in various ways. That favourite of fortune, who had spent his life in idolatory, had the good fortune of acquiring a knowledge of the edicts of the holy Islām, and his mind was cleared of the darkness of polytheism. After having been trained in the tenets and observances of Islām, he became the recipient of royal favours; he was exalted by appointment to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and granted the title of Muḥammad Qulī Khān and other high indulgences. Later[2] he was appointed as an auxiliary to Kābul, and received an elephant. By his instrumentality his uncle Kūndājī also embraced Islām, and received the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse.

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ KHĀN BARLĀS

(Vol. III, pp. 204-207).

He was a descendant of the Barantaqs[3]. His noble tribe was greatly esteemed and distinguished in the service of the Chaghtā'ī sovereigns. His great-grandfather Amīr Chākū-i-Barlās[4] was one of the chief officers of Amīr Tīmūr. Muḥammad Qulī was a cultured

1 See Khāfī Khān, II, p. 207. The date of his circumcision is given as 1st of Shawwāl 1077 A.H. (27th March, 1667 A.D.), see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 60. See Manucci, *op. cit.*, p. 139, note 1, where his new name is wrongly given as Murshid Qulī Khān, and also Grant Duff, *op cit.*, p. 173, note 6.

2 See Manucci, *op. cit.*, p. 140. It is curious that in the *Maāthir* biography no mention is made of his escape to the Deccan at a later date where he caused much trouble to the imperialists, see Khāfī Khān, II, p. 207. The date according to Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 288, was June 1676, when he returned to the Deccan "after ten years' service under the Delhi Government as a Muhammadan, and he had 'now been remade a Hindu' by means of religious purification."

3 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 364, note 1, where Barmaq is given as a variant for Barantaq.

4 امیر جاکوی برلاس Amīr Jākū Barlās in the Text, but as Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, has shown it is Chakū.

man of good judgement, and was distinguished amongst his compeers for his bravery and skill for leadership. In the time of Humāyūn he, as a result of his distinguished descent and valuable services, was raised to the rank of an *Amīr*, and received Multān as his fief. In the beginning of Akbar's reign he[1] and Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atka were deputed to bring the Bēgams, and the wives and families of the *Amīrs* and other servants, who were disheartened on account of their absence and the lack of their households; it was thought that if the families were brought to India, the officers would perhaps become attached to India and give up their yearnings for returning to Kābul. After his return he received the fief of Nāgōr[2] and was for some time the Governor of Mālwa.

During the period of his attendance at the Court, Khwāja Hādī known as Khwāja Kalān, who was his son-in-law, managed the province as his deputy. The rebel Mīrzās attacked him, and though out of respect for his noble descent they did not kill him, they in fact ravaged the whole area[3]. In the 12th year he was appointed to proceed against Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg[4], who out of pride was behaving rebelliously in Oudh. When at this time Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān[5] Shaibānī who were the leaders of the rebels, received the punishment for their deeds and were arrested, Iskandar Khān took to flight and became a vagabond. The *Sarkār* of Oudh was granted in fief to

1 The names of other officers who were sent with Muhammad Qulī Khān are given in *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 17 and Beveridge's translation II, p. 31.

2 In *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 54 and Beveridge's translation II, p. 84, Muhammad Qulī Khān is described as the former *Jāgīrdār* of Multān, and the grant to him of Nāgōr as his fief is also recorded.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 280 and Beveridge's translation II, p. 415.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 298-300, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 437-440. The grant of Oudh as fief to Muhammad Qulī Khān is also recorded there. For Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 84-87, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 691,692; and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 394,395.

5 For 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 622-630, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 197-204, and Bahādur Khān Shaibānī, *id.*, Text I, pp. 384-387 and Beveridge's translation I, pp. 348-350.

Muhammad Qulī. In the conquest of Bihār and Bengāl he[1] was associated with Khān-Khānān Mun'im (Khān), and rendered good service. When through heavenly grace Bengāl was conquered in the 19th year[2], and Dā'ūd Kararānī retreated towards Sātgānūn[3] and Orīssa, *Khān-Khānān and Rāja Tōdar Mal took up their abode at* Tānda, which was the Capital of that province, and applied themselves to the settlement of the area. A number of officers under the command of Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās were sent towards Sātgānūn to get hold of Dā'ūd before he had an opportunity of collecting the necessary equipment. When the said Khān reached within 20 *kos* of Sātgānūn, Dā'ūd became apprehensive and retired towards Orīssa. The officers of the army wanted to set about ameliorating the distress in the country, when Rāja Tōdar Mal joined Muhammad Qulī, and urged him to march forwards to Orīssa for the extirpation of Dā'ūd. Muhammad Qulī died at Mandalpūr (Midnāpūr) in Ramaḍān 982 A.H. (December 1574—January 1575 A.D.). Except that he ate *pān*[4] when he broke his fast, and developed a fever, no reason for his death could be discovered. Some, however, were of the opinion that it was due to the machinations of his eunuchs. Muhammad Qulī Khān was a distinguished officer of the rank of 5,000 during the reign (of Akbar). *His vigour and discretion were well known. His son was* Faridūn Khān Barlās[5], a separate account of whose life has been given.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 104, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 145.

2 *Ibid*, pp. 120,121, *Ibid*, pp. 171,172.
For Mandalpūr see Beveridge, *op.cit.*, p. 172 note 2.

3 It is Sātgā'ōn, the ruined commercial Capital of old days in the Hooghly District, Bengal, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, p. 129.

4 Text نان or bread, but پان *pān* in *Akbarnāma* which appears to be more correct; see Beveridge's note 3 on p. 172 in reference to his death, and also De's edition of *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Text II, p. 304, Translation II, p. 461, according to which Muhammad Khān lay on the bed of weakness for some days, and died. He was an *Amir* of Humāyūn's time and probably died of old age.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 354,355, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 527,528.

24

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ KHĀN TŌQBĀ'Ī[1]
(Vol. III, p. 204)

During Akbar's reign he was an officer of the rank of 1,000. the end of the 5th year he[2] was appointed with Adham Khān for conquest of Mālwa. In the 8th year he was sent to assist Ḥı Qulī Khān who, after Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain's flight, had been gra his jāgīr[3]. In the 17th year he[4] was sent to Gujarāt with the vang with Mīr Muḥammad Khān Kalān, and was one of the officers in advance during the rapid march to Gujarāt. Later he was sent Khān-Khānān Mun'im Khān to Bengāl. His later history is known.

MUḤAMMAD QULĪ TURKMĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 342, 343).

He was one of Akbar's officers. At first he was appointe Bengāl. When in Muẓaffar Khān's[5] time the rebellion occurre Bengāl, Muḥammad Qulī[6] for a while joined the rebels. His offe were later forgiven, and in the 30th year he was deputed to K with Kunwar Mān Singh; he rendered valuable services in

1 See the brief account of his life in Blochmann's translation of Ā (2nd edn.), pp. 480-481, and note 2, in which the Gujarāt Expedition is discussed. Tōqbā, according to the same author, is the name of a Cha clan.

1a See Akbarnāma, Text II, p. 134, Beveridge's translation II, p. See also Beveridge's note 1 on the same page in reference to the date o appointment.

2 *Ibid*, p. 196, *Ibid*, p. 204.

3 Apparently he is the Muḥammad Qulī Khān who and Ṣādiq Khān the Rājpūt who attacked Khān Kalān at Bhādrajan, see *Akbarnāma*, Bever translation III, p. 7.

1 Muẓaffar Khān Turbati see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 221-227. Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 373-375.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 293.304, Beveridge's translation III, 450, 482.

Afghān campaign. In the 39th year, when the charge of Kābul reverted to Qulīj Khān[1], the government of Kashmīr was transferred from Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, and assigned to Muḥammad Qulī, his brother Hamza Khān and some other officers[2]. In the 45th year when the King marched to the Deccan, some Kashmīrīs raised Abiyā[3] Chak son of Ḥusain to power, and stirred up sedition. 'Alī Qulī son of Muḥammad Qulī fought with the rebels and distinguished himself. In the 47th year Muḥammad Qulī was exalted by being raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, and the present of an elephant, while Ḥamza Bēg was given the rank of 700 with 350 horse. In the 48th year when 'Alī Rāi[4], the landowner of Little Tibet became rebellious and advanced into Kashmīr, Muḥammad Qulī with his contingent marched to face him. The landowner was struck with awe and fled without engaging in a battle. Just then Saif Ullāh Khān son of Qulī Khān, in accordance with orders, arrived with reinforcements from Lāhōre. Pursuit was made as far as the cavalry could advance. In the 49th year of Akbar's reign he distinguished himself in punishing Īdar[5] the *Zamīndār* or (Kōh) Māru[6], and in chastising Abiyā Chak, and though the enemy took posssession of the pass and shot stones and arrows, he emerged on the mountain, and the enemy was put to flight. In the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign he was removed from the government of Kashmīr. The rest of his history is not known. Hamza Bēg in the 49th year[7] of Akbar's reign had attained the rank of 1,000.

1 Qulij Khān Andajānī, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 69-72, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-382, and 35, note 2.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 654, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1004.

3 Variant Anbā, but see *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 775, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1160.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 823,824, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1235.

5 He appears to be Zaida of *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 835, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1250. The fight is described on the same page.

6 Mārū in the north-east of Kashmīr, called Maru Aḍwin in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, III, p. 358.

7 49th year in the Text, but 50th year according to *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 836, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1252.

(MĪR) MUHAMMAD SA'ID MĪR JUMLA, styled MU'AZZAM KHĀN KHĀN-KHĀNĀN SIPĀH-SĀLĀR

(Vol. III, pp. 530-555).

He was a Saiyid of Ardistān[1] in the province of Isfahān. After coming to Gōlconda he was favoured and cherished by Sultān 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh[2] the ruler of that country, and for a long time the government and the management of the affairs of the territory were in his hands. By his skill and energy he acquired a territory in the Carnātic[3], 150 *kos* in length and 20-30 *kos* in breadth, and the revenue of which was 40 lacs of rupees. It contained diamond mines and several very strong fortresses such as Kānchī Kōt and Sadhūt. This territory is known as the Carnātic Bālāghāt, and Cuddapah is its Capital city. None of Qutb-ul-Mulk's ancestors had succeeded in conquering this country. His grandeur and authority increased so greatly that he had 5,000 horse in his own service, and he was above all his contemporaries. On this account a number of his enemies under cover of loyalty but with a view to creating trouble, made untrue reports to Qutb Shāh, and aroused his suspicions. Mīr Jumla's son Mīr Muhammad Amīn, who was at the Court (Haidarābād), suffered from the dual intoxication of youth and prosperity, and being puffed up by the brilliant victories of his father behaved presumptuously and exceeded all bounds. For example, he came drunk one day to the *Darbār*, and went to sleep on the royal *Masnad*, and added to his offence by vomiting there (*istifrāgh namūda*). As

1 A town in Persian 'Irāq some 36 leagues from Isfahān.

2 For 'Abdullāh Qutb Shāh and Gōlconda campaigns in the time of Shāh Jahān, see Banarsi Prashad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 170181. In the Text he is indiscriminately called Qutb Shāh or Qutb-ul-Mulk.

3 The account of the Carnātic is apparently based on *'Amal-i-Sālih* (Yazdani edn.) III, p. 213. The grant of the ranks to Mīr Jumla and his son is also described on the same page, while Aurangzib's expedition to Gōlconda is detailed on pp. 221-230. Mīr Jumla's arrival at the Court is recorded on p. 231.

a result the signs of annoyance became apparent. Mīr Jumla, who had high expectations on account of his victories, but saw results to the contrary making their appearance, became disheartened, and in the 29th year (of Shāh Jahān's reign) sought an alliance with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, who was the Viceroy of the Deccan, and begged that he might be sent for. At Aurangzīb's request Shāh Jahān sent him a gracious *farmān* appointing him to the rank of 5,000 foot and horse, and his son Muḥammad Amīn to that of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. He also sent through Qāḍī Muḥammad 'Ārif of Kashmīr an order to Quṭb Shāh desiring him not to interfere with Mīr Jumla and his dependants. As soon as Quṭb Shāh received this news he imprisoned Muḥammad Amīn and his dependants, and confiscated all his movable and immovale properties, and he stuck to his decision even after the receipt of the royal *farmān*. Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb first sent the royal rescript with a despatch stating that Sulṭān Muḥammad wished to proceed[1] by the route of Orissa to his uncle Muḥammad Shujā' in Bengāl, and Quṭb Shāh should arrange for his passage through his territory in a fitting manner. That simpleton without thinking of the jugglery of the times, made arrangements for an entertainment. The Prince in accordance with the orders sent off on 8th Rabī' I, 1066 A. H[2]. (26th December, 1655 A. D.) Sulṭān Muḥammad his eldest son in advance to Ḥaidarābād, and himself marched on 3rd Rabī' II (20th January, 1656 A.D.). Meanwhile Quṭb-ul-Mulk woke from his somnolence and sent off Muḥammad Amīn and his mother, and waited upon Sulṭān Muḥammad at a distance of 12 *kos* from Ḥaidarābād. As foolishly

1 According to Āqil Khān Raḍī, this was a ruse adopted by Aurangzīb to throw Quṭb-ul-Mulk off his guard, the suggestion being that Sulṭān Muḥammad was proceeding to Bengāl to marry the daughter of Shāh Shujā', but see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 227, who is of the opinion that this story is not borne out by the authentic records.

2 Wüstenfeld-Mahler's *Vergleichungs-Tabellen* have been used for the conversion of Ḥijrī dates; the dates given often differ by a day or so from the dates given by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

his property had not been restored, Sulṭān Muḥammad continued his march to the city, and on hearing of this Quṭb-ul-Mulk in great agitation went off with all his cash, jewels, gold and silver on 5th Rabī' II (1st February) to the fort of Gōlconda which is 3 *kos* from the city (of Ḥaidarābād).

When Sulṭān Muḥammad's troops encamped by the Ḥusain Sāgar tank, the Quṭb-Shāhī troops appeared and showed a disposition to fight. Sulṭān Muḥammad bravely attacked them, and pursued them to the city wall. Next day he took possession of the city of Ḥaidarābād. Though the houses and the inhabitants were to some extent protected from being burnt and harried, many houses including Quṭb Shāh's workshops were plundered. Many choice books, china-ware and other valuable objects were seized. There was so much of property that at the time of departure after several days of plunder a great deal was still left in the houses. Though Sulṭān 'Abdullāh ostensibly acted submissively and repeatedly sent jewels and elephants as tribute, but he exerted himself in preparing war-materials, and in strengthening the fort, and wrote repeatedly to 'Ādil Shāh for help. When the Prince[1] in the course of 18 days arrived within one *kos* of the fort, he set up his camp there, and arranged his batteries round the fort which was three *kos* in circumference. There was a regular rain of cannon balls and musketery from the fort, and there were several fierce fights in the open, but in all of them the imperialists were victorious.

When Quṭb Shāh perceived the earnestness with which the Prince was prosecuting the siege, he became helpless. He sent his son-in-law Mīr Aḥmad with the arrears of the tribute for earlier years, and the effects of Mir Muḥammad Amīn, and begged for a comforting letter. After its receipt he sent his own mother in the hope of obtaining his desire. That chaste lady waited upon the Prince, and obtained his forgiveness of her son's faults on the condition of the payment of a kror of

1 In Elliot, VII, p. 112, Aurangzib is designated as the Prince, but it was Sulṭān Muḥammad who arrived there.

upees as tribute and of giving Quṭb-ul-Mulk's daughter in marriage ɔ Sulṭān Muḥammad. The daughter with ten lacs as a marriage resent was brought with all due respect from the fort to the quarters f Sulṭān Muḥammad. On 12th Jummāda II[1] of the 30th year Mīr umla came from his conquered territory and waited on the Prince on ıe bank of the Ḥusain Sāgar tank. He was honoured by being llowed to sit. The Prince further exalted him by visiting him at his :sidence. On 7th Rajab the Prince turned back to Aurangābād. .e secretly made pacts of loyalty and concord with Mīr Jumla, and :nt him and his son off from the stage of Indūr[2] to the imperial Court. At the same stage was received a *farmān* from the Court ranting Mīr Jumla the title of Mu'aẓẓam Khān, and the gift of a g and drums. On 25th of the holy Ramaḍān[3] Mīr Jumla paid his :spects to the Emperor at Delhī, and received the rank of 6,000 with ,000 horse, and the high office of the chief *Dīvān*, and was granted jewelled pen-case, five lacs of rupees in cash and other royal favours. .u'aẓẓam Khān presented a large diamond weighing nine *tānks*, equal ı 216 *surkhs*[4], and the value of which was two lakhs and sixteen thou- nd rupees, together with 60 elephants and other precious jewels, the ›tal value of which was 15 lacs of rupees. As he had been reared ı the Deccan, he constantly turned his attention to that quarter, and ı the same year by chance events shaped themselves accordingly. rāhīm 'Ādil Shāh, the ruler of Bījāpūr died, and his officers—most of hom were slaves—appointed as his successor a person of unknown

1 The date is 12th Jummāda II in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, op. cit.*, p. 228, and ıis would be 8th April, 1656 A. D. Apparently Sir Jadunath read it as 2nd .mmāda II, for he gives the date as 20th March according to the Old Style, see *istory of Aurangzib*, I, p. 217.

2 In Sarkār Telingāna, *vide* Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 237.

3 17th July, 1656.

4 Khāfī Khān, I, p. 753. *Surkh* is said to be the same as *ratti*, the red seed :d in weighing gold and silver. The diamond in question is believed to ve been the famous *Kōh-i-Nūr*, see Irvine's note 4 on pp. 237,238 of anucci I.

origin by the name of 'Alī[1] whom Ibrāhīm had adopted as his son. Mu'azzam Khān represented that it would be easy to conquer the country, and he was deputed to the expedition. He left Muhammad Amīn as his deputy at the Court, and with famous officers, such as Mahābat Khān, Rāo Satr Sāl and Najābat Khān joined Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb at Aurangābād. The Prince in accordance with Mīr Jumla's advice, quickly captured Bīdar which was one of the strongest forts of the Deccan. On Ist Dhul Qa'da 1067 A.H. (Ist August, 1657 A.D.) he took the fort of Kalyān, and established military posts in most of the well populated places. Later, when the standards were raised for the taking of Gulbarga, which was the principal city of Bījāpūr, 'Ādil Shāh became frightened, and presented a tribute of a kror of rupees and surrendered to the imperialists the Kōkan (Cōncan) and the fort of Parēnda with its adjacent territory, and trod the path of obedience. An order was sent to the Prince to return to Aurangābād. Mu'azzam Khān after establishing *thānas* in the Kōkan forts waited upon the Prince. The arrangements for the payments of the instalments of the tribute, and for the management of the conquered country had not been concluded to the satisfaction of the Prince, when it became known that Shāh Jahān had become indisposed, and that the control of the affairs had fallen into the hands of Dārā Shikōh. It is stated by some authorities that this occurred while the siege of Gulbarga and the contest with 'Ādil Shāh was still going on, and that it made the enemy more active. In short, Dārā Shikoh out of enmity and to undo the accomplished task summoned all the auxiliaries of the expedition to the Court. Mahābat Khān and Rāo Satr Sāl left without obtaining leave from the Prince. Consequently on this occasion the Prince resorted to peaceful measures in view of the fact that the army had been greatly weakened, and in the beginning of 1068 A. D. and the end of 31st year of the reign (of Shāh Jahān) retreated safely to

1 The name of the successor in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 354, is Sikandar. He is, however, called 'Ali 'Ādil Shāh II by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp.258-260, where his parentage is fully discussed.

Aurangābād[1]. During this period through a vicissitude of fortune Mu'aẓẓam Khān was deprived of his *Vazīrship*, and he also like others prepared to leave for the Court.

As the departure of such an able and accomplished officer who had so much wealth and army at his disposal was contrary to far-sighted policy, the Prince sent him a message that it was proper that he should take leave before his departure. Mīr Jumla to avoid compliance replied that as a loyal servant he was obliged to obey orders. Aurangzīb next sent Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam for entrapping that great and powerful officer, and said that as he himself was sure of his loyalty, he wanted him to come and discuss about the disposal of some important matters, and afterwards he might go to the Court. Mīr Jumla's mind was set at rest by Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam's flattering expressions and came to Aurangzīb. As soon as he reached the private parlour, he was arrested and imprisoned. It is stated by some authorities that he himself did not want to go to the Court, but did not consider it right to stay away without a suitable pretext, and that what was done (by Aurangzīb) was done at his suggestion. By his subtlety he created a situation which made it plain to Shāh Jahān that (his absence) was due to the injustice and highhandedness of the Prince. An order came for the release of the helpless Saiyid, who had all along been faithful to his salt, and bidding Aurangzīb beware of the day of retribution. The Prince before the receipt of the order had represented that he had suspicions about the fidelity of Mīr Jumla and had imprisoned him lest he should join the Deccanīs[2].

As the news of the continued weakness of Shāh Jahān and the supremacy of Dārā Shikōh was becoming current all over India, Aurangzīb made the wealth of Mu'aẓẓam Khān the instrument of his designs, and enroling his servants into his own service kept him under surveillance in the fort of Daulatābād. He himself

1 For the Gōlconda and Bījāpūr campaigns of Aurangzīb see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-222,234-252.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

decided to return to Upper India. Later when the Prince as a result of his good fortune acquired the sovereignty, he restored to Mu'aẓẓam Khān all his property, and making him the subject of favours appointed him as the *Ṣūbadār* of Khāndēsh. In the year when he went from Delhī to the Eastern districts to put down the disturbance of Prince Muḥammad Shujā', he summoned Mu'aẓẓam Khān to the Presence. Mu'aẓẓam Khān started post-haste, and arriving at Karrā two days before the battle kissed the threshold and became a favoured officer of the Emperor. On the day of the battle his elephant was stationed next to the royal elephant, and after the victory Mu'aẓẓam Khān was raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and received a present of ten lacs of rupees. He was sent with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān in pursuit of Muḥammad Shujā' who had fled from the battlefield. In this campaign[1] Mu'aẓẓam Khān distinguished himself by acting with great wisdom and performed valiant deeds such as were befitting of high officers. When Shujā' after fortifying Monghyr entrenched himself there, Mu'aẓẓam Khān by his skilful manoeuvres forced him to leave that place and stay at Akbarnagar (Rājmaḥal), which Shujā' regarded as the place of security. Mu'aẓẓam Khān left the direct route, and took that of hills and jungle in order that coming from behind he might close the path of escape for Shujā'. On receipt of this news Shujā' left Akbarnagar which was the mainstay of his government, and crossed the Ganges with his family. At Bāqirpūr in Bengāl he collected a fleet of boats—which were essential for fighting in that country—and threw up entrenchments. Mu'aẓẓam Khān left Sulṭān Muḥammad at Akbarnagar to watch the enemy's front, and himself departed with the intention of crossing in another suitable place. For a long time there were gallant fights and hand to hand encounters.

When the rainy season arrived, operations ceased and everyone retired to his quarters. Sulṭān Shujā' used deceit and seduced Prince Sulṭān Muḥammad by promising him his daughter. The Prince, as

1 For Mīr Jumla's campaign against Shujā' see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II. 566-612.

a result of the exertions of some strifemongers, had become dissatisfied with Mīr Jumla, and went away with two or three companions in a boat, and on 27th Ramaḍān 1069 A.H[1]. (8th June, 1659 A.D.) joined Shujā'. This event produced great alarm in the royal army and it is stated that if there were not a great leader like Mu'aẓẓām Khān on the spot, there would have been a disaster. Mu'aẓẓām Khān moved from Sūbī where he was busy in dealing with the enemy, and without losing heart at this calamity reached the army. He made far-reaching plans. As the river had everywhere flooded the country and the fleet was in the possession of the enemy, there was a great scarcity of provisions, and there were other causes for distraction. Shujā' again got possession of Akbarnagar, and when the rains ceased Shujā' decided on battle with Sulṭān Muḥammad in the vanguard. Mu'aẓẓam Khān with Fatḥ Jang Rōhila in the vanguard, Aslam Khān on the right wing and Fidā'ī Khān Kōka on the left wing engaged on the bank of Bhāgīrathī the force of Shujā' which had three leaders, Sulṭān Muḥammad, Shujā' and his son Buland Akhtar. The fight went on till evening with the discharge of cannons, muskets and rockets. At night it ceased and both armies retired to their camps. Mu'aẓẓam Khān wrote to Dā'ūd Khān Qurēshī the *Sūbadār* of Bihār, who had come to assist, that he should proceed to Tānda, and occupy it. As the family and baggages of Shujā' were there it was certain that on hearing this news he would waver and give way. He himself delayed operations for some time in expectation of the arrival of Dilēr Khān who had marched from the Court. Meanwhile, as Mu'aẓẓam Khān had anticipated, Shujā' on hearing the news about Dā'ūd Khān retreated in great agitation from the bank of the Bhāgīrathī, and went off towards Sūbī in order that he might cross the Ganges and reach Tānda. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, who was waiting for this opportunity, went off in his pursuit, and for fifteen days there was from morning to evening a continuous discharge of cannons and muskets between the two armies. At night they used

1 In the text wrongly given as 969 A. H.

to be on guard in their camps. At last Shujā' crossing the Ganges took the road to Tānda. Mu'azzam Khān sent Islām Khān with 10,000 horse to Akbarnagar to take possession of and guard that side of the river, and set off himself to extirpate Shujā'. Meanwhile as Prince Muhammad Sulṭān perceived signs of adversity and treachery in Shujā', he on 6th Jummāda II set off on horseback from Tānda on the pretext of going a hunting. He came to the river bank and crossed in a boat from the Tānda ferry to the Dōgāchī[1] ferry. Mu'azzam Khān summoned the Prince to his presence and went with his officers to welcome him. He provided him with a tent and other equipment such as was available, and in accordance with the orders sent the Prince with Fidā'ī Khān to the Court.

When many engagements had taken place between the two armies, and the imperialist force had always been successful, Mu'azzam Khān remained for a month at Mahmūdābād, and addressed himself to crossing the Mahānadī river and destroying the enemy who on account of the intervening river and the strength of their artillery and fleet were holding firmly in the area; and ignoring personal comforts laboured hard to carry to completion the work so that the campaign might not be protracted to the next rainy season. Fortunately a ford wa discovered near Baklaghāt and that brave warrior with a huge force came to the river bank. In spite of the enemy's opposition he crossed and attacked their entrenchments. Many losing courage fled to Tānda. Shujā' consequently losing all hopes of retaining possession of Bengāl left the *chauki* (post) of Mīrdādpūr, and came to Tānda, and from there went off with a few persons by boat to Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca). Mu'azzam Khān arrived at Tānda and took possession of such of the properties of Shujā' as had escaped the plunderers, and also exerted himself in recovering what the rebels had carried away. Then he started in pursuit on the wings of endeavour. Shujā' in the hopes of receiving help from the Rāja of Arrākān (Rakhang)—who was alarmed by the approach of the royal forces—left Jahāngīrnagar on

1 Text Dōkāri, but Dōgāchi in *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 543.

6th Ramaḍān (26th April, 1661 A.D.) of the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, with three sons and some officers, and set off for Arrākān (Rakhang), which is a very uncivilized part of the world and was the abode of heretical infidels. Except for Saiyid 'Ālam and ten Saiyids of Bārah and Saiyid Qulī Ūzbeg and Mughals and a few others—altogether there were not forty of them—no one remained with him. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, as a reward for his great deeds in this campaign which had occupied sixteen months, was granted the high title of Khān-Khānān *Sipahsālār*.

As owing to the illness of Shāh Jahān[1] disturbances had broken out on all the borders of the empire, Prān Nārāyan,[2] the *Zamīndār* of Kūch Bihār, had become rebellious and attacked Ghōrāghāt. Jayadhwaj[3] Singh the Rāja of Assām, who had extensive territories and numerous troops and much equipment, also sent a force by land and water against Kāmrūp, that is Hājū, Gauhatī and their dependancies, which for a long time had formed part of the imperial territories, and took possession of it. As Shujā' was occupied with his own affairs, their boldness increased and they took possession of lands as far as the pargana of Karībārī, which was five stages from Dācca. Mu'aẓẓam Khān, who had come to Dācca in pursuit of Shujā' proceeded to stop these disturbances. The Rāja of Assām was overcome by his reputation, and apologising withdrew his hand from the territory which he had taken possession of. Khān-Khānān ostensibly accepted his apologies, and on the 18th Rabī' I of the 4th year, 1072 A.H. (Ist November, 1661 A.D.) left Khiḍrpūr to chastise Prān Nārāyan.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 677 *et seq.*

2 Pēm Narāin in the Text and in *Fātiyah-i-'Ibriyah vide* Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLI, pt. 1 (1872), p. 66, should be Prān Nārāyan, *vide* Gait, *History of Assam*, p. 125, Note*, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 155, Note*.

3 Chaidhaj Singh in the Text, but Jayadhwaj Singh *vide* Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 125 and Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 156.

4 According to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 686, the city was not entered till the next day.

When he came to the village of Baripaita[1], which was the limit of the imperial territories, he at the advice of one knowing the country took an unknown route which was full of jungle and reeds, and which Prān Nārāyan believed could not be traversed and so had left unguarded. Every day the jungle was cut and with utmost difficulty and hardship a path was cleared in the forest, and the distance bravely covered, till on 7th Jummāda I (9th December, 1661 A.D.) the city of Kūch Bihār was reached by the victorious army. It is stated that the city was beautifully laid out, and all streets had been made into avenues. *Nāgesar* and *Kachnār*, both symmetrical and nice-flowering plants, had been planted. Mu'azzam Khān sent a force in pursuit of Prān Nārāyan, who had withdrawn himself to the slopes of the hills of Bhūtān[2] which was 15 *kos* north of Kūch Bihār. He with a view to joining Dharm Rāj, the ruler of that hill-country, came out on the top of the hills. The hills are very cold and difficult to climb. The country (Kūch Bihār) lies to the north-west of Bengāl and chiefly to the north. It is 55 measured *kos* in length and 50 broad. It has a good climate and abundance of fragrant flowers; its fruits are superior to those of the Eastern countries. The whole of Bhītarband and Bāharband—which are phrases for within and without—consists of 89[3] parganas with a revenue of 10 lacs. As the inhabitants chiefly belong to the Kūch tribe, the country is called Kūch Bihār. The idol worshipped by the people was called Nārāyan, and consequently this has become part of the ruler's name. In the estimation of the infidels of India the *Zamīndār* of this country is descended from great Rājas who lived before the advent of Islām, and is highly esteemed by them. They coin money which is called Nārāyanī.

As Khān-Khānan's design in this expedition was the conquest of Assām, he left Isfandiyār Khān son of Allāh Yār Khān[4] deceased

1 Barípatha in the Text.

2 بهوتنس in the Text.

3 77 in Bāharband and 12 in Bhitarband, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 692.

4 For Allāh Yār Khān and Isfandiyār Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 182-185, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 210-212.

as the *Faujdār* of Kūch Bihār which he renamed 'Ālamgīrnagar, and himself started by way of Ghōrāghāt. When he reached the bank of the Brahmaputra, he crossed it two *kos* from Rangāmātī, and in spite of the bad nature of the road continued his march. Great efforts were made to clear the impenetrable jungle. Powerful elephants broke the jungle with their tusks[1] (? trunks) and trod it under their feet, and hatchet-men[2] and infantry also worked hard according to the capacity. As the route lay all along by the river bank, everywhere there was such a lot of mud that men, horses and elephants sank into it. This was filled up with twigs of trees, bundles of reeds and masses of grass, and a road was made. In this way the progress was not more than 2½ *kos* per day. When they reached Jōgīghōpa[3], a hill on the bank of the river and opposite which there was another hill named Panj Ratan, and each of which had a strong fortress built on it, they took possession of them. They also defeated a fleet of war boats which had collected there; some boats were sunk and others captured. Then they reached within two *kos* of Gauhatī which was the old imperial boundary. In that town there was a very strong fort[4], and seven *kos* off there was the fort of Kajlī on the borders of a forest known as the Kajlīban, in which there were many elephants; this is mentioned in Indian tales. They took possession of the idol temples of Kamakhya[5] and Lōna Chamārī and Isnā'īl Jōgī, which were famous temples highly revered in Hindī annals, and were situated on the top of a hill for the

1 بصدمهٔ دندان in the Text seems to indicate that the jungle was broken by the elephants using their tusks, but trunks would be more appropriate.

2 تبرداران not تیرداران as in the Text, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 685,695 and Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 174.

3 جوگی گپهه in the Text is Jōgīghōpa see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p.696, Blochmann, *op. cit.* p, 69, Gait *op. cit.* p. 113, and *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 200, 201. Jōgīghōpa or the Jōgī's Cave is on the right bank of Brahmaputra river, a little below Gowālpāra.

4 Called Nandū in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 701.

5 کور پکها in the Text, but کومکهیا in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 702, the famous temple at Kamakhya near Gauhati, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, p. 23.

ascent to which they had built a thousand stone steps. More than a lac of Assamese, who were collected there, fled in consternation. After the country as far as Gauhati—from where Gargāon (Garhgāon)[1] the Capital of Assām is a month's journey—had been delivered from the possession of the heretical infidels, Khān-Khānān addressed himself to the settlement of the country.

As the conduct of warfare in that country mainly consists in trickery and night attacks, the whole army had to remain alert at night, and never put off their armour, nor were the saddles taken off their horses. At last they crossed the Brahmaputra, and attacked the fort of Simla (Simlagarh), which was a famous fort of the country about fifty *kos* from Garhgāon, and captured it. Nearly three lacs of warlike Assamese were collected there, many were killed by the bloodthirsty swords of the Muslim warriors. After that there was a battle on the river, this was protracted for a long time, and many of the Assamese were slain. The fort of Chamdara (Samdhara), which was a second Simlagarh, was taken without a fight. This news thoroughly disheartened the Assamese. The Rāja went away to the hills of Kāmrūp which were four days' journey from Garhgāon, and were very difficult to traverse. On 6th Sha‘bān[2] in the end of the 4th year Garhgāon was resplendant by the shadow of the Crescent of Islām, and the *Khuṭba* was recited and coins struck in the King's name.

By the skill and courage of the Commander-in-Chief that so distant, difficult and vast country fortified with so many strong forts was conquered. It had not been possible for the keys of the genius

1 كرگانوں in the Text and كرگانو in ‘*Ālamgirnāma*, p. 704. See Foster, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLI, pt. 1, pp. 32-41, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 74, Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 135. It is spelt variously as Ghargaon or Garhgaon, and is now known as Nāzira in the Sibsāgar District, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXX, pp. 1, 2.

2 16th Sha‘bān in Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 75, is a mistake for 6th Sha‘bān, as the date would then be 7th April and not 27th March, 1662 A.D. which is the correct date. It is 6th Sha‘ban in ‘*Ālamgirnāma*, p. 719.

of the Indian princes to undo that bewitched land, and whenever previously an army had penetrated there, it had been captured or slain at the hands of those rebels. For instance, when Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughluq the ruler of nearly the whole of India sent a hundred thousand cavalry there with all necessary equipment, they were all lost in that enchanted land, and no trace of them remained. As a reward Mīr Jumla was granted by the Lord of the Caliphate (Aurangzīb) estates yielding a kror of *dāms*, and a *Tūmāntōgh* (Yak-tail standard). This country lies north-east of Bengal. Its length is nearly 200 *kos*, and its breadth from the northern to the southern mountains is nearly eight days' journey. The distance from Gauhatī to Garhgāon is 75 *kos*, and from there to Khōtān—which was the home of Pīrān Waisa, and is now known as Āva, and is the Capital of the Rāja of Pēgū who claims descent from Pīrān Waisa[1]—is fifteen stages. Of these five in the hill-country of Kāmrūp (Nāmrūp)[2] are thickly wooded and difficult to cross. To the north is the desert of Khitā by which one passes to Mahāchīn, and which is commonly designated Māchīn (Tibet). The river Brahmāputra runs from that direction, and after being joined by several rivers of which the largest is the Dūhang (Dihang), runs along the middle of this country. The country to the north of this river (Brahmāputra) is called Uttarkōl and that to its south Dakhinkōl. In all these rivers gold is obtained by sandwashing; and this is one of the products of this region. It is stated that 12,000[3] people are engaged in this task, and each one gives one *tōlā*[4] of gold to the Rāja every year. The Assamese have no definite religion. They follow whatever wish they fancy. The old inhabitants of Assām are of two

1 Pīrān Waisa, who was Afrasiyab's general, is mentioned in *Shāhnāma*, see also Elliot, VII, pp. 553, 554. The passage in the Text is taken from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 722.

2 کامروپ in the Text and Tāmrūp in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 722, should be Nāmrūp نامروپ the most easterly part of Assām, see Blochmann *op. cit.*, p. 85.

3 About 10,000 in Tālish's *Fātiyāh*, vide Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

4 One eightieth of a seer and equal to 180 grains troy.

tribes, Assamese and Kaltānī (Kālitās)[1]. The second of these have precedence over the first in all affairs except in war. When the Rāja and the leading men of the country die, their dependants, men and women, descend with a tranquil brow and some provisions into the tomb (*dakhma*), *i.e.* voluntarily bury themselves. The city of Garhgāon[2] has four gates, and the distance of each gate from the Rāja's palace is three *kos*. In fact the city is an enclosure composed of villages and fields; every one has a garden and cultivation in front of his house. The river Dinjū (Dikho) flows through the city. It has a small bāzār which has no other traders in it except *pān* sellers. There is no proper buying and selling in that region. The inhabitants store provisions for a year. They wear nothing but a *karpās* on their head and a *lungī* round their waist. It is not permitted to leave the country, even for a stranger who may have come there. Consequently little is known about the people. The people of India call them sorcerers. The Rāja of the place has the title of *Sargī* (?*Swargī*—heavenly). It is stated that one of his ancestors was the ruler of the heavens. When he descended to this country, he was so pleased with it that he did not return to the sky[3].

When Khān-Khānān saw signs of the rainy season—which starts in that area much earlier than in any other part of India—he encamped[4] with most of the troops at Mathurāpūr, which was at the foot of the hills, 3½ *kos* from Garhgāon, and proposed to spend the rainy season there. He wanted during this period to protect the borders and establish *thānas*, and to put down the Rāja and his adherents. When the rains came, the whole area was flooded, and the wicked Assamese, who were concealed here and there and waiting for an opportunity, became active and assembled on all sides. As the brave

1 Kālitās the writer class of Assam, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XI, p. 185; and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 81, note.

2 Adapted from *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 728. See also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 83, for Talish's account.

3 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 731, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

4 On 20th Sha'bān (10th April, 1662), see *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 777, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

warriors of Islām could not move rapidly, there were night-attacks on the military posts, and no area remained in the possession of the victorious army except for Garhgāon and Mathurāpūr. The bad climate resulted in various diseases, and as a result of the poisonous nature of the air there was an outbreak of Plague. Many died in all places, and the closing of the roads and the scarcity of provisions rendered the condition of the survivors worse than death. When in the end of Rabī' I, the country began to appear from under the water the troops of Islām attacked on all sides and heaps of slains appeared all over. The Rāja again retreated to the hills, and had recourse to entreaties and requested for quarter. The Commander-in-Chief did not accede to his request, and went towards Nāmrūp. Meanwhile he himself fell very ill, and the courage of the officers and men gave way, fearing lest he should die, and the army left without a leader might become seditious, or the rain might break again before the work of the expedition was finished. Some of them even contemplated that if Khān-Khānān should determine to stay till the rainy season to extirpate the Rāja, they would go off to Bengāl. Mīr Jumla, when he received this information, was greatly upset mentally in addition to his bodily affliction. Though he marched one stage further so that the enemy might not become audacious, he resolved both to make peace and to return (to Bengāl). Accordingly through the instrumentality of Dilēr Khān—whom the Rāja had desired to meet—the agreement[1] was concluded that the Rāja should send his daughter and the daughter of Rāja Piyām (Tīpām[2]), who was his relative, together with 20,000 *tōlas* of gold and 1,08,000 *tōlas* of silver with 20 elephants as tribute, and 15 elephants for the Khān-Khānān and 5 for Dilēr Khān. In the

1 For the terms of the treaty see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 808, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 177, 178. In the latter work instead of the daughter of the Tipām Rāja it is the sons of Tīpām Rāja.

2 پتام in Text and پیام in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 807. Batām according to Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 85, note is Tīpām of Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 50, 153 etc.

course of one year he would hand over to the royal agents 3,00,000 *tōlas* of silver and 90 elephants, and present 20 elephants as a yearly tribute. Till this was done, one son and three leading men were to remain in Bengāl as hostages. Also the district of Darrang in Uttarkōl, one side of which adjoined Gauhatī, and the district of Biltali in Dakhinkōl were to be annexed to the imperial territories. As the Rāja acted according to the agreement, Khān-Khānān on 8th Jummāda[1] I of the 5th year marched from the mouth of the hills of Tīpām, and proceeded to return to Bengāl. On the way he arranged for the administration of the country which had been added to the empire. As owing to the use of certain hot medicines he suffered from asthma and palpitation and developed dropsy, he was obliged to leave Kajlī and to encamp at Gauhatī[2]. He appointed Rashīd Khān to the *faujdārī* of Kāmrūp (should be Nāmrūp), and deputed 'Askar Khān with a large force to chastise Prān Nārāyan, the *Zamīndār* of Kūch Bihār who had again taken possession of that country. He himself started for Khiḍrpūr[3], and on the 2nd Ramaḍān in the beginning of 6th year, 1073 A.H. (10th April, 1663 A.D.) he died at a distance of two *kos* from Khiḍrpūr.

Mīr[4] Jumla was a very great officer and a princely nobleman. He

1 This date is certainly incorrect, as the terms of the treaty were not fulfilled till 9th Jummāda II, and the order for return to Bengal was not issued till 10th Jummāda II (20th January, 1663), see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 809, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

2 Pāndū opposite Gauhati according to *Fātiyaḥ*, see Blochmann, *op. cit.* p. 95.

3 For Khiḍrpūr see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 96, note *; it was near Dacca. In the *Maāthir* it is not mentioned that Mīr Jumla's body was taken to Najaf (Mashhad in Khurāsān) for burial.

The account of the Assām Campaign is based on *'Ālamgīrnāma* or Tālish's *Fātiyaḥ-i-'Ibriyah*, both of which accounts as Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 51) pointed out are either copies one of the other or based on identical official reports. A very good summary was also published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 157-182.

4 A good account of Mīr Jumla is given by Stewart in his *History of Bengal*.

was unrivalled among the leaders and *Amīrs* of his age for judgment, dignity, farsightedness, wisdom, courage, genius and zeal. No one approached him in his talents for conquest, and in his capacity for dealing with the officers. As he had passed very little of his time in Upper India, there were not many memorials of him there, but he left many in the towns of Telingāna. His name lives there to the present day. In Ḥaidarābād, a tank, a garden and a building are named after him.

MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ TARKHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 560-562).

He was the second son of Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān[1]. In the 24th year of Shāh Jahān's reign his father was summoned to the Presence from the *faujdārī* of Sōrath[2], and the charge of that district was assigned to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ personally. When his father died in the same year, he was granted an increase of 500, and exalted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 30th year he was appointed *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Sīwistān in succession to Abūl Ma'ālī and had an increase of 500 horse, as a result of which his rank became 2,000 with 2,000 horse.

It happened that at this time Dārā Shikōh could find no place to halt from the pursuit of 'Ālamgīr's forces, and proceeded to Sīwistān (Sēhwān) with intention of going to Thatha. Saf Shikan Khān, the Superintendent of 'Ālamgīr's Artillery, who had been appointed to

pp. 282-295, while short accounts are given by Manucci (Vols. I, II) and Bernier, and in *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*.

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 485-488, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 689-690.

2 According to *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, p. 488, Mīrzā 'Isā Tarkhān was recalled in the 25th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and his death at Sāmbhar on 17th Muḥarram 1061 A.H. (8th December, 1651 A.D.) is recorded in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 134; see also Beveridge & Prashad's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 690, note 2.

pursue him, was closely following him. At this time Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ wrote to him that Dārā Shikōh had arrived within five *kos* of the fort, and that he should arrive quickly and stop his treasure-laden boats. The Khān sent on his son-in-law Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm with a force so that he might go ahead of Dārā Shikōh's boats and set up batteries on the bank, and himself marching during the night passed to a distance of two *kos* opposite Dārā Shikōh's camp, and waited for the enemy's boats. He wanted to cross the river and check the enemy. When the boats came up, the Khān set about stopping them, and sent a message to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ to send boats from the opposite side, and also himself help in stopping the boats (of Dārā Shikōh). As the daughter of Dārā Shikōh's foster-brother was married to Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, he did not render any assistance. On the other hand, out of his affection for her he sent a message to Saf Shikan that as on his side the river was waist-deep, Dārā Shikōh would go by the other bank. Saf Shikan believed this message, did and not cross over. Next day from the dust on the other bank it became clear that Dārā Shikōh had marched, and the enemy had taken the boats along the same bank. On this account, as such an opportunity for victory had been lost through Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's trickery[1], he was censured and deprived of his rank and title. In the 2nd year of Aurangzīb's reign he was reinstated in the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and accompanied Bahādur Khān, who was deputed to chastise Bahādur Bachgōti[2], who was creating a disturbance in Baiswāra (Oudh). Later he was appointed to the Deccan campaign, and was sent with Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh to conquer the forts of Shivā Bhōnsle, and to devastate his country. The date of his death has not been noticed. His son Mīrzā Bihrōz had the rank of 500 under Shāh Jahān.

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 276-279, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī*, pp. 16, 17, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 460-464.

2 Bachgōti is a tribe of Rājpūts, see Beames's revised edition of Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, I, pp. 47-49.

MUḤAMMAD SULṬĀN MIRZĀ

(Vol. III, pp. 192-199).

He was the son[1] of Wais Mīrzā, son of Baiqarā son of Manṣūr, son of Baiqara. In the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā Baiqarā, who was his maternal grandfather, he was honoured and favoured. When that King died, and a great dispersion took place in Khurāsān, he took up service under Bābur and was treated with regard and favour. Similarly he was graciously treated in the time of Humāyūn. In spite of the fact that he several times exhibited signs of a rebellious disposition, Humāyūn out of excessive kindness instead of punishing him granted him a pardon. He had two sons, Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā. They also repeatedly showed signs of rebellion, but were restored to favour. At last Ulugh Mīrzā was killed in an attack on the Hazārās, and Shāh Mīrzā died a natural death. Ulugh Mīrzā left two sons, Sikandar and Maḥmūd Sulṭān. Humāyūn gave the titles of Ulugh Mīrzā to the first and Shāh Mīrzā to the second. When Akbar ascended the throne, Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā and his grandchildren were all treated with great favour. Muḥammad Sulṭān Mīrzā in view of his advanced age was excused from service, and granted the pargana Ā'ẓampūr in the *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal for his maintenance. There despite his old age a number of his sons were born, Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā, Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā, and 'Āqil Ḥusain Mīrzā. All of them were treated with favour by the Emperor, and they held valuable fiefs in the *Sarkār* of Sāmbhal[2] In the 11th year Akbar marched to put down Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who had come from Kābul and was besieging Lāhōre. Ulugh Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā joined Ibrāhīm Ḥusain and Muḥammad Ḥusain, and

1 A genealogical tree of the family starting from 'Umar Shaikh Mīrzā was published by Blochmann, translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 513. A precis of this account is also given on pp. 514-516. Wais Mīrzā is also mentioned in *Memoirs of Bābur*, Mrs. Beveridge's translation I, p. 257.

2 Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 279-281, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 414, 415.

raised the standard of rebellion and plunder. And from there they went to Khān Zamān in Jaunpūr. As they could not agree with him, they went on plundering as far as the precincts of Delhī. From there they proceeded to Mālwa which Muhammad Qulī Khān Barlās held in fief. The latter was in attendance at the Court, and so they took possession of Mālwa. Accordingly Muhammad Sulṭān was imprisoned in the Biyāna Fort, and died there in captivity. In the 12th year, Akbar after dealing with Khān Zamān marched to conquer the fort of Chittōr, and deputed Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān to the government of Mālwa and for punishing the Mīrzās. At this time Ulugh Mīrzā died in Māndū. The others were unable to withstand the attack, and hurried to Changīz Khān Gujarātī, a slave of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Gujarātī, who after the latter's death had taken possession of some of the cities of the province. He at the time was engaged in fighting with I'timād Khān Gujarātī, who was in possession of Aḥmadābād. He regarded the arrival of the Mīrzās as a boon, and as they rendered good service in the battle, Changīz Khān assigned Broach as the *Jāgīr* for the Mīrzās. But as their navels had been cut in strife (*i.e.* they were innately rebellious), they on arrival in that district also behaved oppressively, and Changīz Khān was obliged to send a force against them. Though they defeated this force, but finding it beyond their capacity to resist Changīz Khān they proceeded to Khāndēsh[1]. Returning again to Mālwa they stirred up strife. Ashraf Khān and Ṣādiq Khān and other officers, who had been deputed for the conquest of Ranthambhōr, pursued them in the 13th year according to the orders, and the Mīrzās becoming distressed fled and crossed the Narbadā; several of their companions, however, were drowned. When they learnt that Changīz Khān had been killed in the disturbance of Jujhār Khān Ḥabshī, and the province of Gujarāt was without a substantive governor, they again proceeded there, and with or without fighting took possession of the forts of Champānīr, Broach and Sūrat.

When in the 17th year Aḥmadābād was annexed to the empire,

1 In Sambhal in the Morādābād District, U.P., see *Akbarnāma*, II, p. 414.

and the standards of Akbar cast their shade in that province, discord came about amongst the forces of the Mīrzās. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain came out of Broach and passed the royal camp at a distance of eight *kos*. As imperial officers had been sent a day earlier towards Sūrat to deal with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, Akbar on receipt of this news sent Shāhbāz Khān to recall the officers, and himself made a flying march. When he arrived on the bank of the Mahindrī, which is near the town of Sarnāl, he had altogether forty horse, and most of the troopers were without their coats of mail. He waited for a while till special armour could be distributed. Meanwhile the officers also arrived, so that the number of the royal force rose to 200. A hot engagement took place in that town[1]. Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā fled towards Āgra, and his wife Gulrukh Bēgam, the daughter of Mīrzā Kāmrān, fled to the Deccan with his son Muẓaffar Ḥusain. In that year Akbar proceeded to take Sūrat, and left Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka at Aḥmadābād. He summoned Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān and other *Amīrs* from Mālwa to act as auxiliaries. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā and Shāh Mīrzā, who were near Pattan, joined Shēr Khān Fūlādī and besieged the town (of Pattan). Mīrzā Kōka started to engage them, and a fierce battle ensued. As failure is the final fate of ingrates; there was the appearance of victory for the Mīrzās, but it ended in defeat. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā fled to the Deccan and Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā with Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā—who had created a disturbance in Nāgōr and had been defeated—started for the Panjāb. During that time Ḥusain Qulī Khān the Governor of the area was besieging Nagarkōt. He concluded a peace with the Rāja, and started in their pursuit. Mas'ūd Ḥusain Mīrzā was captured in the battle, while Ibrāhīm Ḥusain fled to Multān, where he was wounded and taken prisoner by the Balūchīs. Sa'īd Khān Chaghtā'ī, the governor of Multān, heard about it and got hold of him; he died of his wounds. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrza, after Akbar's return to Āgra from Gujarāt, turned back from Daula-

1 Based on the account in *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 300, 301, 313, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 441, 462, 463.

tābād in the Deccan, and again took possession of some estates in Gujarāt He was defeated near Cambay by Naurang Khān son of Quṭb-ud-Dīn and other royal officers, and joined Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk and the sons of Shēr Khān Fūlādī, who had raised the head of rebellion. With a large force they besieged Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka in Aḥmadābād. Akbar on hearing this news came from Āgra in nine days, chiefly on fast camels, and on 5th Jummāda I, 981 A.H. (2nd September, 1573 A.D.) reached within three *kos* of Aḥmadābād with less than 1,000 horse[1]. A fierce engagement ensued with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā, who arrayed himself for battle leaving Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk to carry on the siege. The Emperor himself with 100 horse formed the reserve and performed great deeds. Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā was wounded and took the road of flight, but his horse's foot was caught upon a thorn-bush, and he was thrown down. Two of the royal men came up in time, and putting him on the horse brought him to the Presence. Each claimed the reward for his capture. By Akbar's order Rāja Bīr Bar asked the Mīrzā as to who had captured him. He replied, "The Emperor's salt took me, otherwise what power had these men to do so." After this incident the men dispersed to plunder. A few remained with the fortunate Emperor; and Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk hearing of the capture of Mīrzā took to flight with 5,000 men. As it was thought that he would fight, a great uproar occurred. The drummers were frightened, but by threats and encouragements they were induced to beat the drum. The enemy were going away in a confused state when the imperial heroes attacked, and put many of them to death by shooting them with arrows. Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk was separated from his men, and came across a Euphorbia-hedge. He wanted his horse

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 13-16, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 18-22.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 51, Beveridge's translation III, p. 73 The capture of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mirzā after the battle is described in Text, p. 49, translation, p. 84. The question as to who had captured him is there, but the name of Rāja Bir Bar is not mentioned, and his reply is given as "The salt of the king of realm and religion captured me." Ikhtiyār-ul-Mulk's battle and his death are described in Text, pp. 60, 61, translation, pp. 85, 86.

to jump the hedge, but fell down. Sohrāb Turkamān, who was behind him, cut off his head, and brought it (to the Emperor). At this time of confusion Rāi Singh, who had charge of Muḥammad Ḥusain, put him to death. Shāh Mīrzā had fled early in the beginning of the battle.

After this, in the 22nd year, Muẓaffar Ḥusain, whom his mother had taken to the Deccan, came to Gujarāt with a few vagabonds, and created a disturbance. As Rāja Tōdar Mal before this had come to assist Vazīr Khān, and to arrange the affairs of the province, he and the Khān attacked Muẓaffar Ḥusain and defeated him. He ran away to Jūnāgarh. When the Rāja returned to the Court, the Mīrzā again came to Aḥmadābād and besieged Vazīr Khān. He intrigued with Vazīr Khān's men, and was about to enter the city when suddenly Mihr 'Alī Kulābī—who had stirred up the youthful Mīrzā to this undertaking—was killed by a bullet. The Mīrzā on seeing this went off, at the moment of success, towards Nandurbār. When he reached Khāndēsh, Rāja 'Alī Khān, the ruler of that country, imprisoned him and sent him to Akbar. He was imprisoned for a time, but, as he showed signs of repentance and loyalty, he was treated with favour[1] In the 38th year Akbar married him to his eldest daughter Khānum Bēgam[2], and assigned *Sarkār* Qanauj to him as his fief. When it was reported that he was a drunkard, and entertained evil thoughts, he was sent for from his fief and put into prison. In the 45th year, 1008 A.H. he, at the time of the siege of Asīr, was sent off to capture the fort of Lalang. The Mīrzā did not take warning from his earlier failures, and from wickedness and drunkenness quarrelled with Khwājagī Fatḥ Ullāh, and one day finding an opportunity went off to Gujarāt. His companions left him. Between Baglāna and Sūrat he

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, pp. 214-217, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 301-305.

2 Khānum Bēgam the eldest daughter of Akbar was born in 977 A.H. (1569 A.D) three months after Prince Salim's birth, *vide* Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 321. Her marriage is mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 644, Beveridge's translation III, p. 990.

assumed a *darvīsh's* dress. Khwāja Waisī, who had gone to look for him, captured him in this wretched condition and brought him to the Presence. The King overlooked his short sightedness, and simply imprisoned him. In the 46th year he was again released and treated with kindness. Later he died a natural death. His sister Nūr-un-Nisā[1] Bēgam was married to Prince Salīm. It is stated that Gulrukh Bēgam, who was Jahāngīr's mother-in-law, was ill at Ajmēr in 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.), and Jahāngīr Bādshāh went to her house to enquire after her. The Bēgam presented a robe of honour. The Emperor preferring the observance of the code (*Tōra*) to the maintenance of royal dignity, did obeisance and took the robe of honour.

MUHAMMAD TAQĪ SĪMSĀZ, styled SHĀH QULĪ KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 366-369).

Muhammad Taqī[2] from his early days was in the service of Prince Shāh Jahān, and attained riches and a position of trust. By his good fortune he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Prince's establishment and became one of his chief officers. When the Prince's officers were deputed to the Kāngra expedition, Muhammad Taqī[3] was sent with Rāja Sūraj Mal[4] to take the fort. When both arrived there, the

1 Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 533, note 1 for additional list of Jahāngīr's wives including Nūr-un-Nisā.

2 This is not quite correct as he was earlier on the *Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt* in Jahāngīr's time and was sent to Mandsūr in the 8th year to bring Mirzā 'Azīz Kōka's family and dependants to Ajmēr, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, p. 258.

3 His appointment with Rāja Sūraj Mal to the Kāngra expedition is mentioned in the account of the 12th year, see *Tūzuk, op. cit.*, p. 392.

4 For Rāja Sūraj Mal eldest son of Rāja Bāsū see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 176-179. His differences with Muhammad Taqī the *Bakhshī* of Prince Shāh Jahān are detailed on p. 177; see also *Tūzuk*, II, pp. 54-56 where is also mentioned Muhammad Taqī's recall from the Kāngra expedition—see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 312.

Rāja—who always had evil designs in his mind and saw that Muḥammad Taqī would be an obstacle in his way—began to have disputes with him and wrote to the Prince complaining against him. Finally he wrote that he could not get on with Shāh Qulī Khān, and the work would not be accomplished by him; he requested that another leader should be appointed in his place so that the expedition might be concluded successfully. Consequently Muḥammad Taqī was recalled to the Presence, and he was later appointed as *Faujdār* of Mālwa, and to the defence of the fortress of Māndū which was in the Prince's fief. When the Prince came by way of Telang to Orissa, Aḥmad Bēg Khān, who was the Deputy Governor there, found it impossible to resist his forces and went away to his uncle Ibrāhīm Fatḥ Jang in Akbarnagar. The Prince made over the province (Orīssa) to Shāh Qulī Khān and left him in its charge. After Shāh Jahān was defeated, he returned from Bengāl to the Deccan and encamped at Dēvalgāon, which was above the pass of Rōhankhēra (Rōhankhēd). At the instigation of Malik Ambar, the Abyssinian, his officer Yāqūt Khān had established himself near Burhānpūr and was plundering the neighbourhood. The Prince sent 'Abdullāh Khān and Shāh Qulī Khān with the idea that as Burhānpūr had been emptied of the best of the imperial forces it might be taken possession of by a rapid movement.

As Rāo Ratan Hārā[1], the Governor of the place, had strengthened the fortifications and omitted nothing that was necessary for defence, they submitted that the Prince should come in person. When after this La'l Bāgh of Burhānpūr was occupied by the Prince, the two leaders were ordered to attack on the two sides. As the main force of the enemy was opposing 'Abdullāh Khān, and the paladins of the two sides were engaged in single combats, Shāh Qulī Khān saw his opportunity and breached the wall, and entered the city. He took his seat on the terrace of the *Kōtwālī*, and proclaimed the government of Shāh Jahān Ghāzī.

1 For Rāo Ratan Hārā see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 208-311. The siege of Burhānpūr is detailed in this account.

When Rāo Ratan's son, who was opposing him, was defeated, Rāo Ratan left a large force to face 'Abdullāh Khān, and himself turning back fought a fierce engagement in the market place. Shāh Qulī's men were engaged in plunder, but with the few men who were left he offered a stout resistance. When most of his companions were slain and there was no hope of his being reinforced, he was obliged to take refuge in the fort. It is stated that 'Abdullāh Khān behaved treacherously, and that if he had rushed assistance, the attack would have been successful. His perfunctoriness was apparently the cause of Shāh Jahān's dissatisfaction and led to 'Abdullāh Khān leaving him. In fine, an enterprise which had succeeded, failed. Rāo Ratan once again strengthened the batteries and invested the fort. Shāh Qulī Khān made terms and waited on him, but was imprisoned. After he had imprisoned his companions in Burhānpūr, he sent off Shāh Qulī to the Court[1]. When Mahābat Khān came to Burhānpūr after the battle of Tōns[2], he put to death some of the gallant men, and cut off the hands of some others. When, as a result of the jugglery of Fate, Mahābat Khān was successful on the banks of Jhelum in 1035 A.H. (1626 A.D.) he, on the day when he murdered Khwāja 'Abdul Khāliq Khawāfī, also put to the sword[3] that brave man Shāh Qulī Khān.

MUHAMMAD YĀR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 706-711).

He was the son of Mīrzā Bahman Yār I'tiqād Khān[4], and was a son befitting of such a worthy father. In fact, in his free and easy

1 For connected accounts of Shāh Jahān's revolt see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 366-386 and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 40-54.

2 Battle of Damdama, a village near the junction of Tōns and the Ganges in Allahābād District in 1624, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 173, also see *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 232.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 267. The executions took place at Attock.

4 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 232-234, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 354, 355.

temperament and absence of touting for favours he surpassed his father and had little to do with men of the world. The more he kicked up his heels at the world affairs the more did the hand of riches lay hold of his skirt. The more he smote at the breast of Fortune with the hand of rejection, the more did she lament (literally: bent her hands) and rub her face on his threshold. Though his father spent his days in independence, and in pleasure and sport, the son by observing the rules of sobriety and prudence enjoyed his life more than the father. He suffered little from the hardships of service. In the beginning of his service, in the 12th year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, when his father was still alive, he received the rank of 400[1], and was married to the daughter of Farrukh Fāl, his uncle, who was the youngest son of Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh[2]. Farrukh Fāl on account of his great corpulence and love of ease (*tanū mandī*) lived in retirement, but he used to appear at the Court on the 'Īd and other festival days, and receive royal gifts and presents; and by hoarding these he became a rich man. In the 21st year[3] Muḥammad Yār was appointed Superintendent of the goldsmith's departments, and afterwards had the charge of *Qūr-khāna* (magazine of royal weapons, flags etc.) added to his office. Gradually he rose to the office of the *Mīr Tūzuk* (Master of Ceremonies) and was later appointed Reviser of Petitions. Afterwards he was exalted by his appointment as the *Dārōgha* of the *Ghuslkhāna*. But owing to his love for comfort and ease, he often kept away from the Court

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 90. His marriage is mentioned on p. 110 in the 14th year.

2 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text 1, pp. 151-160, Beveridge's translation 1, pp. 287-295. His official title was Āṣaf Khān, but he was also known as Āṣaf Jāhī. No account of Farrukh Fāl is published in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, but see Manucci III, p. 204, where there is an interesting description of the production of fruits by a magician employed by "Faracfal (Falak-fal)"; also see Irvine's note on p. 447 of volume IV of the same work.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 163 He was appointed in the same year as the *Dārōgha* of *Qūrkhāna* in succession to Imām Vardi, *vide* p. 165. On pp. 222 and 330 are mentioned the appointments to the posts of *Mīr Tuzuk* and *'Arḍ-Mukarrar* in his place.

for periods of one to two months. At last, he could not brook the promotions of Dhūlfiqār Khān[1] Nasrat Jang, who was always being rewarded for his victories over the Mahrattas and the conquest of the Deccan forts. Though Muhammad Yār also received increases in his office and held the rank[2] of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, he, out of jealousy, could not stand the promotions of Dhūlfiqār Khān and resigned his office. He obstinately stuck to his resolution. Prince Muhammad A'zam Shāh was ordered to pacify him, but, though the Prince showed him much kindness, he would not yield, and sent a message that his service was not of such a nature that it could be directed by the Prince's alluring speeches. The Prince became angry and complained bitterly to the Emperor. The latter said, "He wants me to send him to a fortress." When he received this news, he petitioned saying that he had discharged all his men, and Bījāpūr was near at hand, if a fortress was to be assigned to him, he would go there and guard it. According to orders he was sent there from Galgala. The Emperor also later came to Bījāpūr, and as it was apparent that his heart was in no way inclined for service, he received permission to return to the Capital.

It so happened that Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam also had been given leave to proceed to Āgra at the same time, and their parties started with the same caravan. Muhammad Yār never waited on the Prince on the way, and, in fact, would pass by his tent but never entered it. After reaching Shāhjahānābād he led a free, easy and independent life. He had, however, not spent many months in unemployment when Fortune favoured him. In the 40th year, 1108 A.H.[3]

1 Muhammad Ismā'il son of Asad Khān Nasrat Jang, who later had the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān Nasrat Jang. For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 93-107; and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's edition of *Irvine's Later Mughals*, I, pp. 9, 10, 250-253.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 350.

3 1008 A.H. in the Text is a mistake for 1108 A.H. His appointment as Governor of Delhi and increase in rank are mentioned on p. 384 of *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, while his appointment as *Faujdār* of Morādābād etc. on p. 462.

(1696-97 A. D.) an order came from the Emperor appointing him the Governor of the Capital in place of the deceased 'Āqil Khān Khawāfī[1]. His wish was gratified, and receiving an increase of 500 with 500 horse his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 46th year his rank became 3,500 with 3,000 horse, and he received the gift of drums and the appointment of the *Faujdār* of Morādābād—which office was only granted to selected officers—in addition to his governorship. After the unfortunate death of Aurangzīb, when Bahādur Shāh[2] arrived from Peshāwār within three stages of the Capital, Mun'im Khān, who had then been granted the title of Khān Zamān was sent to conciliate Muḥammad Yār. Though he submitted, and sent his son Ḥasan Yār Khān with the keys of the fort and a present on the assumption of the sovereignty (by Bahādur Shāh), and also sent 30 lacs in cash and 80 lacs in silver vessels; he himself, on a pretence of suffering from palpitation, stayed in the fort. After Bahādur Shāh's accession when Āṣaf-ud-Daulah Asad Khān was appointed Governor of the Capital, he was assigned the duties of the Governorship and safeguarding the fort. When Jahandar Shāh[3] in turn became the Emperor, and started from Lāhōre for the Capital, Muḥammad Yār went to welcome him as far as Agharābād, and on the same day waited on Āṣaf-ud-Daula at Nīmdat, and then retired to his house. Dhūlfiqār Khān, who at the time was the Prime Minister of India, frequently went to see him, and observing this rule that no one should come into his presence armed, took away the

1 'Āqil Khān Mīr 'Askarī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, Pp. 821-823, Beveridge's translation, pp. 264-266.

2 See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 18-20 for an account of the march of Muḥammad Mu'aẓẓam, later Bahādur Shāh, from Peshāwār to Delhi. For Mun'im Khān Khān-Khānān Bahādur Shāhī see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 667-677, and Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-27.

3 Jahāndār Shāh was formally enthroned outside Lāhōre on 29th March, 1712 (*vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 186) and arrived at Delhi on 22nd June, 1712, Irvine, p. 190, but a day earlier according to Khāfī Khān. II, p.718.

dagger from his waist before visiting him. On the day[1] that the Emperor Muhammad Farrukh-Siyar made his victorious entry into Shāhjahānābād, Muhammad Yār waited on him in the centre of the city, paid his respects, and returned to his own house from outside the fort. Though he did not frequent the Court, occasionally cases were referred to him in view of his having served as the Governor. When Muhammad Farrukh-Siyar was driven to distraction by the predominating influence of the Bārah Saiyids and was looking for the help of Aurangzīb's officers[2], he by pressure induced Muhammad Yār to accept the office of *Khān-i-Sāmān* on the death of Taqarrub Khān. He agreed on the condition that he would not be required to be present at the Court. Sometimes he appeared before the Emperor, and whenever he went to the *Khān-i-Sāmān's* office, he did not get down from his palanquin but signed the papers sitting in it. He even had pillars fixed for the palanquin to rest upon. He was honest and elegant. After Farrukh-Siyar, though he did not hold any office, he retained possession of his fief till the end of his life. During the reign of Muhammad Shāh he was twice or thrice summoned to the Court. He died at his appointed time[3]. Except for Hasan Yār, who died in his youth[4], he had no son. He was wealthy and had much property. He was the owner of many houses and shops in Delhī, and exaggerated accounts were current regarding the high rents he used to realize for them.

1 17th Muharram, 1125 A.H. (12th February, 1713 A.D.), *vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

2 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 336, 337, and note* in reference to Muhammad Yār Khān.

3 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note* where apparently on the authority of "*Tārikh-i-Mhdi*", it is stated that Muhammad Yār Khān died on 18th Jumāda I, 1138 A.H. (22nd January, 1726 A.D.).

4 According to "*Tārikh-i-Mhdi*", *vide* Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 337, note* he died aged about 40 between 15-20 Safr 1133 A.H. (16-21 December, 1720 A.D.).

MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN ṬEHRĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 452, 453).

He was a *Manṣabdār* of the time of Jahāngīr, and was for a long time attached to the province of Bengāl. He was the *Faujdār*[1] and fiefholder of Sylhet. Afterwards when the affairs of the government were glorified by the coronation of Shāh Jahān, he in the Ist year was confirmed in the *Manṣab* of 2,000 with 1,000 horse which he had held previously. In the 4th and 5th years he received increases of 200 horse on each occasion. In the 8th year he came to the Court, and placed his forehead of determination on the threshold of faith. After some time he was granted permission to accompany Islām Khān[2] who had been appointed Governor of Bengāl in place of Ā'ẓam Khān. When the Assāmese with the help of Baldeo, the brother of Parīchat[3] *Zamīndār* of Kūch Hājū, became rebellious, he in company with Mīr Zain-ud-Dīn 'Alī[4], the brother of Islām Khān and who had the title of Siyādat Khān, rendered good service, and rose high in his office and position of trust. Accordingly his rank in the 11th year was advanced to 2,000 with 1,800 horse[5]. In the 15th year he was granted an increase of 200 horse which made his contingent equal to his infantry. When in this year Orīssa was assigned to Prince Muḥammad Shujā' as an appendage to the Governorship of Bengāl, Muḥa-

1 He is mentioned in the account of the 11th year of Shāh Jahān's reign in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 75.

2 He is Islām Khān Mashhadi (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 162-167, Beveridge and Prashad's translation I, pp. 694-696). His appointment as Governor of Bengal in place of Ā'ẓam Khān (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 315-319) is recorded in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 83, and *'Amal-i-Ṣaliḥ*, II, p. 95.

3 His correct name according to Borah, *Baharistan-i-Ghayabi*, II, p. 807, note 16, is Parikshit; see also Gait, *History of Assam*, pp. 63-68.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 75 and Yazdani's edition of *'Amal-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 287.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 90.

mmad Zamān was sent there to settle the area[1]. In the 19th year he was recalled to the Court. In the 20th year he was attached[2] to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur who had hurried to settle Balkh etc. When the Prince made over Balkh to the officers of Nadhr Muḥammad, and returned in the 21st year, Muḥammad Zamān, in accordance with the orders, reached the Presence before the Prince. Nothing more has been noticed about him.

MUḤIBB 'ALĪ KHĀN[3]
(Vol. III, pp. 238-245).

He was the son of Mīr Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Ali Khalīfa[4], who was the mainstay of Bābur's power, and on account of his great loyalty, close association, farsightedness, correct judgment, outstanding bravery, and ability was greatly favoured by that great Emperor[5]. He was also very accomplished, particularly in matters of medical knowledge. In view of certain incidents, such as normally occur in worldly affairs, he was suspicious and afraid of Humāyūn, and as such he was unwilling

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 283. His removal from Orissa is recorded on p. 473.

2 He was sent to Badakhshān to convey treasure to Qulij Khān, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 685.

3 An account of his life based on the *Maāthir* is published by Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 463-455.

4 He is often referred to in *Memoirs of Bābur*; for references see Mrs. Beveridge's translation II, pp. 796. 797; also *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 119, Beveridge's translation I, p. 281, and Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, pp. 17, 18.

5 This occurred while Bābur was lying seriously ill, *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 117, Beveridge's translation I, p. 277. The account is taken almost verbatim from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* (De's edition) Text II, pp. 28, 29, Translation II, pp. 41-44. Mrs. Beveridge, *Memoirs of Bābur*, II, pp. 702-708, after discussing in detail the available evidence concludes that there was an intrigue to supplant Humāyūn, but is of the opinion that Muḥammad Zamān Mirzā, Babur's eldest son-in-law, and not Mahdi Khwāja was the person selected by Mīr Khalīfa as Bābur's successor to the throne of India. Banerji *op. cit.*, pp. 17-26, on the other hand, accepts the *Ṭabaqāt* version as correct. See also *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 117, Beveridge's translation I, p. 277.

that the latter should be Bābur's successor. Although before his death Bābur had nominated Humāyūn to succeed him, the Mīr Khalīfa wished to raise to the throne Mahdī Khwāja, Bābur's son-in-law, who was a liberal-minded man, and for whom he had an affectionate regard. Accordingly this plan became known among men, and the Khwāja also began to put on regal airs. One day it so happened that the Mīr Khalīfa was in the tent with Mahdī Khwāja. When the former went out, the Khwāja—who was not without a streak of madness—ignorant of the fact that some other person was also there, involuntarily placed his hand over his beard and exclaimed, "God willing! I will flay your skin." Suddenly his glance fell on Muḥammad Muqīm of Herāt—the father of Khwāja Niẓām-ud-Dīn Bakhshī, and who at the time held the post of the *Dīwān-i-Buyūtāt*—standing in a corner of the tent. The Khwāja was amazed, and took him by the ear and said "O! Tājik"[1].

Hemistich

The red tongue ruins a wide-awake head!

Muḥammad Muqīm immediately conveyed these words to the Mīr Khalīfa, (and added) that this was the result of his evil design, for he wished to transfer the sovereignty to a stranger. Mīr Khalīfa thereupon abandoned his improper resolution, and forbade anyone from waiting on the Khwāja. After Bābur's death he placed Humāyūn on the throne.

Muḥibb 'Alī Khān distinguished himself in battles during the reigns of Bābur and Humāyūn. His wife was Nāhīd Bēgam[2], the daughter of Qāsim Kōka. When Bābur was taken prisoner in the battle with Ubaid Ullāh Khān Ūzbeg[3], Qāsim Kōka, out of his loyalty

1 See Elliot, V, p. 188. It is not clear whether the Khwāja recited the hemistich or it is only a reflection of the author of the *Ṭabaqāt* on his conduct. Probably the latter is more correct, and all that the Khwāja said was "O Tājik"

2 See Mrs. Beveridge's translation of Gul-Badan Begam's *Humāyūn-Nāma*, p. 268.

3 عبید اللّٰه خان in the Text is incorrect.

came forward and said, "I am the King. Why have you seized th servant of mine." The enemy put him to death, but the King w saved from this deadly danger, and always favoured Qāsim's family In 975 A.H. (1568 A.D.) Nāhīd Bēgam went to visit her mother Hā Bēgam, the daughter of Mīrza Muqīm the son of Amīr Dhu-un-Nūı who had married Mīrzā Ḥasan after the death of Qāsim Kōka. Aft that she married Mīrzā 'Īsā Tarkhān the ruler of Thatha (Sindh). happened that before Nāhīd Bēgam's arrival the Mīrzā had died an his son Muḥammad Bēqī had become the ruler. He did not treat th Bēgam properly, and also ill-treated the Ḥājī Bēgam. The latter allie herself with some rascals in an attempt to seize Muḥammad Bāqī, b he got news of the intrigue, and imprisoned Ḥājī Bēgam, and sh died. Nāhīd Bēgam by courage and skill made her escape from th country, and when she reached Bhakkar, Sulṭān Maḥmūd the rul of the area talked in a friendly way and said that if Muḥibb 'A Khān would come there, he would conquer Thatha and hand it ov to him. The Bēgam believed his idle talk, and when she arriv in India, she strongly urged this proposition for Akbar's consideratio The Emperor in the 16th year, 978 A. H. (1570 A. D.) presente Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, who for a long while had left service, with flag and drums, and gave fifty lacs[2] of *tankas* for his expenses fro Multan, and assigned him a fief in that province. He also se with him Mujāhid Khān, his daughter's son, who was a brave youn man, and allowed him to depart to that country. He also wrote Sa'īd Khān the Governor of Multān to assist him. When the Khā arrived in Multān, he, relying upon the promises of Sulṭān Maḥmū did not wait for assistance (from Sa'īd Khān) and went off to Bhakk

1 Erskine, *History of India*, I, pp. 351, 352, and *Akbarnāma*, Text II, 362, Beveridge's translation II, p. 527. The account of Nāhīd Bēgam a Muḥibb 'Alī Khān's appointment to Sind is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p 361-363, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 526-528; and Text III, pp. 90, Beveridge's translation III, pp. 127-129.

2 The fifty lacs of *tankas* were apparently the income of the fief in Mult see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* (De's edition), Text II, p. 233, Translation II, p. 367.

When he had nearly reached there, Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent a message that he had only made a casual remark and that he could not accompany him on the expedition. He should either return or march to that country by way of Jaisalmēr.

As Muḥibb 'Alī Khān was not inclined to return, he with his small force of not more than 200 men resolved to conquer Bhakkar. Sulṭān Maḥmūd got ready a force of 10,000 men, and sent it to the fort of Māchīla. By Divine aid the small force of Muḥibb 'Alī Khān defeated Sulṭān Maḥmūd's army, and the vanquished took shelter in the fort. After a siege the fort was captured, and some of the goods fell into their hands. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān then proceeded towards Bhakkar, and it chanced that dissension broke out among the enemy's ranks. Mubārak Khān, who belonged to the Khāṣa' Khail (clan) of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and was his minister, joined Muḥibb 'Alī Khān with 1,500 soldiers. The ostensible reason of this was that some wicked persons of the locality had accused his son Bēg Oghlī of intriguing with one of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's women. That simpleton without investigating the matter set about extirpating the family. Mubārak Khān, who lacked loyalty, fearing for his honour joined Muḥibb 'Alī Khān. The latter put him to death, as he coveted his property, and increasing his forces set about besieging Bhakkar. The siege lasted three years. Famine and pestilence broke out in the fort. One of the strange incidents was the breaking out of the disease of swelling (*warm*). Whoever drank a decoction of the bark of *Sirs*[1] tree recovered, and so it was sold for its weight in gold. At last Sulṭān Maḥmūd petitioned Akbar praying that he would present the fort as *pēshkash* to Sulṭān Salīm, but as he was not on good terms with Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, he could not hope for safety at his hands, and therefore begged that some other officer should be appointed to take over the fort, and then he would proceed to the Court. Mīr Gēsū *Bakāwal Bēgī*, who in accordance with the prayer

1 The tree *Acacia odoratissima*, which grows wild in the country.

had been appointed to the Governorship of Sindh, had not reache there when Sulṭān Maḥmūd fell ill and died. It is stated that whe Muḥibb 'Alī Khān heard of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's illness he sent letter saying that he had a skilful physician with him, and if Sulṭā Maḥmūd desired he would send him for treatment. Sulṭān Maḥmu wrote on the same letter:

Verse

My hidden pain is preferable to the physicians of the enem;
May be that I will receive my medicine from the hidden treasur
(of God'

When Mīr Gēsū arrived in that vicinity, Mujāhid Khān was engage in besieging the fort of Ganjāba (in Baluchistan). His mother Sāmi Bēgam, the daughter of Muḥibb 'Alī Khān, was indignant on hearin of the arrival of Mīr Gēsū, and sent out some boats to attack him. The made things difficult for him, and the Mīr was about to be seizec Khwāja Muqīm of Herāt, who was the *Amīn* there, however, witl held Muḥibb 'Alī Khān from this improper warfare, and Mīr Gē: went to the fort in 981 A.H. (1573-74 A.D.). The officers in-charg who were waiting, surrendered the keys to him, but Muḥibb 'A Khān and Mujāhid Khān out of empty greed would not leave tl country, and yet it was difficult for them to remain there withoı orders. Muḥibb 'Alī Khān adopted a conciliatory course, and it w arranged that Mujāhid Khān should go to Thatha, and that Muḥib 'Alī Khān and his family should stay in Lōharī (Rōhrī). When th had been arranged the Mīr sent a large force in boats against Muḥib Alī Khān. He could not resist and so retired hurriedly to Māthīl: Sāmi'a Bēgam strengthened her house, and resisted for a day ar night. Meanwhile Mujāhid Khān arrived after a forced march, ar defeated the Mīr's men; for three months more he held that side the river.

When Bhakkar was assigned to Tarsūn Khān, Muḥibb 'Alī Khā returned to the Court. In the 21st year, Akbar, in view of the signs

experience and judgment being patent in Muḥibb ʿAlī Khān, granted him a robe of honour, and he was permitted to represent at all times the wishes of the people and to suggest what he thought befitting. As he was a prudent companion and possessed of talent, Akbar in the 23rd year gave him the choice[1] of one of the four great appointments. First was the office of the *Mīr ʿArḍ* (Master of Petitions), second the post of the Superintendent of the Harem, third the government of a distant province, and fourth the governorship of the city of Delhī. As he felt that he did not have enough physical strength in his body, he chose the last appointment. In 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) he died as Governor of Delhī. The author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* includes him in the rank of 4,000, but Abūl Faḍl lists him amongst the holders of 1,000.

Bhakkar[2] is an old fort. In ancient histories it is called Manṣūra. The six nothern rivers join and pass near it. Two portions (of the river) run on the south side and one on the north side of the town which is called Sakhar (Sukkur); this stands along one bank, and the other town is called Lōhrī (Rōhrī). It has always been part of Sindh. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain Arghūn, the ruler of Thatha, rebuilt the fort and strengthened it, and made over the governorship to Sulṭān Maḥmūd his foster-brother. After his death Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was a madman and a murderer, had the *Khuṭba* recited and the coins struck in his own name at Bhakkar, while Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān did the same in Thatha. They were sometimes at peace and sometimes at war[3]. As Bhakkar was conquered by Akbar before Thatha, it was included in the Multān province.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 248, Beveridge's translation III, p. 357.

2 Adapted from *Āʾīn*, see Jarrett's translation of Vol. II, pp. 327, 328, note 3.

3 The short notice of Sulṭān Maḥmūd and Mīrzā ʿĪsā Tarkhān is taken from the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, see De & Prashad's translation of Vol. III, pp. 784-786.

MUHIBB ‘ALI KHĀN ROHTĀSĪ[1]

(Vol, III, pp. 277-280).

He was an officer of Akbar of the rank of 4,000, and was well known for his courage and bravery, and military talents and leadership. As he was for a long time the Governor of Rohtās, he became known by the name Rohtāsī. That fort is situated in Bihār, and is one of the lofty fortresses of India. It is a wonderful work of the Creator. It is safe even from the idea of an attack, being situated on the top of a high hill which is difficult of access. The circuit (of the hill?) is 14 *kos* and its length and breadth rather more than 5 *kos*. From the level ground at the bottom to the level of the fort is a distance of more than 2 *kos*. Cultivation is carried on at the top, and there are many springs there. Stranger still, though the hill is so high, good sweet water is found at diggings of 3 or 4 yards. From the time of the first building of the fort no ruler had been successful in conquering it. In the time of the government of Rāja Chintāman[2],

1 A condensed translation of this biography was given by Blochmann, *Ā'īn* (2nd edn.) I, p. 466. Rohtās in Bihār is called Rohtāsgarh in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXI, pp. 322, 323, and must not be confused with the Rohtās fort in Jhelum District, Panjāb. The description of the fort is based on *Ā'īn*, II, see Jarrett's translation, pp. 152, 153.

2 Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text I, p. 153, Beveridge's translation I, p. 335, but, as is pointed out by Beveridge in note 3 on the some page there is some confusion about the nama of the Rāja. The name of the Rāja is not mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Newal Kishore edn., p. 229, De's Text edition, II, p. 100, Translation II, pp. 162, 163, note 3), but 1,000 *dōlis* are mentioned. Ferishta (Newal Kishore edn., p. 225) gives Har Kishan as the name of the Rāja, and the number of *dōlis* as 1,000; this is followed in Dow's translation (*History of Hindostan*, II, p. 172, 173), but the number of "covered chairs" or *dōlis* is not given; the account is copied almost verbatim in Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 139-141. In Aḥmad Yādgār's *Tārīkh-i-Shāhī* or *Tārīkh-i-Salāṭīn-Afāghina* (H. Hosain edn.), pp. 187-189, the name of the Rāja is not mentioned, and the number of *dōlis* is 300. In *Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh* (Zafar Hasan edn.), p.319 the name of the Rāja is Chintāman Brahman and the number of *dōlis* 1,000. In Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 147-149 the name of the Rāja is Haris Kishen Birkis, and while

a Brahman, in the year 945 (1538-39 A.D.) when Bengāl had been conquered by Humāyūn, Shēr Shāh Sūr with other Afghāns and the choice treasures of Bengāl came by the route of Jhārkhand to the neighbourhood of Rohtās. He reminded the Rāja of the old services, and laid the foundations of concord. He represented that as he was at the time in a tight corner, the Rāja should be kind to him, and grant an asylum in the fort to his family and followers, and so put him under obligation. The straightforward Rāja was deceived by the flatteries and cunning of that trickster and agreed. That hypocrite (Shēr Shāh) prepared 600 litters (*dōlīs*), and placed in each two armed youths, and sent servant girls with the litters. By this stratagem he introduced soldiers into the fort, and captured it. He left his family and soldiers in the fort, and raising the hand of disturbance blocked the road to Bengāl. After that the fort fell into the hands of Fatḥ Khān Batnī[1], who was one of his chief officers, and later also of his son Salīm Shāh. He defended it valiantly against Sulaimān Kararānī, who had taken possession of Bengāl. After some time Junaid Kararānī[2] conquered it and made it over to one of his confidential servants Saiyid Muḥammad. When Junaid Kararānī died, that Saiyid carried on the government of the fort for a time, but considered that it would be advisable to present the fort as a *pēshkash* through the intermediation of some influential person at the imperial Court,

giving 1,000 as the number of *dōlīs*, the author notes that various authorities give the number as 300, 1,000, and 1,200. Qanungo in his work *Sher Shah*, discusses the versions in various contemporary works in detail; he states that Churaman, the minister of the Rāja whose name is not mentioned, prevailed on the Rāja to agree to Shēr Khān's proposal. The number of *dōlīs* is given as 1,200. He does not accept Abbas Sarwani's refutation of the *dōlī* story, which is accepted by Dorn in his *History of Afghans*, pp. 93-100; in the latter work Churaman is the name of a Brahman minister of the Rāja. See also Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 95-98.

1 Patnī or Batnī in the Text. Blochmann has adopted Batnī. For "Batani or Patni" also see Beveridge's note in his translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, Index, pp. 58, 59.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 189, Beveridge's translation III, p. 266.

and so to become one of the servants of Akbar. Meanwhile Muzaffar Khān with the Bihār army marched to take the fort. Saiyid Muhammad entered into correspondence with Shāhbāz Khān Kambū, who having defeated Rāja Gajpatī had turned him into a vagabond and was besieging his son Srī Rām in the fort of Shērgarh. Shāhbāz Khān hastened there, and in the 21st year (984 A.H., 1576 A.D.) took possession of the fort. In the same year he, in accordance with orders, made over the charge of the fort to Muhibb 'Alī Khān, and himself proceeded to the Court. For years afterwards Muhibb 'Alī Khān held the fort, and was noted for his administrative and judicial skill. He distinguished himself always by providing suitable assistance to the Bengāl administration, and rendered valuable assistance in uprooting sedition in the area. His son Habīb 'Alī Khān, who was a brave young man, acted as his father's deputy in the government of Rohtās and the adjacent country. When most of the fiefholders went to serve in Bengāl, Yūsuf Matī in the 30th year collected some Afghāns and started plundering the area. Habīb 'Alī carried away by youthful enthusiasm fought with him without proper arrangements, and performing deeds of bravery and valour was killed. Muhibb 'Ali Khān was so greatly upset on receipt of this news as to become mad (*kāliwa shud*). But though he showed much restlessness, the Bengāl officers would not allow him to proceed[1] (against Yūsuf). As Shāh Qulī Mahram was going to the Court, he was deputed to chastise that wretch (Yūsuf), and he in a short while put an end to the disturbance. When in the 31st year two officers were appointed to each province, so that if one went to the Court or fell ill, the other could carry on the work, Bengāl was assigned to Vazīr Khān along with Muhibb 'Alī Khān. When in the 31st year Bihār was granted as a fief to Rāja Bhagwant Dās, Muhibb 'Alī Khan's *jāgīr* also was transferred to the Kachwāha (Bhagwant Dās). Multān was thought of for him, and an order of recall was despatched to him. In the beginning of 34th year[2] he came to the Court and his

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 460, Beveridge's translation III, p. 695.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 536, *Ibid.*, translation, p. 816.

heart's desire was fulfilled, and his happiness increased through various favours and honours bestowed on him. He accompanied Akbar on the first expedition to Kashmīr which took place in 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.). He fell ill in that city (Srīnagar), and during the return journey he died near Kōh Sulaimān. One day before (his death) Akbar[1] had gone to his quarters to enquire after him. It is stated that when he was dying and had long been incapable of speaking, someone said, "Say without God there is no God". He replied that it was not the time to say: there is no God; rather it was the time when all one's thoughts should be centred in God.

RĀJA MUḤKAM SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 330-332)

He was a Khatrī by caste. He was in the employment of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain 'Alī Khān[2], and soon became a trusted servant of that high official. By degrees he rose to the post of his *Dīvān*, and later became his general. In the battle with Dā'ūd Khān[3], which took place in 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.), he was one of the elephant riders. After reaching Aurangabād when the disturbance of Khadū[4]

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 553, Beveridge's translation III, p. 840. The version of his reply is somewhat different, for he is stated to have said "It is not the time to say *Lā Allāh* (without God), rather it is the time to fix all one's heart on God (*Bā Allāh*)."

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 321-328, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 628-639.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 63-68, Beveridge's translation, pp. 458-462. Dā'ūd Khān Panī was killed in a battle at Burhānpūr on 8th Ramaḍān 1127A.H. (6th September 1715), see Irvine, *Later Mughals* (Sir Jadunath Sarkar edn.) I, p. 328.

4 So in Text, he is کهنڈو ديهاريه in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 777. He is called Khandee Rao Dhabaray in Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, pp. 320 etc., Khanderao Dabhade in Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of Maratha People*, p. 211 etc., and Khande Rāo Dābhāde in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 338 etc. His victory over Dhulfaqār Bēg near the edge of the Baglāna forest is described by Kincaid & Parasnis on pp. 211, 212, and it is stated that Raja

Dihāriya (Khande Rāo Dābhāde), *Makāsdār* of Khāndēsh and one of the companions of Rāja Sāhū (Shāhū), broke out, Dhulfaqār Bēg, the *Bakhshī* of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, who had been appointed to chastise him, was killed. Ḥusain 'Alī Khān appointed the Rāja with a suitable force to remedy the matters, and he wrote to Saif-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, his (younger) brother, who was the *Ṣūbadār* of Burhānpūr, to join with the Rāja in putting down Khadū Dihāriya. A satisfactory[1] encounter with that troublesome tribe (the Marathas) took place in Khāndēsh, and later Muḥkam Singh signally defeated the Maratha forces which were plundering near Aḥmadnagar, and forced them back to the fort of Satāra which was the residence of Rāja Shāhū. After that he returned to the Capital with Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. When the latter was killed, Muḥkam Singh, on receiving from Ḥaidar Qulī Khān[2] a message of safety for his life and honour, came to the Court[3]. His offences were pardoned and he was favoured with grant of the rank of 6,000; this was later raised to 7,000. On the night before the battle between the Emperor's troops and those of Quṭb-ul-Mulk, Rāja Muḥkam Singh who as he had previously arranged with him, suddenly left the imperial army, and joined him. The battle lasted throughout the day, and even after night fall the cannonade from the royal guns continued. A ball struck the *howdah* of the elephant of Muḥkam Singh and he descending got on to a horse, and ran away. For a long time it was not known whether he was alive or dead.

Mohkam Singh and Sarfuddin Ali Khan were not able to achieve any success against him.

1 So in Text, but the variant شا يك كه نريبك باشد would mean just the opposite. The account in Khāfī Khān, II, p. 780, indicates that the variant is more correct; see also note 4 on previous page.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 747-751, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 600-602.

3 See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 67, where the account of his presentation before Muḥammad Shāh is given. His desertion from the imperialist army to join Saiyid 'Abdullāh Quṭb-ul-Mulk is described on p. 87. The battle took place at Ḥasanpūr on 13th Muḥarram 1136 A.H. (13th November, 1720 A.D.), *op. cit.*, p. 85.

MUHTASHAM KHĀN BAHĀDUR
(Vol. III, pp. 793-796).

-Ie was Mīr Muhammad Khān[1], son of Muhtasham Khān[2] son of - Mīr. He was above all his brothers in regard to his office and -nce. His success was not due to his birth, but because Zinat-isā Begam[3] the full sister of Ā'zam Shāh—who always devoted -f to the service of her revered father (Aurangzīb) and was styled m Ṣāhiba after the accession of Bahādur Shāh—gave her protege -aughter of Mīr Mas'ūd in marriage to him. On the recommen-n of the Begam he attained the rank of 700 in the reign of ngzīb. He was a real student, and studying under Mulla Jīvan ithīvāl[4]—who was well known for his learning and was for long ssociate of Aurangzīb and later of Bahādur Shāh—became the pupil of the Mullā. In Bahādur Shāh's time he was awarded itle of his father. When the affairs of the government became -led, and the *Amīrzādas* and the descendants of high families obliged to give up hopes of service and advancement due to them ie right of their birth, and to look for success to the patronage of influential officials, Muhtasham Khān also, after the sad death of -Begam, attached himself to Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh Fath Jang, and to Mālwa. He received an allowance of one hundred and fifty -s a month. When that great *Amīr* crossed the Narbadā[5], and

جهان in the Text is a printer's error for خان.

The word پسر is omitted in the Text between محتشم خان and شيخ. For Muhtasham Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 646-650. as the son of Shaikh Mīr Khwāfī who was a distinguished companion of : Aurangzib, and died at an early age.

She was the second daughter of Aurangzīb, and according to Irvine, *Mughals* (Sarkar edn.), I, p.2, received the title of "Padshah Begam" from lur Shāh. She died at the age of 80 years on 18th May, 1721.

Mullā Jiwan Amaithvi, according to Beale, *Biographical Dictionary* (1894 p. 278, was the tutor of Emperor Aurangzib.

Khāfī Khān, II, p. 852. See also Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 22, where ite is given as 1st Rajab, 1132 A.H. (9th May, 1720 A.D.).

having won decisive victories[1] over the huge armies of his enemies, took possession of the extensive territories of the Deccan, Muḥtasham Khān was granted the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse and appointed the *Bakhshī* of the *Manṣabdārs* of the Deccan. When Fatḥ Jang was sent for to Upper India[2] for taking up the office of the *Vazīr*, Muḥtasham Khān, as he hesitated in accompanying him, was removed from his office. After some time he was appointed from the Capital for service in the Deccan. After the battle[3] with Mubāriz Khān, in which he was wounded, he was rewarded by reinstatement in his old office (of the *Bakhshī*) which, according to his own saying, suited him and was to his liking. For nearly twenty years he rendered approved service, and receiving the title of Bahādur rose to the rank of 5,000.

He was a straightforward man, devoid of guile, and was distinguished for his sincerity and frankness. He was possessed of candour and trust, which are essential qualities for a leader, and never forgot the observance of the etiquette of the Court. He carried out the duties of his service in a most efficient manner, and did not allow nepotism to interfere in his official dealings with relations or acquaintances. He preserved an even tenor of life from the beginning to the end, and was never presumptuous. Outwardly he was austere and morose, but he never spared himself in public service and did his best in every possible way. He did not keep up a force equal to his rank, but was possessed of much property including elephants. In his later days he developed a special attraction for beardless youths whom he patronised openly. The pleasure-loving and smooth-faced lads, with moustaches just beginning to show up and who had shaved their

1 Battles of Pandhār, 20th June, 1720, and Bālāpūr, 11th August, 1720, *vide* Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 29, 47. These dates are according to *Wüstenfeld-Mähler's Tabellen*, and are one day later than those given in Irvine.

2 In 1721. According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 939, he reached Delhi, and on 22nd Rabī' II, 20th February, 1722, was appointed the *Vazīr*.

3 Battle of Shakarkhēra, 11th October, 1724, see Vol. I, *ante*, p. 718, notes 7, 8.

eyebrows, were dressed and adorned with great pains; this was regarded by him as a necessary expense (obligation) for authority (*maṣārif himmat*). When Nawāb Fatḥ Jang was besieging the fort of Trichinopoly he died in 1156 A.H. on 16th Jummāda I (27th June, 1743 A.D.). His son Ḥashmat Ullāh Khān was appointed *Bakhshī* on his father's death, and received the rank of 2,500. He was a young man of amiable disposition and carried on his duties satisfactorily.

MUḤTASHAM KHĀN MĪR IBRĀHĪM
(Vol. III, pp. 646-650).

He was the eldest son of Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī, who was the chief of the intimates of Prince Aurangzīb in his early days. If death[1] had spared him, he would have been one of the chief officers and the leading commanders of the state. In the early years of the reign he did great deeds and established a claim for recognition at the hands of the successor to the sovereignty. The appreciative Sovereign showed favours to and brought up his sons, who were still young, and granted them suitable ranks. Although they, as a result of their evil destiny, were not in accord with the Emperor's disposition, they attained high ranks simply because of the regard for their deceased parent; the Emperor never failed to show favours to them. Mīr Ibrāhīm received the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and during his long service received promotion. Later for some reason he left for pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. In the 18th year after his return from the Ḥijāz he rendered homage at the Court, and was confirmed in the rank of 1,500, and exalted by the grant of the title of Muḥtasham Khān. From Ḥasan Abdāl he was appointed *Faujdār* of Langarkōt[2],

1 He was killed in the battle of Dēorā'i, 4 miles from Ajmēr 23rd to 25th March, 1659; *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 314-326, Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 68—71, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 505-517.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 141. His appointment as *Faujdār* of Mēwāt is mentioned on p. 158, and transfer from governorship of Āgra to that of Allahābād on pp. 246, 247. His reinstatement is recorded on p. 396, and appointment as governor of Naldrug in the 47th year on p. 470.

which is 20 *kos* from Peshāwār, and received the gift of a flag. After returning from Ḥasan Abdāl he was made *Faujdār* of Sārangpūr, and in the 20th year appointed *Faujdār* or Mēwāt. When Prince Muḥammad Akbar raised the head of rebellion, and some of the auxiliary officers willingly joined him, while others submitted unwillingly, the Khān and a few others out of loyalty did not leave the path of duty, and did not obey the Prince's orders. For a time he was imprisoned because of his objectionable address, but when the Prince fled, he came and did homage, and was graciously received. Afterwards he was appointed Governor of Āgra, and in the 28th year on the death of Saif Khān the Governor of Allahābād he was given charge of that province. Later he was deprived of his rank, and for a long time lived in retirement. In the 42nd year he was reinstated in the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and after some time was sanctioned an addition of 1,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Aurangābād, but the year of this appointment is not known. In the 47th year he ,was nominated Governor of Naldrug. Later he was again suspended from his office and returned to the Court. When in the 49th year the Emperor turned his attention to the conquest of Wāgingēra[1], Pīryā (Pīdiyā) Nāik, the governor, had recourse to craft, and professed a desire for peace. He handed over to 'Abdul Ghanī Kashmīrī a pedlar (*dast farōsh*) of the camp—who by deceit had been carrying on dealings with Pīdiyā—a letter full of various requests. This was presented to the Emperor through Hidāyat Kēsh the recorder (*Wāqi'a Khwān*) and the prayers were accepted. Afterwards Muḥtasham Khān, who was without office and a debtor of the same Kashmīrī, was at the suggestion of the Nāik restored to office, appointed governor of the fort, and sent to take over the fort. The hypocrite admitted the Khān and a few others into the fort, and the drums of victory were beaten loudly in the royal camp and there were rejoicings. At last the Kashmīrī brought a message from Pīdiyā's

[1] For the campaign of Wāgingēra see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 221-234, and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 498-506.

mother that Pīdiyā had gone mad and run away. Sōm Singh his brother, who had come to the Presence to arrange for the peace, obtained leave to return and arrange for vacating the fort. This also was allowed. He thought that by his falsehood and deception the royal army would march off, but when this did not happen, the flames of strife were rekindled, and the helpless Muḥtasham Khān was imprisoned. On the day when by the exertions of the heroes the fort was captured, that wicked person shut up the Khān in a house, and setting fire to the buildings fled. If the imperialists had arrived a moment later, the Khān would have been burnt. It is stated that the Khān had eaten some metallic compound (*filzāt*), as a result even in the height of winter sweat poured from his body, and he needed fans. He was well known for his potency and keeping many women. His main pastimes were indulgence, sleeping and eating. On account of repeated dismissals and lack of employment he was in miserable circumstances. At the time of the return from Khēlna[1] the officers suffered great hardships. Owing to extensive rains every stream was flooded, and at every step a bridge had to be built. There was not even a trace of beasts of burden or horses. It took a month and seventeen days to cover fourteen *kos*. The Khān, who could not exist without women, came along the hillside with most of his women folk on foot, a staff in his hand, falling and stumbling. He had many children, but none of his sons except for Muḥammad Khān who was honoured and received his father's title, attained to any eminence. A separate account[2] of the son has been included.

1 During the return journey of the Mughal army after the fall of Khēlna in June, 1702; the sufferings of the army during this journey are summed up by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 187-189.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 793-796, and translation immediately before this account on pp. 231-233.

MUHTASHAM KHĀN SHAIKH QĀSIM FATHPURI
(Vol. III, p. 355).

He was the brother of Islām Khān[1] Shaikh 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. In the 3rd[2] year of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse. In the 5th year[3] he was granted an increase of 250 horse. After the death of Islām Khān he received an increase in his rank. In the 8th year he was appointed governor of Bengāl[4], and is the 9th year[5] his rank was increased to 4,000 with 4,000 horse. As he did not possess the essential qualities of leadership, and in fact was devoid of any powers of management, people of the area were dissatisfied with him. He deputed an army without proper preparation and arrangement for the conquest of Assām. After it had made three or four marches in the country, the Assāmese carried out a night attack, which resulted in a heavy defeat for his army[6]. On this matter being reported to the King, he was removed from office[7], and he fell out of favour. About the same time he died.

1 For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 118-120, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 692, 693.

2 In the account of the 3rd year it is stated that he was sent for to the Court as he could not agree with his brother Islām Khān, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge) I, pp. 147, 148.

3 This is incorrect, as in the account of the 5th year it is stated that his rank which was 1,000 with 500 horse, was increased by 500 personnel and horse, see *Tūzuk, op. cit.*, p. 176.

4 The death of Islām Khān in 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.) is recorded, but not the appointment of Qāsim Khān. This is, however, recorded in the account of the 8th year in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 72.

5 This promotion was sanctioned in the 10th year, see *Tūzuk, op. cit.*, p. 306

6 Adapted from *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 68.

7 This happened in the 12th year, when Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang was sent to replace him, *vide Tūzuk, op. cit.*, p. 373. In *Riyāḍ-us-Salāṭīn*, Text p. 181, translation pp. 179, 180, it is stated that he was the Governor of Bengāl for 5 years and a few months, and was dismissed from office, as he did not take any suitable steps in connection with the capture of Abā Bakar by the Assamese.

MU'IN-UD-DIN AHMAD KHAN FARANKHUDI[1]
(Vol. III, pp. 216, 217).

In the year when Humāyūn started from Kābul for the conquest of Hindūstān, Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān accompanied his stirrups in the shadow of royal favours. In the 6th year of Akbar's reign when the Emperor's standards marched towards the Eastern provinces, he was left in charge of Āgra[2]. In the 7th year when 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg was deputed for the conquest of Mālwa, Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, who was distinguished for his rectitude and ability among the officers of the *Buyūtāt*, was honoured by the grant of the title of Khān, and sent there with the instructions that after the conquest he should tactfully conciliate the plebians and nobles of the area; and after defining the *Khālṣa* lands and the fiefs to be granted, in accordance with their ranks, to the *Amīrs*, who had been appointed to the expedition, return to the Court[3]. He on his arrival carried out the division judiciously and returned to the Presence; and was the object of increased favours (from Akbar). In the 18th year he was attached[4] to Mun'īm Khān, who, according to orders, had started for the conquest of Patna (Bihār). And later he accompanied Mun'im Khān to Bengāl. In the 20th year, when the army was stationed in the city of Jinnatābād (Gaur) and great mortality resulted from the effects of the bad air, he also died there in the year 983 A.H.[5] (1575 A.D.).

1 According to Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 480, note 1, Farankad "is said to be near Samarqand".

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 147, Beveridge's translation II, p. 228.

3 This is based on *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 168, 169, Beveridge's translation, pp. 260, 261.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 40, Beveridge's translation III, p. 57.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 160, *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 227 for a detailed account of the ravages due to Malaria at Gaur.

MIR MU'IZZ-UL-MULK AKBARI

(Vol. III, pp. 227-231).

He was a Mūsawī Saiyid[1] and one of the nobles of the Holy Mashhad. In the reign of Akbar he was enrolled among the commanders of 3,000, and was highly favoured for his services. In the 10th year of his reign, 973[2] A.H. (1565-66 A.D.), Akbar moved to Jaunpūr to punish Khān Zamān, who had sent his brother Bahādur Khān with Iskandar Khān Özbeg to the district of Sarwār[3] for plundering and ravaging that area. For their chastisement Akbar sent a strong detachment of officers under Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk. The rebels on the arrival of this strong detachment lost courage[4] and restored to deception and negotiations. They sent a message that it was beyond them to think of opposing the royal forces, and their prayer was for pardon. They were willing to send over the well known elephants which they had captured, and as soon as their faults had been cleansed by the limpid water of forgiveness they would come to the Presence to offer their apologies in person. The Mīr wrote in reply that the record of their crimes was not of such a nature that it could be cleansed without the intervention of the sword. In spite of this Bahādur Khān requested that if he were granted an interview, it would be possible to exchange a few appropriate words. Mīr came out of his encampment with a few companions, and Bahādur Khān with a few attendants also approached from the opposite side; and various points were discussed by the two parties.

As the signs of deceit were patent on the foreheads of the rebels, it was not found possible to arrange a peaceful settlement. Akbar

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 414, 415.

2 *Akbarnama*, Text II, pp. 257, 258, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 384, 385. For 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 622-630, Beveridge's translation, pp. 197-204.

3 See Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 389, note 1.

4 See *Akbarnama*, Text II, pp. 261, 262, Beveridge's translation II, pp. 389-391, from where the above account appears to have been taken.

on hearing of this news sent Lashkar Khān and Rāja Tōdar Mal to the Mīr with the instructions that they should arrange for peace or war as they thought proper. They after meeting Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk sent a message to the rebels that if their faithful and friendly words were sincerely meant, they should present themselves at the threshold without fear, otherwise they must be prepared to fight. As they were not satisfied, they did not agree. The Mīr, who was very conceited and proud of his fighting qualities, having heard that the means employed by Khān Zamān were likely to lead to his offences being pardoned, arranged his army and attacked the enemy near Khairābād. Muḥammad Yār, the nephew of Iskandar Khān Ūzbeg who commanded the advance guard of the insurgents fell in the first attack of the royal army. Iskandar Khān, who was fighting behind him, was carried along and fled from the field. The victorious army thinking that the flight of Iskandar had decided the battle took to plundering, and became scattered. Bahādur Khān, who was lying in wait with a force, attacked the left wing of the army during this disturbance. Shāh Budāgh Khān fell from his horse and was taken prisoner, and many soldiers throwing the dust of unfaithfulness on their foreheads, deserted to the enemy. Bahādur Khān, having defeated this section of the imperialist army, attacked the centre, where the soldiers without fighting gave up the struggle and took to flight, while some out of discord or unfaithfulness crept away. Through lack of union, and the presumption and vanity of the Commander, the victors were defeated. Though Rāja Tōdar Mal with other *Amīrs* firmly held the ground, but, as the army was scattered, nothing could be achieved. Later when the province of Bihār was conquered, the Mīr was granted as his fief the pargana of Arab[1] and its surroundings. In the 24th year the nobles of Bihār under the leadership of Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī, *Tayūldār* of Patna, rebelled. They led away Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk and his younger brother Mīr 'Alī Akbar from the righteous path by their plausible speeches and flatteries, and spread

1 Arrah in Bihār.

the disturbance. But both the brothers after a while separated themselves from the rebels, and Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk hurrying to Jaunpūr raised the standard of independence, and collected (round him) many short-sighted opportunists. Consequently in the 25th year, 988 A.H. Akbar directed Asad Khān Turkmān *Jāgīrdār* of Mānikpūr to hasten to Jaunpūr, and bring that wicked wretch with all his suspicious adherents to the Court. In compliance of the orders he (Asad Khān) captured all the insurgents and sent them by boat to the Emperor. Near Itāwah, however, the boat of the Mīr foundered in the River Jumnā[2].

(RĀI) MUKAND NĀRNŌLĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 237, 238).

He was a Māthar Kāit (Māthur Kāisth or Kāyasth[3]). Earlier when Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula (Nūr Jahān's brother) had the small rank of 200 with 5 horse, Rāi Mukand was his servant on Rs. 2 or 3 a month. As he was not without talents, he was promoted as his patron advanced through the grace of the Almighty, and with the passage of time became his *Dīvān*. He was highly cultured and very benevolent. Men often succeeded by forged recommendations on his behalf; when these recommendations were brought to him he would say that he had written them. There were few Kāits who did not profit by his good fortune, and did not acquire a name. He spent a great deal of his fortune on the town of Nārnōl which was his native place and residence. He erected lofty buildings there and was always wanting to visit it. After the death of Āṣaf Khān he was received favourably by Shāh Jahān, and appointed *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* (Superin-

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text III, p. 286, Beveridge's translation III, p. 419.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 309, *Ibid.*, p. 455. It was near to Etāwah in the United Provinces that the boat was sunk. It was commonly believed that he was drowned by Akbar's order, see *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text II, pp. 276, 277, Lowe's translation II, p. 285.

3 One of the twelve branches of Kaisths or Kayasths, see Beames' edn. of Elliot's *Supplementary Glossary*, I, p. 305.

tendent of buildings etc.). As his star was in the ascendant, he rose to the post of the *Dīvān-i-Tan*[1] (Superintendent of grants etc.).

Some enemies from amongst his countrymen represented to the Emperor through the courtiers that Rāi Mukand had buried forty lacs of rupees under the foundations of his house. Men were sent to dig his house, and when all had been pulled down, not a mite (*ḥabbat*) was found. The slanderous liars were brought to the Presence, and confessed that they were his neighbours, and as he had taken their land by force they had determined to be revenged in every possible way; they were now ready to receive any punishment that might be ordered. Shāh Jaḥān pardoned their offences. Rāi Mukand served for a long time as the *Dīvān-i-Tan*, and was honoured and trusted all his life[2].

MUKAND SINGH HĀRĀ[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 509, 510).

He was the son of Mādhū Singh[4]. After his father's death he came to the Court in the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and was appointed to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and received the gift of his birth place[5] as a fief. Later he was granted an increase of 500 horse. In the 22nd year he was deputed in attendance upon Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb[6] as an auxiliary to Qandahār, which

1. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 279. He was given the rank of 500 with 100 horse and appointed *Dīvān-i-Tan*, but his appointment as to the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* is not mentioned. In the list at the end of the work his rank is given as 800 with 200 horse (p. 741).

2 See Yazdani's article in *Journ. Proc. Aṣ. Soc. Bengal* (n. s.), III, (1907), pp. 582, 583, for a notice of Mukand Rāi and his buildings. Nārnōl is in the Patiāla State, Panjāb,

3 Hādā in the Text. See *ante* under Mādhu Sing Hārā, p. 1, note 1.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 453-456; translation *ante* pp. 1-4.

5 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* (Yazdani edn.) III, p. 63.

6 Aurangzīb's appointment for the defence of Qandahār is mentioned in *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 71, but Mukand Singh's name is not included in the list.

was besieged by the Iranis. On his return, in the 25th year, he received an increase of 500 foot (Dhāt), and was granted drums and a flag. In the same year he accompanied Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb for the second time to Qandahār. In the 26th year he was attached to Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh, and proceeded to the same quarter. After his return his rank was raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 28th year he was deputed with Sa'ad Ullāh Khān for the destruction of the fort of Chittōr. In the 31st year[1] he was attached to Mahārāja Jaswant Singh who had been deputed to Mālwa to stop Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb's advance. On the day of the battle, he and his brother Mōhan Singh Hārā pressed through the artillery and vanguard and came face to face with the Prince. They fought boldly and performed valiant deeds, and finally sacrificed their lives for the sake of their honour. Both the brothers died in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.). Mukand Singh's son Jagat Singh received in Aurangzīb's reign the rank of 2,000, and was appointed the chief in his home district. He was employed for a long time in the Deccan. In the 25th year he died. His fief was assigned to Kishwar Singh, whose biography has been included in the notice of Rām Singh[2].

The grant of drums and a flag is recorded on p. 135, but not the increase in rank; Aurangzib's starting for Qandahār for the second time is mentioned on p. 137. In the list of the officers (p. 157) who were deputed with Dārā Shikōh for the conquest of Qandahār in the 26th year his name is not mentioned. Sa'ad Ullāh Khān's deputation for the destruction of Chittor is described on p. 194.

1 This should be the 32nd year, as Mahārāja Jaswant Singh was appointed governor of Mālwa on 22nd Rabi' I, 1068 A.H. (28th December, 1657 A.D.), see *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ* III, pp. 284, 285, see also Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 331, where it is stated that the army under Jaswant Singh, the governor-designate of Mālwa left Āgra on 18th December (Old Style, 29th December New Style). In the battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, Mukand Singh Hārā was the leader of one column of the vanguard. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 358, 360, 363.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 323, 324; Kishwar Singh was appointed as the Rāja of Kōtah, as Jagat Singh left no male issue.

MUKARRAM KHĀN MĪR ISḤĀQ

(Vol. III, pp. 695-701).

He was the second son of Shaikh Mīr[1]. The devotion and zeal of Shaikh Mīr had impressed themselves firmly on Emperor 'Ālamgīr, and he regarded his valuable service in the beginning of the reign when he sacrificed his life for his master, as establishing a great claim upon him, and so he encompassed his sons with favours of all kinds. It is well known that he used to refer to them as the King's children. Hence it was that they in their presumption behaved in the manner of the house-born ones, and being without tact did not humble themselves to anyone, and giving themselves up to an easy life did not establish any contacts[2]. In short, Mīr Isḥāq was granted a high rank and the title of Mukarram Khān, and appointed to the distinguished post of the Superintendent of the Body-guard. In the 18th year when the Camp was in the fertile land of Ḥasan Abdāl, the Khān and his brother Shamshēr Khān Muḥammad Ya'qūb were appointed with a well-equipped force to chastise the Afghāns[3]. The Khān went by the Khālush Pass, and had several engagements with the enemy. He made many of them prisoners and destroyed their habitations. One day the enemy showed themselves. Although he had no information about their numbers, he suddenly attacked them and was victorious. Meanwhile two forces, which were in ambush in the middle of the hills on the two sides, attacked him, and a serious struggle between the two armies ensued. Shamshēr Khān and Mīr 'Azīz Ullāh, son-in-law of Shaikh Mīr, stood firmly and were killed with a large number of the army. Many died for want of water and from having lost their way. Mukarram Khān with a few

1 For Shaikh Mīr see references in note 1 under Muḥtasham Khān Mīr Ibrāhīm, *ante*, p. 233.

2 For an instance of their presumptuous action see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 155.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, pp. 144, 145, whence the account is taken. The name of the pass is Khābush in that work, with Jānush and Jālus as variants.

others managed, through the guidance of some who knew the road, to get over to 'Izzat Khān the *Thānadār* of Bājaur. He regarded the arrival of Mukarram Khān as a great event, and treating him with great regard comforted him. According to orders he was sent to the Presence. In the 20th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Mace-bearers[1] in place of 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān, and in the 23rd year, at the time of the return from Udaipūr to Ajmēr he was deputed[2] to chastise the rebels of Badhnūr, a dependancy of Chittōr, and was exalted by the grant of an elephant. Later he was censured for some reason, and was deprived of the honour of paying his respects. Again, in the 26th year, he was admitted to service, and was appointed governor of Lāhōre. In the 30th year he[3] was removed, but later was given the governorship of Multān, and from there was again transferred to the governorship of Lāhōre. In the 41st year he was under suspension, and resigning from service remained in the Capital in retirement as a pensioner.

In the 45th year[4], out of a desire to re-enter service, he presented himself at Khatānūn (Khatāo) near the fort of Parnāla (Panhāla), and for a time was the recipient of royal favours. As the temperaments of the two parties were not in accord, and neither tried for harmony, he again retired, and returning to the Capital lived there in ease and comfort. With his accumulated capital he purchased houses and

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 158.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 190; where the name of the place is given as Ranthambhōr with Badhnūr as a variant. It is Bodhnor of Jarrett, *Ā'in*, II, p. 274, and Badnor of *Imperial Gazetteer*, VI, pp. 178, 179. His dismissal from the office of the Superintendent of Mace-bearers is recorded on p. 228.

3 His removal from the Governorship of Lāhōre in the 30th year is recorded on p. 283 of *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, Sipāhdār Khān was appointed his successor. In the 41st year he was removed from this post a second time and recalled to the Capital, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 445. The name of the place is کهتانون in the Text and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*; it is Khatau "25 miles west of Satara and on the left bank of the Yerla river". Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, p. 179. and Khatao in *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 265, 266.

ops, which yielded a good income. He was not without merits. e took to Sufism and used to repeat "He is everywhere", and alously followed the ideals. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh—who during the ᶔn of Bahādur Shāh lived in retirement in the Capital for some ne—stated that "In those days I used to visit Mukarram Khān, d profited from his discourses". He died during the reign of rukh Siyar. He was childless. His adopted son Ubaid Ullāh Khān is well known. Saiyid Hashmat Ullāh Khān, who at the time of iting is Āṣaf Jāh's agent (*Vakīl*) at the Court, is Ubaid Ullāh's son.

Idleness often leads to a study of alchemy and to a love for chemisy, and it is a common occurrence that such a pursuit by inspiring opes appears to provide a favourable antidote for unemployment; lukarram Khān also was not free from this folly. He took to it in e end of Aurangzīb's reign. This was mentioned by the reporters the Emperor. Khwwāṣ Khān relates in his history that he heard out it from a person who was sent by Muḥammad Yār Khān, the overnor of Delhī, to Mukarram Khān to make enquiries about it, d he obtained the information directly from him. He was trustworiy, and his testimony might, therefore, be accepted as correct. fterwards when it became well known that the Khān was seeking ter the transmutation of metals, the search for the process became ell established in his workshop. A *faqīr*, who posed as a holy man his appearance, came to him, and laid great stress on his integrity id disinterestedness. He represented with an air of great mystery at he was a disciple of the great sage, the leader of the philosophers ɑaus-uth-Thāqalīn, who was an adept alchemist, and that he had een authorised by him to instruct Mukarram Khān. By repeating ibles and enchantments he created the proper atmosphere, and with e help of associates he cleverly demonstrated how a small quantity gold could be doubled. As a result Mukarram Khān was converd, and though during this time he treated him with all respect and ntreated humbly, the *faqīr* paid no heed whatsoever, and ignoring comforts confined himself to minor demonstrations, and whenever e question of instruction was brought up he put it off till the day of

departure. Till one day he agreed and they brought a large pot and filled it up to the mouth with alternately laid layers of *ashrafīs* and copper coins. Having sealed it up with clay they put it up over a fire. When a third of the night had passed, a dreadful noise was heard issuing out of the pot. The trickster smote his hands in grief and said, "Some evil has influenced the process, and it can only be remedied by offering the blood of a black-skinned boy". Mukarram Khān said, "How can it be lawful to shed innocent blood. We must stop." The *faqīr* looked greatly offended and said, "It seems impossible to you". He took some *ashrafīs* and went out. After two hours he came back with a child, and with his own hand cut his neck with a knife, and poured some drops of his blood into the fire. The noise ceased, and the victim was stretched under the ashes. A short while afterwards the men of the *Kōtwāl* arrived with torches and crying out with the sound of trumpets stated that a *faqīr* had kidnapped a helpless boy into this lane, and had not passed beyond this house. Seize the *faqīr* and hand him over, as the mother and father of that oppressed are helpless. Mukarram Khān was distressed, and though for fear of his honour offered a large sum of money, the tumult did not cease. The trickster objected saying, "Why give money? Hand me over. What can they do?" After a great deal of useless talk the trickster came forward and said, "Here I am." Kōtwal's men bound him hand and foot, and beating him carried him away. Mukarram Khān sat under a tree saying, "What shall I do?" Sometimes he put the finger of astonishment into his mouth, and sometimes he bit his hand out of repentance. Meanwhile the day dawned, and he sent someone to ascertain what had happened to the *faqīr*. No trace of the disturbance could be found. The people of the quarter were questioned. No one could tell anything. Enquiry was made about the victim, but he also could not be traced. Surprise followed surprise. Afterwards when the pot grew cold and it was opened, they found in it bits of stone instead of *ashrafīs*. Whoever enquired of the Khān about it was told, "This was the price of the spectacle which he showed me."

(Mīrzā) MUKARRAM KHĀN ṢAFAVĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 583-586).

His name was Murād Kām, and he was the son of Mīrzā Murād :ifāt Khān the eldest son of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār. Mīrzā urād gained his heart's desire (*murād*) by marrying the daughter of .bdur Raḥīm Khān Khānān, and in the reign of Jahāngīr was exalt- with the title[1] of Iltifāt Khān, and the rank of 2,000 with 800 :se. During the reign of Shāh Jahān also he was for long in royal :vice. During the period of service he did not exert himself, and the 16th year resigned from service, and was granted a pension of :. 40,000 a year[2]. For a long time he lived in tranquility and com- rt in Patna, and his days were spent in ease and freedom from care. urād Kām (his son), who was receiving training in the affairs of vernment and service, became an object of royal favour[3], and in the ginning of the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign was granted the nk of 2,000, and assigned the office of *Qūrbēgī*. In the 24th year s rank was increased, and he was appointed *Faujdār* of Lucknow d Baiswāra in succession to Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān. In the 25th ar he was, on the death of Mu'tamad Khān, made *Faujdār* of Jaun- ir, and was exalted by an increase in his rank to 3,000 with 3,000 rse, and the grant of drums. Later he came to the Court, and in : 27th year, received the title of Mukarram Khān, and was permit- ! to return to his district. In the 28th year he was in attendance the Court. In the 31st year he was again appointed *Faujdār* of unpūr. When the juggler of Fate removed the plan of government

1 In *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation I, p. 298, the ant of the title is mentioned, but not the rank to which he was assigned.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 317. Perhaps what is meant is that he was pension- off as he could not or would not fight, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, p. 6. Muqarrab Khān on the other hand was pensioned off because of age; *id.*, 381.

3 The account is incomplete as his earlier appointments, ranks and omotions in the 12th, 13th, 16th and 18th year are not mentioned, see *dshāhnāma*, II, pp. 135, 143, 179, 204, 334, 335, 385 and 399.

of Shāh Jahān from the face of the world and laid the foundation of Aurangzīb's sovereignty, Prince Shujā', owing to his being at variance with Dārā Shikōh, made a compact of friendship and concord with Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and acted in harmony with him. When Dārā Shikōh fled from before Aurangzīb, Shujā' expressed great joy and satisfaction and offered his congratulations (to Aurangzīb). He also received from him the province of Bihār in addition to Bengāl, and Shāh Jahān was also made to confirm this in writing. Shujā' outwardly professing gratitude came from Akbarnagar to Patna, and waited for an opportunity. When Aurangzīb went in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh as far as Multān, that opportunist (Shujā') taking advantage of the situation sent an army under *Saiyid 'Ālam Bārah and Ḥasan Khān Khwēshgī to* Jaunpūr. Mukarram Khān realized the impossibility of being able to resist them, and after discharging a few cannon and a little fighting came out of the fort[1], and perforce joined Shujā' two stages from Allāhābād. On the day of the battle of Khajūa, Shujā' appointed Mukarram Khān as the leader of the left wing[2]. The latter, in the height of the engagement, impressed by the majesty and power of Aurangzīb, and the weakness and infirmity which were apparent in the affairs of Shujā', deserted the latter, and joined Aurangzīb's army[3]. After the victory, he was reappointed to his former office of the *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr. In the 3rd year he was made *Faujdār* of Oudh. In the 9th year he was promoted to the high rank of 5,000, and in the 10th year through the grace and favour of the Emperor he was granted the title of Mīrzā Mukarram Khān[4], and rose high in his position. Later for a time he was for some reason in retirement. In the 12th year he was again received into favour. He came without arms, and the sagacious Emperor by the grant of a sword comfirmed him in his tenacity of purpose. In the same year in 1080 A.H. (1669 A.D.) he died

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 239.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 251.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 263, 264.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1061.

of a severe attack of fever. He had a poetical vein, and wrote good poetry. This verse is his:—

Verse

The glass of the hearts of the nightingales has been broken into so many fragments,
That breeze dare not walk bare-footed in the garden.

Aftet his death, his daughter in the end of the 19th year was married to Prince Mu'izz-ud-Dīn[1], the eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. After the death of that chaste lady, the Prince was married to Saiyid-un-Nisā Bēgam[2], the daughter of Mīrzā Rustam son of the deceased Mukarram Khān in the 28th year.

MUKHLIṢ KHĀN I
(Vol. III, pp. 428-430).

He was the elder brother of the famous Ilāhwardī Khān[3]. At first he was in the employment of Sulṭan Parvīz. As a result of his integrity and ability he rose to the office of the *Dīvān*[4] of the Prince, and looked after the province of Patna which formed part of the Prince's fief. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign when the Prince heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, after Ibrāhīm Khān Fatḥ Jang[5], the Governor of Bengāl, had been killed, sent an advance army to Patna under Rāja Bhīm the son of Rāja' Amar Singh, Mukhliṣ Khān lost heart, and though Allāh Yār Khān son of Iftikhār Khān and Shēr Khān Afghān were his auxiliaries, he did not have sufficient courage to

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 152.

2 *Id.*, p. 248.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp.207-215, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 668-672.

4 He was appointed in the 14th year, and had the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, II.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 135-139, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 657-659.

strengthen the defences of the fort of Patna and carry on for a few days till the arrival of the imperial troops[1]. He rushed away to Allāhābād, and later entering the service of Jahāngīr was exalted with the intimacy and confidence of the Emperor. In the disturbance of Shariyār, he, with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan, was in the vanguard of Yamīn-ud-Daula[2]. After Shāh Jahān's accession he received the rank of 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and the gift of a flag[3], and was appointed *Faujdār* of Nārwār[4]. Later he was granted an increase of rank and drums, and made the *Faujdār* of the *Sarkār* of Gōrakhpūr. In the 7th year of the reign he was exalted to the rank of 3,000, and as he was appointed Governor of Telingāna[5], which at that time included Nandair and other estates in the province of Maḥmūdābād; he left for that quarter. In the 10th year of the reign he died. It is stated that he had collected many beautiful concubines, and that in his last illness he granted freedom to 500 of them.

His son was Mīrzā Lashkarī, who was one of the learned of the age and was notorious for his loquacity. Through the close friendship of Mahābat Khān he became known at the Court. It is stated that this father of foolishness was the first cause of Khān Jahān Lōdī's downfall. One night in the *Ghusulkhāna* he had a dispute with Ḥusain Khān and ʿAẓmat Khān, the sons of Khān Jahān Lōdī. They treated him harshly (lit. they knocked the door of severity). He said, "Your bravery will be put to test tomorrow when they put fetters on your father's legs, and take a kror of rupees from him". As Khān Jahān was on night watch, the sons went to the *Pēsh-khāna*[6] and

1 *Iqbālnāmah-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 223; also see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 373.

2 *Ibid*, p. 296; also see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 181.

4 *Ibid*., p. 191. Instead of Nārwar the name is incorrectly printed as نروز Narōz.

5 *Ibid*, pt. ii, p. 14.

6 نیش خانه in the text is incorrect; it should be پیش خانه as it is in *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 254. It probably was an ante-room.

repeated these words to their father. As the days of his prosperity had come to an end, these idle, baseless words added to his suspicions, and he shut himelf up in his house. Islām Khān at the Emperor's orders went and enquired the cause of his conduct. At the same time the remarks of Mīrzā Lashkarī became known[1]. Shāh Jahān put him in chains and sent him for imprisonment in the Gwāliyār fort. After the affair of Khān Jahān was liquidated, he was released, but he lived in exile until his death. Another son was Zawālī[2], who in the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign held the rank of 700 with 150 horse.

MUKHLIṢ KHĀN II
(Vol. III, pp. 641-644).

He was the son of Ṣafshikan Khān[3], grandson of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān[4] the *Ṣadr* of Iran and brother of the famous Khālīfā Sulṭān. He was a foreigner by birth. During the siege of Gōlconda he carried on the duties of the Superintendent of the Artillery, as a deputy for his father. After that fort was taken, he was granted an increase of 200 horse and rose to the rank of 1000 with 300 horse[5], in which appointment he was confirmed. In the 33rd year of the reign he held the office of *'Arḍ Mukarrir* (Examiner of petitions). Later he was appointed *Qūrbēgī* and his rank became 2,000 with 700 horse. In the 36th year he was granted an increase of 500, and appointed 2nd *Bakhshi*[6] in succession to Bahramand Khān; and later receiving a

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, p. 800.

2 زوالی Zawalī in the text appears to be a printer's error for یزدانی. A son of Mukhlis Khān with the name Yazdānī is included in the list of Shāh Jahān's officers, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 744, with a rank of 700, 150 horse.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 746, 747

4 *Ibid*, Text III, pp. 109-115. He came to India in the 17th year of Aurangzīb's reign, *vide Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 230.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri* p. 303.

6 *Ibid*, p. 349.

further increase of 500 rose to the rank of 3,000. In the end of the 44th year, Aurangzīb's victorious army started from Khāṣpūr with the design of the conquest of Parnāla (Panhāla), and on the 2nd Sha'bān the town of Murtaḍāābād murch (Miraj), a dependancy of Bījāpūr and 36 *kos* distant from the latter was selected as the camping ground for the imperial army. The Khān had been suffering from severe illness[1], and on the 4th of the same month in 1112 A.H. (3rd January, 1701 A.D.) he died, and was buried in the same city in the tomb of the great saint Saiyid Shams-ud-Dīn, who was one of well known Shaikhs of that province. His inherited nobility was further adorned by acquired qualities; and he was possessed of all laudable traits. The doors of his liberality were open to both friends and strangers, and he did his best to promote the interests of the public. In the appointments of *Manṣabdārs* and in making representations his position at the Court was equal to that of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān[2] I, who was brave but greedy. He was not avaricious, but contented, and had a very independent nature, consequently he held an unequalled place in the affections of the King. The latter often remarked that he had in him a young Khalīfā Sulṭān. The regard in which he held him is reflected by a letter which he wrote (*i.e.* ordered 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān[3] to write) in reference to his son to Prince Bīdār Bakht, who was then stationed at Aurangābād: this letter is preserved in the work, *Kalimāt-Tayyibāt*. "As the son of Mukhliṣ Khān deceased is an orphan, but possesses ability, and has thoroughly learned syntax and etymology, his welfare should be looked after[4]. Accidentally he has fallen amongst enemies and wolves. His nurse was the mother of Multafat Khān, while the *Dīvān* (Steward) is Ḥājī Muhammad 'Alī Khān. Bitter enmity has

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* p. 434, where he is designated *Bakhshi-ul-Mulk*.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 309-315.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 828-832, and Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 680-682.

4 The instruction of the King, as noted by 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān in the *Kālimāt*, is that the boy should be looked after until his uncle returns from the *Wilāyat* (Persia).

existed between these two. Qā'īmā, who was with the boy, has become the *Dīvān* of Haidarābād. Every effort must be made to safeguard the orphan." When the affection of the master is so deep-seated, service becomes a pleasure. This Multafat Khān Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī, Hājī Muhammad 'Alī Khān and Mīr Qā'imā Tufrrashī were all Mukhlis Khān's partisans, and after his death received from the King the titles of Khāns etc. The Khān in question had only this son. He was born in the 21st year 1108 A.H. (1696-97 A.D.). Aurangzīb gave him the name of Muhammad Hasan. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was given the title of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān. He died at Delhī a few years before this work was compiled. In addition to his other accomplishments, Mukhlis Khān had a poetical vein, and composed elegant (*rangīn*) verses. The following verse is his:

Verse

My intoxication, the door of penitence and the heart of the cup-bearer,
With a single smile broke into fragments the cup, closed (the door) and opened (the heart of the cup-bearer).

Stranger still! in spite of his being a maghul given to excesses, he was greatly inclined towards Sufīstic abstinence[1]. He also had a sympathetic nature.

MUKHLIS KHĀN QĀDĪ NIZĀMĀ KARHARDŪ'Ī[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 566-568).

Originally he was in the service of Shāh Jahān, and in the 20th year he was appointed *Bakhshī* of Balkh[3]. In the 21st year he was

1 This passage is rather obscure, and it appears as if some words have been missed out by the copyists.

2 In *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 540, it is کریر ودی Karirwadī instead of کرهرودی The variants in *'Ālamgirnāma* are کرسز ودی and کردرری p. 48, کردری - کردیزی - کوهر ودی p. 53.

3 On p. 615 of the work cited it is recorded that Qādi Nizāmā *Bakhshī* of

promoted and appointed *Bakhshī* and Reporter for Kābul. In the 24th year he had an increase in rank, and was made Superintendent of Artillery for the province. In the 25th year, he was made *Dīvān* of the province of the Capital. In the 26th year, he was deputed to accompany Muhammad Dārā Shikōh on his expedition to Qandahār, and in the 27th year he was the *Bakhshī* of the *Shāgird-pēsha* (artisans and menials). In the 28th year, in the company of Sa'd Ullāh Khān he performed valiant services during the operations of destroying the fortifications of Chittōr. Later he accompanied Khalīl Ullāh Khān, *Bakhshī* and Reporter of the army, in an expedition against the ruler of Srīnagar (Garhwāl). In the 30th year he made his mark as the Superintendent (*Amīn*) of Branding. Later he was transferred to the Deccan, and in the 31st year went to Bījāpūr for collecting the tribute from 'Ādil Khān. Up to the 30th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he had attained the rank of 800 with 200 horse. When Sultān Muhammad Aurangzīb started for the Capital from the Deccan, his rank in view of his loyal services, was raised to '1,500 with 200 horse'[1], and he was granted the title of Mukhlis Khān[2]. In the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, and the first battle with Dārā Shikōh he was in attendance on Aurangzīb. After returning from Multān he obtained leave to go to Āgra[3]. In accordance with orders he carefully brought the auxiliaries of the province in company with Prince Muhammad Sultān to the Court. When on the occasion of the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, the King took with him Shāistā Khān, the Governor of the province of Āgra, the government thereof was assigned to Mukhlis Khān[4]. In the 2nd year, he, in accordance with orders, hurried to Bengāl[5] and with Khān Khānān took an active part in the fighting

Balkh was sent with other officers as an escort for the treasure that was being brought from Ghazni to Balkh.

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 48.

2 *Ibid*, p. 53

3 *Ibid*, p. 231.

4 *Ibid*, p. 294.

5 *Ibid*, p. 433.

there. In the 3rd year he was placed in charge of Akbarnagar[1] (Rājmahal). In the 7th year, he, in compliance with the orders, presented himself at the Court. In the 9th year his rank was increased to 1,000 with 300 horse[2], and he was deputed to accompany Sulṭān Muḥammad Mu'azzam first to Lāhōre and afterwards to the Deccan. His later history has not been noticed.

MUKHTĀR KHĀN QAMAR-UD-DĪN

(Vol. III, pp. 655-660).

He was the son of Shams-ud-Dīn Mukhtār Khān. In the 21st year[3] of Aurangzīb's reign he received the title of Khān. Later he was appointed to the office of *Qarāwalbēgī* (Chief Huntsman). When his father was appointed to the high office of Governor of the province of Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt, he was also attached to him[4]. After the death of his father, he attended the Court, and was granted the high title of Mukhtār Khān, and appointed Superintendent of the horse-stables[5]. In the 29th year he received a bow and a quiver, and was deputed to Haulankī *thāna*[6], a dependancy of Bījāpūr. From there he was placed in charge of the siege[7] of Bījāpūr. In the 30th year, after the taking of Bījāpūr, when the imperial army came to Shōlāpūr the marriage of Prince Muḥammad Bīdār Bakht[8], the eldest son of Shāh 'Ālī Jāh Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh with the daughter of Qamar-ud-Dīn was celebrated on 15th Muḥarram, 1098 A.H. (21st November, 1686 A.D.). The chaste lady was styled Pōtī Bēgam. In the 33rd

1 In the 4th year according to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 683.

2 The rank, according to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 843, was increased by 500 horse to 2,000 and 400 horse.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 167.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 220, 221.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 259, 260.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 270, the name of *thāna* there is Hailsanqī.

7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 272, 273.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 284.

year, the Khān was appointed head[1] of the Artillery. Later he was deputed to chastise the rebels of Kangīrī[2] and Rā'ī Bāgh. In the 37th year, he was reappointed[3] head of the Artillery. In the 38th year he succeeded Fidā'ī Khān Kōka as Governor of the province of Āgra[4]. At the end of the 41st year[5] he was removed from the governorship of Āgra, and appointed to settle Mālwa. In the 45th year he was reinstated as Governor of the province of Āgra. He had attained the rank of 3,000, but as a result of some transgression this was reduced by 500 later, however, his rank was restored. In the 49th year, as a reward for the taking of Sansanī—which belonged to the rebellious Rāja Rām Jāt, and which was taken on 2nd Rajab, 1117 A.H. (9th October, 1705 A.D.)—his rank by an increase[6] of 500 was advanced to 3,500.

When fate and destiny are exerting for anyone's advancement, all counter schemes of malevolents are bound to fail. Rather whatever is planned by them to injure the person, helps in his advancement. For example, Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, out of pride and audacity, did not show much consideration for his elder brother Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh. When Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, the second son of Shāh 'Ālam, by his skilful management of the provinces of Bengāl and Bihār, became possessed of much wealth, and collected a large force, Aẓīm Shāh began to plot to displace him. When at the end of Aurangzīb's reign, Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh hurried from Aḥmadābād to Aḥmadnagar—where the Emperor was staying—he reported to the Emperor such language on the part of Muḥammad 'Aẓīm, that orders were issued for his recall, and mace-bearers appointed to

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgirī* p. 330.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 240, where it is Hōkarī instead of Kangīrī of the text.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 365.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 369, 370.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 442, 460; the increase of rank mentioned on p. 460 was in the 46th year.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 498.

to take charge of him. He could not foresee, that the arrival[1] of Muḥammad 'Aẓīm portended great danger to his own life. Accordingly when Muḥammad 'Aẓīm had reached near Shāhzādpūr, he received the news of the death of Aurangzīb. He immediately set about collecting troops, and conciliating the *faujdārs* and proprietors of the area marched rapidly, and reached Āgra with 20,000 horse. He imprisoned Mukhtār Khān, the governor of the province, and confiscated his property[2]. This rapid march to Āgra—which was the central pivot and capital of the kingdom, and which had been the storehouse of treasures and jewels of the empire since the days of Emperor Akbar—was the first step towards the ascending of Bahādur Shāh to the throne; the chances of his party were consequently advanced a hundredfold.

Hemistich

An enemy becomes the harbinger of good when God so wills !

For it is evident that if 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān had remained in Patna, he could not have reached (Āgra) with such expedition. Stranger still! A'ẓam Shāh, after the death of his revered father wanted to write to Sulṭān Bīdār Bakht, who had hastened from Mālwa to Gujarāt, to proceed by forced marches with the armies of Mālwa and Gujarāt to Āgra, and there in conjunction with Mukhtār Khān, his father-in-law, begin to collect troops and get ready the equipment for war. It is stated that Ibrāhīm Khān—the newly arrived Governor of Gujarāt, who regarded himself as a partisan of A'ẓam Shāh—was waiting that if he received an order to ally himself with Bīdār Bakht, he would collect his troops and march (to Āgra). When Wālā Jāh, the second son of A'ẓam Shāh, heard about his father's plans, he, out of jealousy

1 The reference apparently is to the fact that by summoning Muḥammad 'Aẓīm from Bengāl he facilitated his march and collection of troops, and made it possible for him to reach Āgra quickly. Shāhzādpūr is a town in the Allāhābad district.

2 The above account is based on Khāfī Khān, II, p. 576.

lest the elder brother should acquire power and become commander of forces, intrigued with the councillors and courtiers of his father, and suggested that it would not be prudent and politic to send the Prince in advance, for success fosters presumption and deteriorates higher ideals. If Bīdār Bakht after taking possession of the treasures at Āgra, and with the assistance of the two Governors (Mukhtār Khān and Ibrāhīm Khān) becomes presumptuous, it would result in a calamity, for a house enemy is much worse than a stranger. Muḥammad 'Āẓam Shāh—who was not destined to rule, and whose ill-fortune was already apparent—in so far as whatever plans he made for advancing his interests, proved to be his undoing—immediately wrote to the Paince that he should wait on this side of Mālwa—which was on the highway from the Deccan—till his arrival[1].

In short, when the government of the empire of Hindūstān was glorified to the heavens by the majesty of Bahādur Shāh—who was as bounteous as the sun which shines equally both on stones and on jewels, and whose refreshing showers of favours and graciousness fell both on the wet and the dry—Mukhtār Khān was granted a substantial increase, a good office and the title of Khān 'Ālam Bahādur Shāhī. And after reinstatement as the Governor of the province of Āgra he was appointed to the high office of *Khān-i-Sāmān* (Master of the Household). The Emperor also restored to him his wealth and immovable property which had been confiscated by 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān[2]. It is stated that before the order for the restoration of his property was issued, he appeared in white (plain) clothes at the Court on a feast-day. Shāh 'Ālam in spite of his magnanimity and forgiving nature, frowned and remarked to Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān: "Mukhtār Khān is right, what pleasure can he have during our rule." Khān Khānān said to Mukhtār Khān: "What propriety is there in such a dress on a feast-day." He replied that it was due to his poverty. Khān Khānān on his own behalf sent him some money and

1 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 14, 15.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 601, and Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 40.

goods. Mukhtār Khān was suspected of pederastory: Ni'mat Khān Ḥājī has hinted this in the following verse:

Verse

No one in Mukhtār Khān's house is unemployed:
Everyone I saw there was a *fā'il* Mukhtār[1];
But God knows (if this is correct).

MUKHTĀR KHĀN SABAZWĀRĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 409-413).

His name was Saiyid Muḥammad, and he was one of the Banī Mukhtār Saiyids, who are the descendants of the Apostle. The genealogy of these august Saiyids goes up to Abūl Mukhtār-al-Naqīb Amīr Al-Ḥāj. The magistracy of the holy Mashhad, and the conducting of the pilgrimage were long attached to the heads of this august family. Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Alī II, Naqīb-ul-Naqbā (the chief genealogist) of the countries of 'Irāq and Khurāsān, who was separated by three generations from Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn 'Ali Māḍī—the last of the Naqbās of the time of Shāh 'Abbās I—came to Najaf from Khurāsān during the reign of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā, and settled down in Sabazwār. No other migrant of such high lineage came out of 'Irāq. When it came to the time of Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn III—who was one of the great leaders of this family—he surpassed in grandeur and reputation all the nobles of Khurāsān. He bought much of the property in Sabazwār. When 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbēg, the ruler of Tūrān, conquered Herāt and its adjacent territory, the nobles and inhabitants of Khurāsān came under his sway. But Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn, who was living in Sabazwār, did not submit to this authority. 'Abdullāh Khān sent him a conciliatory letter containing the following couplet:

1 A double entendre, *fā'il* having both the meaning of a workman and of a pederast.

Verse

Plant the tree of Love, for it will yield the desired fruit.
Root out the plant of Hate, for it yields countless ills.

The Mīr without taking count of it, promptly wrote the following frank reply:

Verse

In the company of drunkards live honourably like the guest of a frequenter of taverns,
For, my dear, you will have a headache when crapulence follows.

This boldness and independence resulted in increased favours for him at the hands of Shāh Taḥmāsp Ṣafvī, the ruler of Irān. He granted the Mīr the title of Sulṭān, and gave him a drum and a flag, and bestowed on him the whole of that territory and other gifts. Saiyid Fāḍil Mīr Muḥammad Qāsim Nisaba (the learned) was also in later times one of the famous men of this family. Similarly Mīr Sharaf-ud-Dīn belonged to this family. He, in the time of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā, when the shrine at Balkh—which is associated with Amīr-ul-Mū'min, Peace be with him!—was discovered, came from Balkh to Sabazwār, at the invitation of the late King, and received the title of Naqīb-ul-Naqabā (Chief Leader) of the area. Later when the King died, and calamities and strifes developed, he migrated to India and lived there in exile. His descendants are still living in that country.

In short, Saiyid Muḥammad during the reign of Jahāngīr received the title of Mukhtār Khān, and the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse. About the end of that Emperor's reign he was appointed Governor of the province of Delhī[1]. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he

1 In the beginning of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was removed from the post of the governor of Delhī, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 126. He was, however, reappointed to the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse, *loc. cit.*, p. 183, and appointed *Faujdār* of Monghyr, p. 200.

was granted the fief of Monghyr in the province of Patna which lies on the borders of Bengāl, and lived there for a long time. In the 10th year, 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang, the Governor of the province of Patna, with all auxiliaries of the area went to extirpate Pratāp Ujjainiya, who was one of the refractory *Zamīndārs* there. Mukhtār Khān was in the vanguard of the army. When Bhōjpūr fort—which was the capital of that country, and where the refractory chief had entrenched himself—was taken after a siege extending over six months, Pratāp fortified his own residence, and with a view to escaping, therefrom when opportunity offered, put up a stout defence. Mukhtār Khān, who was in the advance forces, set up his battery opposite the gateway, and made heroic efforts. Only a day and night had elapsed, when Pratāp, overcome by the might of the imperialists, came out and asked for quarter[1]. When this expedition was at end and a month more or less had not elapsed in the beginning of 1047 A.H. (1637 A.D.) an Afghān, who was employed in the management of his fief, attacked him with a sword during the time of examination of the accounts. Though Mukhtār Khān also struck him with a dagger, the blow was not effective[2]. Though the men present put an end to that wretch, the Khān also died as a result of the wound. It is stated that he made up the account inclusive of fines (*muṣādara*), and took by compulsion a bond from the collector (*'Āmil*, apparently the Afghān), and also demanded the miscellaneous items of collection. Though he begged and entreated, Mukhtār Khān showed no mercy, and threatened him with imprisonment and torture. When Mukhtār Khān got up to retire into the inner rooms, the man barred his way, and without warning inflicted a fatal wound. He was buried at Ajmēr in the outer enclosure near the tomb of Khwājagī Ḥājī Muḥammad. Separate accounts have been included of his three

1 The account of the expedition against Pratāp is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 272, 273.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 275.

sons, Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Mukhtār Khān[1], Dārāb Khān[2], and Jān Sipār Khān[3].

MUKHTĀR KHĀN MĪR SHAMS-UD-DĪN
(Vol. III, pp. 620-623).

He was the eldest son of Mukhtār Khān Sabazwārī[4]. In the 21st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Bakhshī* for the whole of the Deccan, and his rank with the promotion became 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 23rd year, he was appointed commandant of the fort of Āsīr, which was the most famous fort of the province of Khāndēsh, and was in fact the best fortified and most impregnable of all the forts in the Deccan. In the 28th year, he was promoted to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery of the Deccan and thus entering the service of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, viceroy of the area, was able to cement ties of loyalty and service. As he always performed his allotted duties to the satisfaction of that august personality, he was favoured with ever increasing confidence. In the Gōlconda campaign he accompanied the Prince, and when peace was made with Sulṭān 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, and it was arranged that his daughter should be married to Sulṭān Muḥammad, the eldest son of the Prince (Auruangzīb), Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn and Muḥammad Ṭāhir Wazīr Khān went into the fort, and brought that chaste lady with them. Probably, it was after this that he was granted an increase of 100 horse in his rank. In the 30th year, he in succession to Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was appointed commandant of the fort of Ūdgīr, and by an increase of

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text III, pp. 620—623. His name there is Mukhtār Khān Mīr Shams-ud-Dīn.

2 *Ibid.*, Text II, pp. 39-42, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 448-450.

3 *Ibid.*, Text I, pp. 535-537. Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 751, 752.

4 *Ibid.*, Text III, pp. 409-413, and translation on the pages immediately preceding, pp. 259-261.

oo with 300 horse his rank was advanced to 1,500 with 800 horse. the 31st year, when Ghālib Khān 'Ādil Shāhī made over the fort f Parenda, which was one of the well fortified forts of the Deccan, ukhtār Khān, in accordance with the royal orders, was appointed ommandant of that strong fort. When that Prince of victorious forme in the year 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) turned his world-conquering anners from Burhānpūr towards Āgra, the said Khān, whose loyalty ad been established by constant service, was promoted to the rank f 2000 with 1000 horse by an increase of 500 with 200 horse[2]. e was also exalted by the grant of his father's title and a banner. fter the battle of Samūgarh, and defeat of Dārā Shikōh, he was sent as the *Faujdār* of Nāndair[3], Deccan.

When in the 2nd year, Shāista Khān, the governor of that province he Deccan), addressed himself to overthrowing Sivājī, and marched wards his country from Aurangābād, the experienced Khān was left in harge of that city[4]. Later he was appointed governor and *Faujdār* of afarābād Bīdar. In the 15th year, after the death of Hōshdār Khān, was promoted to the governorship of Khāndēsh[5]. Later still was appointed Governor of Mālwa. In the 22nd year, when the royal amp was established for the first time near Ajmēr, Mukhtār Khān as in attendance. When in the 25th year, the world-traversing yal standards turned towards Burhānpūr from Ajmēr, the said Khān ffered his respects on the borders of his fief, and addition to other yal favours was awarded a dagger with a jade handle[6]—which was nly given to old and trusted servants. In the same year Muḥammad mīn Khān, Governor of Gujarāt died, and the said Khān was appointd to succeed him[7]. He spent two years at Aḥmadābād, after which

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 47. The grant of his father's title and a banner is ecorded on p. 51.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 578. In the 4th year his rank was advanced to 4,000 with ,000 horse, and appointed commandant of the fort of Parenda, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

4 *Maāthir-ul-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 114.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 219.

he died[1] in 1095 A.H. (1684 A.D.) in the beginning of the 28th year. He was the flower of Banī Mukhtār family. Many of that family had distinguished careers, but he had an exceptionally successful life. He was also endowed with all praiseworthy qualities.

MUKRAMAT KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 460, 477).

His name was Mullā Murshid and he came from Shīrāz. In the beginning of his career he was for a long time associated with Mahābat Khān, and later entered the service of Jahāngīr. In the beginning of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Mukramat Khān, and was appointed to the office of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* and the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 4th year he had the charge of *Dīvān*, *Bakhshī*, *Wāqī'a-navīs*, *Buyūtāt* of Akbarābād (Āgra)[2]. In the 8th year the Bundēla territory was visited by the Emperor, and Mukramat Khān was appointed to conquer the fort of Jhānsī[3]—which was one of the strong forts of the unfortunate Jujhār—and to search for his burried treasures. The garrison, overawed by the majesty of the royal forces which they had seen with their own eyes, lost courage and asked for quarter. So impregnable a fort—fully supplied with all ammunitions of warfare and situated on the top of a hillock surround-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

2 In the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 347, and later appointed to the various offices of the Capital mentioned above *op. cit.*, p. 369. He was also an expert astrologer, and held the office of the Superintendent of Astrologers: داروغہ اهل تنجم *op. cit.*, p. 460.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 119. On p. 121 is recorded his appointment with Baqi Khān to unearth the treasures of Jujhār in the jungles of Datia. The treasures from Datia and Jhānsī amounting to twenty eight lakhs of rupees were presented before the Emperor by Makramat Khān and other officers, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

ed by a dense and thorny forest—surrendered without a fight. Mukramat Khān unearthed from the hidden places in Jhānsī and Datia 28 lacs of rupees, and arriving at the Court produced them before the Emperor Shāh Jahān; who after visiting that beautiful country, which for abundance of streams and cascades was the envy of the ever-glorious Kashmir, the Emperor crossed the Narbadā at the end of the year. Mukramat Khān was sent as an envy to 'Ādil Shāh, the ruler of the Bījāpūr, who regardless of consequences had delayed sending the tribute and had given protection to those of the Niẓām-Shāhī troops who had escaped the sword. Mukramat Khān by mingling threats with inducement brought him on to the path of obedience, and in the 9th year returned with a tribute consisting of rarities of all kinds, and an elephant which was the finest of its species and bore the name Gajrāj[1].

Later he was honoured by appointment to the high office of *Khān-i-Sāmān*. In the beginning of the 15th year, 1051 A.H. (1641-42 A.D.) his rank was increased to that of 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse, he was granted the kettle-drums and appointed Governor of the province of Delhī[2]. In the 18th year, on the transfer of A'zam Khān he was, in addition to this office, appointed *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Mathurā and Mahāban, and as a result of an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse his rank became 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

A Description of the City of Shāhjahānābād[3]

As the author has taken it on himself to write down for general information elegant accounts of the times, it has to be recorded that the exalted Emperors always had it in their mind to adorn their reigns

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 202, 303.

2 In the 15th year his rank was increased to 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 500 were *dū-aspā, sih-aspā*, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 281. On p. 319 in the account of the 16th year it is noted that he was then the Governor of Delhī, and his being put in charge of the construction of the fort of Delhī is recorded on p. 320.

3 The description of Old and New Delhī has been included here owing to Mukramat Khān having been in charge of the construction except in the earlier stages.

by some permanent records, and signalize their times by the establishment of some everlasting landmarks, and consequently this wish was reflected from the mind of Shāh Jāhān in the conception of a city on the banks of Jumnā. The engineers after extensive search selected a site which was situated close to the Capital, Delhī, and was situated between its outskirts and Nūrgarh. On the 25th Dhu'l Ḥijja of the 12th year, 1048 A.H. (19th April, 1639 A.D.), in accordance with the royal orders, building arrangements were assigned to the Governor of Delhī[1] Ghairat Khān, nephew of 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang. And on the 9th Muḥarram (2nd May, 1639) of the same year the foundations of that impregnable fortress were laid. And a huge contingent of trained stone-masons, skilled in both plain and decorative work[2], builders and carpenters were brought from all parts of the Kingdom in accordance with royal orders, and building work was started. After only a part of the foundations had been laid, and some necessary materials collected, Ghairat Khān was nominated as the Governor of Thatha, and the governorship of the *Ṣūba* of Delhī and the arrangements for the construction of the lofty buildings were, therefore, assigned to Ilāhwardī Khān[3]. In two years and some days he was able to raise the walls of the fort to a height of ten yards along the river bank. After that the governorship of the said *Ṣūba* and the control of building operations was transferred to Mukramat Khān, who held the high office of the *Mīr-i-Sāmān*. As a result of his unstinted efforts this huge fort with its heavenly appurtenances was completed

1 For Ghairat Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 863-865, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 576, 577. He had been in charge of the construction of the new fort for about six months when he was transferred to Sindh. He was also the author of *Jahāngirnāma*, more correctly known as *Maāthir-i-Jahāngirī*, *vide* Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 446, 447.

2 The name of the chief architect was Ustād Aḥmad, *vide* *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* III, p. 28, while the second architect was Ḥamid.

3 For an account of Ilāhwardī Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 207-215, and Beveridge and Prashad's translation I, pp. 668-672. He was appointed Governor of Delhi in the end of the 12th year, *op. cit.*, p. 670.

in the 20th year. It had on all corners heavenly palaces, and at every angle gardens and parks; in its lay-out and beauty it resembled a Chinese picture gallery, but surpassed the latter in its grandeur:—

Verse

So much skill has been expended in its construction,
That skill itself is busy in its decoration.

One of the prophetic sayings of Amīr Khusrau, which he had composed earlier in praise of Delhī was now fulfilled:—

Verse

Verily if there is a Paradise of earth,
It is this, it is this, it is this.

At a cost of sixty lacs of rupees (the fort) was completed in nine years, three months and some days[1].

The lofty fort, which is octagonal according to the Baghdād-style, is 1,000 royal yards long, and 300 yards broad. Its walls are built of the red stone of Fathpūr. Its height including the battlements, from the foot of the wall, is 12½ yards. Its area is six lac yards, which is double of the great fort of Akbarābād (Āgra) and its perimetre is one thousand six hundred and fifty yards. It has twenty one bastions, seven circular and fourteen octagonal; four gates and two windows. Round it is a moat twenty yards wide and ten yards deep; this is supplied with water from a canal connected on two sides with the river Jumnā—except on the east side where the wall of the fort abuts directly on to the river—it was built at a cost of twenty one lacs of rupees. The royal mansions, consisting of the *Shāh Maḥal* with a silver roof, *Imtiyāz Maḥal* with the bed-room known as the *Burj-i-Ṭalā* (The Golden Chamber), and the private and public *Daulat Khānā* (Palace), and the *Ḥayāt Bakhsh* garden cost twenty

1 The foundations were laid on 12 May, 1639, and celebrations for the entry of the Emperor into the fort took place on 19th April, 1648. The period of construction was, therefore, less than 9 years.

eight lacs of rupees. The palaces of the Bēgam Ṣāhiba and other chaste inmates of the Harem cost seven lacs, and other buildings, such as the *bāzār* and the guard-houses inside the mighty fort, which were designed to serve for the royal manufactories, were completed at a cost of four lacs.

During his reign Sulṭān Fīrūz Khaljī (Tughlaq) had an irrigation canal which branched off from the river Jumnā in the neighbourhood of the pargana of Khiḍrābād, and extended over a distance of thirty *kos* to the borders of the Pargana Safaidūn, which was his hunting ground, and which did not have sufficient water for agriculture. After the death of the Sulṭān and with the passage of time, the canal deteriorated, and water stopped flowing. In the reign of Akbar, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, the Governor of Delhī, repaired the canal not only for increasing cultivation but for the development of the area in his fief, and named it Shihāb canal. After his death no one attended to its maintenance and repairs, and as on a previous occasion water stopped flowing. When Shāh Jahān decided to build the fort (at Delhī), he ordered that the canal from Khiḍrābād to Safaidūn—which respectively formed the head and the terminations of the canal—should be repaired; and also that a new canal should be dug from Safaidūn to the fort, which also was 30 royal *kōs*. After completion the canal was named the Paradise Canal (*Nahr-i-Bahisht*). Mansions, reservoirs full of water, and high-running fountains added greatly to its beauty[1]. On 24th Rabīʿ I, 1058 A.H. (8th April, 1648 A.D.) in the 21st year of the reign, which day had been selected by the astrologers for royal entry, orders were issued for arranging the paraphernalia of a royal feast and a convivial entertainment. In all the royal apartments were spread beautiful carpets, which had been prepared in Kashmīr and Lāhōre out of selected wool with great skill and taste, while on the doors of the courtyards and porticoes were hung curtains embroidered, worked in gold, and velvet brocades pre-

1 The account of the canals is taken from *ʿAmal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 29. In reference to these canals also see P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), p. 416 and notes.

ed by the skilled workers of Gujarāt. In every apartment were ced jewelled, gold enamelled, and plainly worked thrones, and after anging high seats and cushions having covers with brilliant pearls, d embroidered cloths were spread over the thrones. The three sides the great portico of the private and public palaces were embellished h a silver enclosure, and opposite the *Jharōka* was a golden enclo-e, while golden stars with golden chains were hung in all alcoves, these made the place resemble the heavens. In the middle of that tico was placed a square throne surrounded by a golden enclosure; heavenly jewelled throne was left exposed to the sky whence the endour of world-illuminating sun radiated. In front of the throne s erected a canopy embroidered with gold and pearl strings, and ed on jewelled poles; and on the two sides of the throne were ced two parasols (*Chatr*) decorated with pearl strings, while on the er two sides of the throne octagonal frames were erected. Behind throne were placed jewelled and golden tables on which was played the *Qūr Khāna*—which consisted of the jewelled swords h worked scabbards, quivers and gem-bedecked arms, and jewelled ats for the making of which full use had been made of all the ources of the sea and the mines. The roof, the pillars, the doors walls of this heavenly portico, and the porticoes all round private and public palaces were covered up and decorated with broidered canopies, golden curtains from Europe and China, gold silver embroidered velvets from Gujarāt and gold-and silver-thread eens. In front of the great central portico was erected an awning of d embroidered velvet, and in front of the lateral porticoes canopies embroidered velvet with silvered poles, and having spread coloured eets on the floor of this canopy a silver enclosure was erected round

This great canopy, which in its height and extent resembled the vens, was, according to the royal orders, woven in the imperial ory at Aḥmadābād, and took a long time to complete at a cost of rly one lac of rupees. Its length was 70 royal cubits and width 45 bits. It was erected on four silver poles, each of which was two ds and a quarter in circumference and 22 yards high. It covered

an area of 3,200 (? square) yards, and 10,000 people could be accommodated under it. It took trained *farāshes* and 3,000 additional men working hard for a month to erect it, and it was generally known as *Dalbādal*. In short, such a canopy—which resembled the heavens—had never been erected before, and such a building—which was a counterpart of the heavens—had never been decorated so elaborately. From the date of the auspicious entry of the Emperor into this heavenly building there was a continuous, grand feast lasting ten days. Every day hundred people were exalted with the grants of suitable *Khil'ats*, many were gratified by increases in their ranks and the grant of titles, while others received grants in cash, horses and elephants. Mīr Yahīyā Kāshī[1] composed the following chronogram of the date of completion of this great edifice: —

Hemistich

Shud Shāhjahānābād az Shāh Jahān ābād (Shāhjahānābād was established by Shāh Jahān : 1058 A.H. = 1648 A.D.).

and received a reward of Rs. 1,000[2].

On the completion of these buildings Mukramat Khān was granted an increase of 1,000 *Dhāt ū Suwār*, and as a result of his rank became 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse of which 3,000 horse were *dūaspā* and *sih-aspā*. In the 23rd year of the reign corresponding to 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.) Mukramat Khān died at Shāhjahānābād. He was well known for his wealth and riches. It is stated that one day Shāh Jahān stated after looking at maps of Baghdād and Iṣfahān where the *bāzārs* were octagonal and covered, and which had appealed to his fancy, that those in the new city had not been constructed accordingly,

1 For Yahiyā Kāshī see Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (2nd edn.), p. 419. He was given a reward of Rs. 5,000 for this chronogram. Also see Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 252.

2 For a good account of the Delhī fort see Gordon Sanderson's interesting article entitled "Shah Jahan's Fort, Delhi" in *Ann. Rept. Arch. Surv. India* for 1911-12 (1915), pp. 1-27. The account is of special interest in regard to the cost of building as given by various contemporary authors.

and the city had not been finished as he would have liked. He commented unfavourably on this matter to Mukramat Khān. From that day Mukramat Khān used to say that if the city was named after him, he would pay into the treasury all that had been spent on its construction. He had a son by the name of Muḥammad Laṭīf. In the 22nd year of the reign he was appointed as the *Faujdār* of the Miyān Dūāb, and Rūḥ Ullāh the brother's son (of Mukramat Khān) held a suitable *manṣab*.

As the fast-footed pen has narrated the circumstances relating to the fort of Shāhjahānābād, it is proposed to include here a description of this city and of the Old Delhī. When the auspicious fort of Shāhjahānābād was completed, all the exalted princes, and the honoured *Amīrs* arranged to build on its right and left and along the river bank grand and imposing buildings and pleasant houses costing some 20 lacs of rupees. The buildings were constructed by the poor and the rich and great men according to their limited or ample means, and they planned them to suit their inclinations and tastes. A proper description of this well populated, great city is not possible; globe-trotters have not recorded a city of such a size, so cosmopolitan and still so select, in any other country.

Verse

Though Egypt and Syria are exalted by the Almighty;
They are only a corner of this cosmopolitan city.

Baghdād, the city of peace, which was for five hundred and odd years the Capital of the 'Abbāsid Caliphs, lies from the river Tigris at a distance of two leagues (*farsakhs*) which is equal to six kos. The circumference of this grand city is five farsakhs or fifteen kos. The wall of the fort of the new city which was built of stone and mud, was damaged in various places by excessive rains, consequently a new surrounding wall was started in the 26th year to be built with great care out of stone and mortar, and about the close of the 30th year its length of 3,182 yards was completed at a cost of four lacs; it included

27 bastions and eleven gates—which were 2 yards in width and with their battlements 4 yards in height.

The street towards Lāhōre side is 20 yards wide, and 1,520 yards long; on its two sides are 1,560 houses and buildings, very becoming and well constructed according to the tastes of the residents of the area. The starting point of the *bāzār* from the wall of the fort near the royal stables lies at a distance of 125 yards, (forming?) a square 80 by 80 yards; the square plinth of the police station is situated at a distance of 480 yards; from there to the second square, which is 100 by 100 yards and forms an octagonal area after the Baghdād style, there is a *bāzār* of the same length and width. To the north of this square is situated the two-storied lofty *Sarā'ī* of Bēgam Ṣāḥiba communicating by one gate with the *bāzār* and through its other gate with a garden known as Ṣāḥibābād—more correctly the *Sih Bāgh*—its length is 486 yards; one of these gardens was presented as a *pēshkash* by Mukramat Khān, and Shāh Jahān presented it to the fortunate queen. To the south of this *bāzār* is *Humām* (bath), very elegantly and nicely built according to the orders of the Queen referred to above. From this *Sarā'ī* and square to the *Sarā'ī* and square of the Fatḥpūrī Palace the distance is 560 yards. The road of the *bāzār* towards Akbarābād 525 yards long and 15 yards wide; it is elegantly decorated on the two sides by 188 buildings and houses. At the beginning of the *bāzār* opposite the gate of the Fort towards the south lies the great mosque of Akbarābādī Palace. The Jāma' mosque of the city, known as the *Jahān Numā* Mosque, is situated on a hillock to the west of the fort at a distance of 1,000 yards; it is very solid and elegant, and is spaciously built. On the 10th Shawwāl, 1060 A.H. (26th September, 1650 A.D.) its foundations were laid, and to add to the beauty of the place in six years' time at a cost of ten lacs of rupees it was completed under the supervision of Sa'd Ullāh Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān.

Qibla' Hājāt āmad Masjid Shāh Jahān

(The mosque of Shāh Jahān has appeared to fulfil our needs: 1067 A.H. (1656-57 A.D.) is the date of its completion[1]. From

that date to the time of writing nearly a hundred years have elapsed. The exalted princes and great officials have built elegant mansions and laid out extensive charming gardens; the swift black steed (pen) runs high in their descriptions, but how can the pen with wooden feet traverse this path ! particularly the mosques which were built in the *Chauk* Sa'ad Ullāh Khān and the *Chauk* known as the *Chāndnī Chauk*—this latter was laid out by Ẓafar Khān entitled Raushan-ud-Daula. The domes of each with the minarets shine brilliantly, as they are covered on the outside with gilded copper sheets—their reflections at the rising of the sun and moon dazzle the eye of the heavens. As for a long time this city has been the seat of the royal standards, numerous edifices have been built and large numbers of people have taken up their residence all round outside the Fort, and all its four corners are inhabited. Owing to the great crowding and coming over of people from all seven climes every street and dwelling is filled up with goods and wares from all countries. All houses are full, as is becoming of all great cities, and in every shop owing to the abundance of the precious and rare commodities of all countries hundreds of trading caravans are busy. Nādir Shāh's occupation resulted in setback to the prosperity of the city, but in a short while it returned to normal, and in fact in everything it is now better and shows progress. A description of its decorations is not possible for the pen; its industries and manufactures are flourishing, and music and convivial meetings are a common feature of the life of the people. As the fast-moving pen is lame in describing the great features of this wonderful city, it has to be content with the following verse which was composed by Farūghī Kashmīrī in praise of this city:

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 52, where it is stated that the mosque was started on 10th Shawwāl, 1060 A.H., and completed under the supervision of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān at a cost of ten lacs of rupees in six years.

Verse

If any relic of the world excelling itself is to remain,
May it be this Shāhjahānābād.

Old Delhī, which is the greatest and most ancient city of Ind was originally called Indarpat. Its longitude is 114°38′ and latitu 28°15′[1]. Although it is included in the second clime by so authors, it should really be included in the third clime. Sulṭān Qu ud-Dīn and Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn spent their time in the fort Pithōrā. Sulṭān Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Balban built a new fort, and plann in it his mausoleum. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Kaiqubād founded another ci on the bank of Jumnā; this is known as Kēlūgarhī. Amīr Khusr praises this city in his work *Qirān-us-Sa'dain*.

Verse

Oh! Delhī and its young beauties,
Wearing tilted turbans and scarfs (on their heads).

The mausoleum of Humāyūn is in this city. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-D founded another city; this is known as Srī. Later Tughluq Sh founded Tughluqābād. His son Sulṭān Muḥammad founded a ne city with beautiful buildings. Sulṭān Fīrūz established a large ci after his name, and altering the course of the river Jumnā brought near the city; and at a distance of three *kos* from Fīrūzābād found another city by the name of *Jahān Numā*.

When Humāyūn became the Emperor, he rebuilt the fort of Ind pat and called it *Dīn Panāh*. Shēr Khān Sūr laid waste the 'Al Delhī, and founded a new city. Remnants of these old towns are st to be seen[2]. The length of this *Ṣūba* from Palwal to Ludhiāna the banks of the river Sutlej is 160 *kos*, and width from the *Sarkār*

1 According to modern computation the correct figures are lat. 28°38″58 long. 77°16′30″.

2 For details see Fanshaw, Delhi: *Past and Present* (London, 1902). Jarrett's translation of Ā'in, II, pp. 278-285, on which source the history of earlier cities, its situation, and climate etc. appear to have been based.

Rēwāri to the hills of Kumā'ōn is 140 *kos*, on the other side from Ḥiṣār to Khiḍrābād is 130 *kos*. To the east is Āgra, along the centre on the east and north it adjoins Khairābād in the Oudh *Ṣūba*. To the north is the mountainous area, on the south are Āgra and Ajmēr, on the west is Ludhiāna and the source of the river Ganges—and as in this *Ṣūba* there are numerous streams, the northern mountainous country of the *Ṣūba* is called Kumā'ōn. It has mines of gold, silver, lead, copper, arsenic and borax; and the black buck, the nilgai, the silk-worms, hawks, falcons and other game animals are found in abundance, as are horses particularly of the class of horses known as *Gūt* (*Gūnt*). It consists of 8 *sarkārs*, and 232 parganas and had a revenue of 601,615,505 *dāms* in the days of Akbar. When Shāh Jahān made Shāhjahānābād the Capital, he included other *maḥals* in it, and as a result it consisted of 12 *sarkārs* and 281 *maḥals*, with a revenue of 1,222,950,137 *dāms*.

This great area[1], which is one of the best parts of India, has three seasons. The winter lasts from the beginning of Ābān to Bahman; Ādhar and Dīare the coldest months, the other two months, the first and the last are cold, but the cold is not excessive—this season is the best in India, as during this time it is possible to travel and hunt to one's heart's content. The second, the summer, extends from the beginning of Isfandār to the end of Khūrdād. Isfandār is the beginning of spring in India; it is very mild; Farvardī also is mild; during these two months also one can ride and run. Ardībihisht also is not unpleasant, but it is not possible to exert oneself unless it is absolutely essential. In Khūrdād heat is at its height. The third is the rainy season, and this also if it rains, makes the air pleasant, otherwise it is hot like Khūrdād. Amardād is the rainiest month, and the air is very pleasant while the rains last; sometimes it rains 10-15 times a day, and clouds of all colours appear; these days also are very pleasant in India. During Shahrīvar also it rains, but not so heavily as in

1 This description of the seasons in Delhī is taken from *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* III, pp. 243, 244.

the previous month. Mihr is the end of the rainy season; the rains during this period are particularly beneficial for the Kharīf and Rabī' crops. The day after the first *pahr* (4 hours) becomes warm, and nights are liable to be cold. This season has air of three types. If it rains, it is humid, otherwise hot; but during summer the air is not oppressive, while during the rainy season the air becomes oppressive if it does not rain and there is no breeze. These are the three main seasons in all parts of India, but the climate varies (in different areas).

MULLĀ MUḤAMMAD OF TATTA

(Vol. III, pp. 369-372).

His father Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf spent his days as a dervish and in poverty, but he was not without spiritual perfections and had a knowledge of the Truth. Mullā Muḥammad, his son and successor, in his early youth, acquired in his homeland a good knowledge of the religious sciences, together with rational and traditional education, and applied himself to rationalistic studies. In a short time he became well versed in every branch, and was universally recognied as a scholar. He was also fully conversant with the sciences of algebra and arithmetic. Together with all this acquired knowledge, he was adorned with trustworthiness, piety, devotion and continence. Later he opened the gates of instructions, and started to teach and train pupils. In as much as a man's value depends upon his knowledge, and that of knowledge upon its being conveyed in instruction, he became acquainted with Yamīn-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh[1], who was one of the brilliant pupils of the Mullā. As a result of his being the teacher of this august personality he became widely known, and attained great influence and worldly riches.

1 For his account see *Maāthir-ul Umarā*, Text I, pp. 151-160, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 287-295. He was a man of versatile talents, see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 187-188.

When the family of Yamīn-ud-Daulah rose high in the time of Jahāngīr, their connections and dependants also flourished. Even his servants and slaves were granted the titles of Khān and Tarkhān. Āṣaf Jāh, fully recognizing the fact of his attainments being due to his contact with that great man, and his good furtune and success a result of the blessings of the Mullā, began to honour and favour him more and more; through his intermediation the Mullā was gratified by being appointed *Ṣadr Kull* (Chief ecclesiastical officer) of the imperial territories throughout India. As the star of his destiny rose, felicity followed, and fortune hurried in the wake of his advancement. All the properties, gardens, houses and dwellings of the Arghuns and Tarkhāns—who had been rulers of Tatta—came into his possession by purchase or by gift from the royal exchequer. In short, he became the owner of all Tatta, and his brethren became *Qāḍīs*, *Muftīs* and Censors in that province. Owing to the pre-eminence of the Mullā, they paid little heed to the local officers, and ruling independently did whatever they fancied.

Accordingly when Shāh Bēg Khān[1] was appointed Governor of Tatta, he went to take leave of Āṣaf Jāh. The latter recommended to him the case of the brothers of Mullā Muḥammad. The frank Turk had heard about them, and of their not being deferential to the governors in view of the influence of the Mullā. So he replied, "They will continue to command respect if they behave with moderation, otherwise I will flay them." This remark was the ruin of Shāh Bēg, and lost him his rank and his fief. At the time of Mahābat Khān's predominance, if the Mullā had wanted to get away, no one would have stopped him, but as the end of his life had reached, he, on account of his intimacy, apparent or real, with the *Qāḍī* and *Mīr 'Adl* sought, through their intimacy introduction with Mahābat Khān.

1 See Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 408-410. Āṣaf Jāh's recommendation in favour of Mullā's relations on Shāh Bēg Khān's appointment as the Governor of Tatta is recorded on p. 409. For his appointment as Governor of Tatta see also Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, p. 397.

Whatever was said about his learning, ascetism, scrupulousness and integrity, however, had no effect on Mahābat Khān.

As prior to this, he had executed Mullā Ābdul Ṣamad the maternal grandson of Shaikh Chānd[1] astrologer, and Mīrzā 'Abdul Khāliq, brother's son of Khwāja Shams-un-Dīn Muḥammad Khwāfī owing to their companionship and familiarity with Āṣaf Jāh, Mahābat Khān remarked that all these were the sources of strife. The Mullā[2] was made over to Rājpūts and for some days kept in confinement. Though he was in no way concerned with the intrigues, this innocent man was martyred by their sword. Though the chief reason was his being Āṣaf Jāh's teacher, but it so happened that when they were putting chains on his arms and legs these were not properly secured and by a slight movement he was able to throw them off. This was regarded as magic. And, further, as the Mullā at the close of his life had taken to becoming a Ḥāfiẓ of the Qur-ān, and was always reciting it, his lips were in constant motion. Mahābat Khān thought that the Mullā was repeating incantations against him, and carried away by this belief had him put to death immediately. Not recognizing the value of the dear man they destroyed him. It is stated that Āṣaf Jāh was greatly affected by the deaths of three unrivalled companions, and for many nights he used to cry out, "Alas for Muḥammad, Khāliq and Ṣamad."

MULTAFAT KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 500-503).

He was the eldest son of Ā'ẓam Khān[3] Jahāngīrshāhī. He had a good knowledge of conventional literature, and was well endowed with praiseworthy qualities. During Jahāngīr's reign he became well known

1 A famous astrologer of the times of Humāyūn and Akbar.

2 See Mu'tamad Khān's *Iqbālnāma-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 267, 268 from which work the account of Mullā's execution seems to have been taken.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 174-180, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 315-319.

:nd achieved fame. When his father in the beginning of the 2nd 'ear of Shāh Jahān's reign was deputed to the Deccan, his rank was ıcreased by 400 with 150 horse to 1,000 with 250 horse[1]. Later, vhen he accompanied his father on the campaign against Khān Jahān ˍōdī to Bālāghāt, his rank was raised to 1,500 with 500 horse[2]. After Khān Jahān with his allies the Niẓām Shāhīs had been repeatedly lefeated by the imperial troops, they kept at a distance from these :roops. Only occasionally there were minor skirmishes after which hey retired hurriedly, and on this account the brave men (of the mperial troops) did not worry about them. By chance one day when Multafat Khān with a contingent of the Rājpūts was with rearguard, he latter through negligence became separated from the centre by a listance of two *kos*. The enemy, who were waiting for such an opportunity, came suddenly with 10,000 horse and made a surprise attack. Several of the well known house-born (*Khānazād*) Mughals and Rājpūts ought bravely and sacrificed their lives. Multafat Khān and Rā'ō Dāda Chandrāwat could not hold their ground and had to retire[3]. n the 10th year he was appointed to the high office of the Examiner[4] of Petitions. In the 13th year he was appointed *Dīvān* of the province of Bengāl. In the 19th year, he was nominated as the *Bakhshī* of the expedition which was sent under the leadership of Prince Murād o Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 22nd year, when Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb was deputed to Qandahār with the victorious armies, he said Khān was appointed as the *Bakhshī* of his forces. In the same 'ear his father died, while he was in attendance (on the Prince), and vas granted an increase of 500 horse in his rank. In the 23rd year, iis rank was further increased by 500 horse and he was appointed to he Deccan. About this time Shāista Khān was the Viceroy of the Deccan, and Multafat Khān on account of old connections great ability

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 258.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 234.

and capabilities was appointed as his deputy at Burhānpūr. He exerted himself in the settlement of the province, and eradicated all traces of sedition from the area. By his good administration he was able to please everyone. In the 25th year he was appointed *Dīvān* of the Pāyān Ghāt, Deccan, or the province of Khāndēsh[1] and half of the province of Berār. In the 29th year, on the recommendation of Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb, Viceroy of the Deccan, he had an increase of 500 foot with 500 horse, and was appointed Commandant of the fort of Ahmadnagar in succession to Shāh Bēg Khān.

Since the smell of his good nature had been rendered fragrant by the perfume of the Prince's favours, he, at the time of 'Ālamgīr's march for contesting the Kingdom, showed his resolute devotion by accompanying him. Later when the reins of the royal steed were directed from Burhānpūr towards its goal, the said Khān was honoured by the gift of a standard. After the battle with Jaswant (Singh) in the vicinity of the dreadful city of Ujjain at the end of Rajab, Murshid Qulī Khān bravely sacrificed his life, Multafat Khān was appointed *Dīvān* in his place, and was given the title of A'zam Khān and presented a *tōgh*. His rank was also increased to 4,000 with 2,500 horse[2]. Since the mischief-making Fate and discordant Fortune, whose happiness is blended with grief and whose nectar is imbued with poison, are bent on pulling down the successful, and destroying those who have attained their goal. So before this eager vassal of the garden of success had hardly moistened his lips with wine of the *Dīvānship*, when the cup of his life became full. In short, full one and half months had not elapsed, when after the victory, on the day of the battle with Dārā Shikōh, he died as a result of sharp wind, extreme heat, and the weight of his armour. He has distinguished for his ability and good judgment. He had a pleasant countenance and was courteous. His dealings were so pleasant that whoever approached him, became enamoured of his company. He also had a poetical vein. This verse is his:

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 127.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 75.

Verse

In a dream I have seen that dangling fore-lock;
All my life is disturbed by the memory of that dream.

He was married to the daughter of Asad Ullāh Khān[1] Ma'mūrī. eparate account has been given of his son Hōshdār Khān[2] who one of Aurangzīb's officials.

MULTAFAT KHĀN MĪR IBRĀHĪM HUSAIN

(Vol. III, pp. 611-613).

He was the second son of Asālat Khān[3] *Mīr Bakhshī*. In the end ie 26th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Bakhshī* of *Ahdīs*. Later he became Superintendent of Tributes (*Dārōghgī kash*). Though his rank during that reign was not more than but in view of his being a *Khānazād* (house-born)—which is an ortant consideration with appreciative sovereigns—he had prece-e over his equals. After Aurangzīb's accession, when his brother Sultān Husain Iftikhār Khān was elevated to the dignity of an r, he also received royal favours; his rank was increased and he granted the title of Multafat Khān. He was again appointed ishī of the *Ahdīs*. In the 6th year, in succession to his brother hār Khān who was promoted to the post of Khān-i-Sāmān, he was ointed Master of the Horse[4]. In the same year, on the death of h Yār Khān, he was appointed Superintendent of the Mace-ers and the body-guards[5] (*Mulāzmān-i-Jilau*); which post was only ved for the most trustworthy persons. In addition he held the

Maāthir-ul-Umarā, Text I, pp. 140-142, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 270. His name there is Asad Khān and not Asad Ullāh Khān.

Ibid., Text III, pp. 943-946, Beveridge and Prashad's translation I, 8.

Ibid., Text I, pp. 167-172, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 295-299. name of the second son there is given as Muhammad Ibrāhīm Multafat i.

'*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 831. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 849.

office of Master[1] of Ceremonies (*Mīr Tuzuk*). When in the 13th year his brother was censured and turned back from the Attock river, he also was deprived of his title and rank, and *Yasāwals* (guards) were deputed[2] to take him to Lāhōre. Later he and his brother were purged of their offences and restored (to their ranks), and he was appointed Commandant of the fort of the Capital in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. In the 15th year he was reappointed Superintendent of the Bodyguards[3], and later was posted as the *Faujdār* of Langarkōt, in the Peshāwar district. In the 18th year, on the death of Ṣafshikan Khān Muḥammad Ṭāhir, he was promoted[4] to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery. Afterwards for some reasons he was removed from his office, but, in the 22nd year, he was reinstated, and his rank becoming 1,000 with 1,000 horse he was appointed *Faujdār* of Ghāzīpūr Zamāniya. After being removed from there he became *Faujdār* of Āgra. In the 24th year, he one day attacked a village. He was wounded, and died[5] on 19th Jummāda II, 1092 A.H. (26th June, 1681 A.D.). By a strange coincidence his brother also died in the same year at Jaunpūr.

MUNAWWAR KHĀN SHAIKH MĪRĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 654, 655).

He was the second son of Khān Zamān Niẓām[6]. In the 29th year of the reign of 'Alamgīr he with his father kissed the royal threshold, and in the 30th year, when his father[7] performed outstanding services

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 851.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 101, 102.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 142. His removal from this office is noted on p. 150.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 209. His brother Iftikhār Khān's death at Jaunpūr is also recorded on the same page.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 794-798.

7 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 319-324. But the year of capture of Sambhūjī, is wrongly given in the Text as 30th: instead of 32nd (1689 A.D.). For details see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 398-404.

in the capture of Sambhā Bhōnsle, he received an increase in rank and was honoured with the title of Munawwar Khān[1]. In the 39th year, his rank, primary and by increase, was raised to 4,000 to 2,500 horse. In the 50th year he was attached[2] to Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, who had been appointed to Mālwa. After the death of Aurangzīb having elected to side with the said Prince he started for Upper India. In the battle[3] which took place between the said Prince and Bahādūr Shāh near Akbarābād (Āgra) the said Khān with his elder brother Khān 'Ālam was in the vanguard of the army. He advanced his elephant to oppose 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, but as his brother was wounded by an arrow, the world became dark before his eyes and meanwhile he was killed by a bullet. His son was Munawwar Khān Quṭbī, who had Murtaḍāpūr in the Berār *Ṣūba* as his fief. In the early years of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh's rule in the Deccan he had collected a force much larger than was justified by his rank; that illustrious *Amīr*, however, by a clever manoeuvre managed to reduce his army. He died a natural death. He had for his sons Ikhtiṣāṣ Khān who in the end was honoured with the title of Khān Zamān, and I'zāz Khān and others, everyone of them received a *Jāgīr* through partition of their ancestral property. Not long ago all of them died. But his minor son by the name of Faqīr Muḥammad is still alive, and spends his life in the service of this or that person.

(KHAN KHĀNĀN) MUN'IM BĒG[4]
(Vol. I, pp. 635-645).

He was one of the principal officers of Humāyūn's reign. His father's name was Bairām[5] Bēg. At the time when failure became

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 324. 2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 514.

3 Battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707. See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 22-34.

4 For an account of Mun'im Bēg see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 333, 334; it is based mainly on the *Maāthir* account.

5 Apparently it should be Mīram Bēg, see *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1894, p. 308 but Blochmann, *loc. cit.*, prefer Bairam Bēg.

the fate of Humāyūn, and except for Sindh there was no area left to him, he rested for a few days at Bhakkar, and then proceeded to besiege the fort of Sēhwān. Mīrzā Shāh Ḥusain, the ruler of Tatta came forward, and blockading the roads stopped supplies of grain. Several officers went away without leave, and Mun'īm Khān, who was their leader, also wanted to desert with his brother Fāḍil Bēg. The Emperor, as a precautionary measure, imprisoned him[1]. Although he did not accompany Humāyūn on the journey to 'Irāq, still after his return from Irān he was always in attendance, and performed his duties loyally. When Humāyūn went to Qandahār to enquire into the conduct of Bairām Khān, against whom envious persons had, for selfish reasons, brought up serious charges, and proposed, as he was returning, to assign the government of that area of Mun'im Khān the latter represented that as an expedition to India was in the offing a change at that time would undermine the morale of the army, after the expedition any changes, that might be considered desirable, could be made. Consequently Qandahār was left in Bairām Khān's charge[2]. During this period in the year 961 A.H. (1554 A.D.) he was appointed guardian[3] of Prince Muḥammad Akbar in Kābul, and in honour of this appointment he gave a grand banquet and offered suitable presents. When at the end of the same year Humāyūn's armies started for the conquest of India, Prince Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was one year old, was left in Kābul, and the said Khān was left in charge of all the affairs of that country[4]. For a long time he set right the distractions there. When Akbar became estranged with Bairām Khān, he, in compliance with the orders of recall, presented himself in Dhul Ḥijja 967 A.H. (August, 1560 A.D.) at Ludhiāna[5] where

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 176, 177, Beveridge's translation I, p. 367.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 333-335, translation pp. 610-612.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 335, translation p. 612.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 14, Beveridge's translation II, p. 25.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 114, translation p. 174, note 1. It is Sirhind in *Akbarnāma*, Ludhiāna in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, Lowe's translation p. 3– and *Tabaqāt*, II, De's translation, p. 246.

the Emperor was at the time in pursuit of Bairām Khān. He was appointed to the high office of *Vakīl*, and granted the title of Khān Khānān. In the 7th year, when Atgā Khān was martyred by the cruel sword of Adham Khān, Mun'im Khān, who had secretly instigated the crime, became panic striken and fled[1]. Akbar sent Ashraf Khān, *Mīr Munshī*, to reassure him and bring him back. Not many days had elapsed, when deluded by the same idea he left Āgra towards the valleys at the foot of hills with the intention of proceeding to Kābul. After six days' hard marches he reached the pargana of Sarōr which formed part of the fief of Mīr Maḥmūd Munshī. The collector there perceiving signs of fear in his countenance willy-nilly arrested him. Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārah one of the leading *Amīrs*, who also had his fief in the neighbourhood, hearing of this incident believed that it was the Khān Khānān. Recognizing the value of this favourable opportunity for himself, he offered his respects, and took him back to the royal threshold with all due honour[2]. Akbar, according to the old arrangement, reappointed him as the *Vakīl*. His son Ghanī Khān—who, as his father's deputy, was in charge of the government of Kābul—intoxicated by youth and power, and evil counsels—considered injuring others was to his advantage. He ruled tyrannously and even did not treat Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm with consideration. Consequently Māh Chūchak, the mother of the Mīrzā, became helpless, and along with her well-wishers joined hands with Fāḍil Bēg the blind—who was dissatisfied with the rule of his brother's son, and Fāḍil Bēg's son 'Abul Fatḥ. When Ghanī Khān returned after inspection of the melon-fields, they shut the gates of the city in his face. When he saw that his enterprise was doomed to fail, and there was even a chance of his being made a prisoner, he returned back from Kābul and left for India. The Bēgam appointed Fāḍil Bēg as Mīrzā's

1 *Akbarnāma* Text, p. 176, translation p. 272

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 180, translation pp. 278, 279. Sarōr is Birwar in Elliot, *Supplementary Glossary*, II, p. 90.

Vakīl, and made his son deputy, and judiciously divided the fiefs and titles. As after some time Abul Faṭh's tyrannies, exceeded all bounds Shāh Walī and others conspired and taking him, while he was drunk killed him. Fāḍil Bēg was also seized and executed.

When the state of disturbances was reported to Emperor Akbar he appointed Mun'im Khān, who was longing for that country, as the guardian of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, and in the 8th year sent him with a suitable auxiliary force so that he might extort vengeance for his son, and also straighten up affairs there[1]. Mun'im Khān not taking the Kābulis into account and before his auxiliaries had joined him hastened off (to Kābul). The Bēgam had put Walī Atgā to death on a suspicion of his rebellious intentions and having appointed Ḥaidar Qāsim Kōhbar as her *Vakīl* was herself looking after the affairs. On hearing the news, she collected men from all quarters, and marched out with the Mīrzā to battle. In an engagement, which took place near Jalālābād, Mun'im Khān was defeated, and all his baggage and paraphernalia of office was plundered. For fear of the enemy he did not consider it proper to halt anywhere till he reached the country of the Gakhars. He sent a representation to Akbar stating that he had not the face to come to the threshold, and either he might be allowed to proceed to Mecca or granted a fief in the area where he was, so that after equipping himself he might again present himself for service. Emperor Akbar, thoroughly appreciating his merits, allowed him to retain his fiefs in India and summoned him to the Court. He again enjoyed boundless favours at the hands of Emperor[2], and for a long time held charge of Agra, the Capital. When in the 12th year Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān received due retribution for their deeds, the fiefs of both the brothers from Jaunpūr to the banks of the river Chausa (Ganges) were assigned to him.

10 The account of Ghanī Khān's mismanagement in Kābul and the appointment of Mun'im Khān to Kābul is adapted from *Akbarnāma*, II, Text pp. 183-187, translation pp. 284-289.

11. The failure of his expedition to Kābul and return is described in *Akbarnāma*, II, on pp. 187-189 of the text, and pp. 290-294.

In the same year Khān Khānān by clever diplomacy made peace with Sulaimān Karārānī, the ruler of Bengāl and Bihār, and established the coining of money in Emperor Akbar's name, and also of having the *Khuṭba* recited in his name in the province of Bengāl[1]. Sulaiman Karārānī was one of Salīm Shāh's officers. When Bengāl fell into the hands of Sher Shah, he made over its government to Muḥammad Khān who was his near relation. After the death of Salīm Shāh he became supreme, but died soon after. His son Bahādur Khān recited the *Khuṭba* and coined money in his own name. He killed in battle the notorious 'Adlī who was a claimant for the Indian Empire. After a time he died a natural death, and his younger brother Jalāl-ud-Dīn became his successor. Tāj Khān Karārānī, who with his brothers had fled from 'Adlī, and taken up residence in Bengāl, was at times friendly to him, and at other times opposed him. When he (Jalāl-ud-Dīn) also died, the government of Bengāl and Bihār came into Tāj Khan's hands. After him his brother Sulaimān Khān succeeded him.

After making peace with Khān Khānān, (Sulaimān) seized Orīssa, and by a clever ruse killed the Rāja of that province. In 979 A.H. (1571-72 A.D.) he died. His elder son Bāyazīd, who succeeded him, in his presumption had the *Khuṭba* recited in his own name in that area. Khān Khānān had fights with him in Bihār. As through arrogance and pride he behaved haughtily towards the nobles of the area, Hānsū, son of 'Imād—who was his cousin and son-in-law—became offended, and stirred up some persons and they put him to death. Lōdī Khān, who was the leading man of the area, raised Dā'ūd, the younger son of Sulaimān, to power, and killed Hānsū. Gūjar Khān Karārānī—who considered himself sword of the realm (*Mīr-i-Shamshīr*) in the province of Bihār—raised the son of Bāyazīd to power, and they together opposed Dā'ūd. Lōdī with a large army started from Bengāl to Bihār, and by the use of stratagem and finesse made Gūjar his ally. Khān Khānān, in accordance with the royal

1 *Akbaranāma* Text, pp. 324-325, translation, pp. 477-479. Beveridge translates it as "insincere peace".

orders[1], addressed himself to the conquest of Bihār, and crossed th river Sōn. Dā'ūd having become suspicious of Lōdī removed him ou of his way, and himself took shelter in the fort at Patna. Empere Akbar, at the request of Khān Khānān for help in the siege, proceec ed in 982 A. H. (1574 A.D.), the 19th year of the reign, fro Agra to the eastern provinces in large boats which had recently bee constructed. Although some of the boats were sunk by storms on th way, he arrived in two months and eight days, and raised the roy standard in the vicinity of Patna[2]. They say that when the Empere proceeded rapidly towards Patna, he, at Gangdāspūr, ordered Saiyi Mīrak of Iṣpahān, the *Jafarī*, to take an omen. He sent for the boo of magic (*Jafar*), and found the following verse: —

Verse

Akbar by his auspicious fortune quickly took
The country out of the hands of Dā'ūd.

Akbar perceiving that the conquest of Patna was dependant o the taking of Ḥājīpūr, which was situated opposite Patna on the othe bank of the Ganges, set about reducing it. When it had been taker Dā'ūd, becoming disheartened, fled to Bengāl by the river rout Large numbers of his soldiers were killed during the flight. and Patn with huge booty was taken by the imperialists[3]. Conquest of th Patna country (*Fatḥ bilād Patna* : 982 A.H.: 1574-75 A.D.) is th chronogram.

After this victory, Khān Khānān was granted the fief of Patn and was deputed with 20,000 horse to subdue Bengāl and chasti Dā'ūd. The Afghāns, as a result of the prowess and the might c the victorious troops, lost heart, and abandoning strong places witho a battle retired. Khān Khānān after strengthening all key points o

1 *Akbarnāma* III, Text, p. 4. translation, p. 6.

2 Emperor Akbar arrived at Patna on 15th Rabi II, 982 A.H., 3 August, 1574; see *Akbarnāma* III, Text, p. 96, translation p. 135.

3 The conquest of Patna is described in detail in *Akbarnāma* III, Te pp. 96-101, translation pp. 135-142.

the way advanced further. At last Dā'ūd fled to Orīssa. The Commander-in-chief (Khān Khānān) sent a force under the command of Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās to chastise him, and himself went to Tānda—which was the centre of Bengāl—for bringing the country into order. The royal armies wanted salaries to be paid in cash instead of fiefs in Bihār and Bengāl. Meanwhile Dā'ūd settled down in the country between Bengāl and Orīssa and was disturbing the arrangements, and Muḥammad Qulī Khān, who had been sent after him, had died, Khān Khānān at the request of Rāja Tōdar Mal himself started against him from Tānda. In the same year a great battle took place between the two parties. Gūjar—who was the leader of the enemy—dispersed the imperial vanguard and centre, and none of Khān Khānān's troops performed loyal service or stood firm, but he himself with a few others who valued their honour, bravely sustained wounds. Accordingly he used to say that though the wounds on his head had healed, his sight had been damaged. The wounds of his neck were cicatrised, but his neck was not sufficiently strong for him to be able to turn round and look backwards, while on account of a shoulder wound he could not move his arm properly. In spite of such severe wounds he did not want to turn back, but his well-wishers seized his rein and took him away. Gūjar made sure of victory, and loudly announced that Khān Khānān was done for, and that there was no further occasion for prolonging the battle. But he also whispered that in spite of such a victory he was not pleased. Suddenly an arrow struck and finished him. Dā'ūd—who was facing Rāja Tōdar Mal's forces—lost heart and fled. Khān Khānān after such a hopeless situation won a glorious victory[1]. He deputed the Rāja with Shahām Khān Jālair to pursue Dā'ūd, and though his own wounds had not healed, he also started in pursuit. Dā'ūd went to Cuttack, Orīssa, and took shelter in the fort there. At last knocking at the door of flattery and conciliation, he sent up proposals for arranging a peace.

1 For his wars in Bengāl and victory over Dā'ūd, see *Akbarnāma* III, Text, pp. 118-127, translation, pp. 169-180.

On the condition of his entering the royal service an interview was arranged. Khān Khānān in the beginning of Muḥarram 983 A.H. (April, 1575 A.D.) arranged a banquet of reconciliation; the entertainment was on such a lavish scale that it astonished all onlookers. The chief officers went forward to welcome and escort Dā'ūd. Khān Khānān himself advanced as far as the end of the carpet, and received him with great effusion. Dā'ūd unbuckled and laid down his sword, and added that from that day he had ceased to be a soldier, and had presented himself for service under the Emperor, and would carry out such orders as were issued in his case. The author of the *Ṭabāqat-i-Akbarī* states that Dā'ūd when giving up his sword said to Khān Khānān, "I am sick of soldiering which has wounded such fine men as yourself."

Accordingly Khān Khānān handed over Dā'ūd's sword to his own servants, and after a while awarded him a noble *khil'at* on behalf of the sovereign, and buckled on him an ornamented sword. He added: "We bind you as a servant of the Emperor." Some estates in Orīssa were assigned to him in fief[1], and taking Shaikh Muḥammad, brother's son of Dā'ūd, with him (as a hostage) Khān Khānān turned back. At this time Khān Khānān made Gaur—which in former times was the Capital of Bengāl—his headquarters. Since Ghōrāghāt—was a fountain of strife—was near it, he hoped thereby to quell once for all the disturbances in the area. Further Gaur was a delightful place, and had a good fort and noble buildings. He was, however, oblivious of the fact that in the course of time and as a result of neglect of the buildings the climate of the place had become pestiferous, especially towards the end of the rains; as in most cities of Bengāl there were floods, during that season. Though men, who had experience of the country, warned Khān Khānān, but he did not take any notice of their warnings. At last thirteen leading officials, such as Ashraf Khān, Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sistānī, and many of the inferior officers and privates died. As he had acted against the general advice, he

1 *Akbarnāma* III. Text, pp. 130, 131, translation, pp. 184, 185. The passage referred to from the *Ṭabaqāt* is on p. 468 of De's translation of Vol. II.

did not take heed even then. But when the evil exceeded all bounds, he looked for a remedy, and making the disturbance of Junaid Karārānī—who had risen in Bihār—a pretext, left Gaur[1]. On reaching Tānda, he died after a short illness in the 20th year 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.).

It is strange that this experienced administrator did not listen to advice. In spite of all his experience, and his high rank, he held on to his Turkish ignorance and in his foolish confidence plunged a large number of people into the whirlpool of annihilation. Wise councillors base their convictions in regard to the successful execution of their plans on a careful consideration of the pros and cons in the light of their knowledge which is believed to govern all secondary factors. Having done this they ascribe results to the Almighty and not to their own foresight, and the influence of the prevailing circumstances. As the results of pestilence have been accepted as abominable, it has also been laid down that people should not expose themselves to it.

Khān Khānān was one of the leading nobles of the ranks of 5,000 (*Panjhazārīs*) and the commander-in-chief of Emperor Akbar. He was skilled in the arts of commanding and soldiering, and was wise both in assemblies and in battlefields. He was for forty years the Amīr-ul-Umarā and commander-in-chief. As he was childless all his property, both movable and immovable, was escheated to the State. It has already been mentioned that his son Ghanī Khān after a thousand disappointments left Kābul and came to India. When he met his father on the way, Khān Khānān, who was displeased with him, turned him away. Through the guidance of Fate, he went to 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr, and after a short time there departed to the other world. The descendant of Khān Khānān, which will preserve his name for ages, is the Jaunpūr Bridge[2], the chronogram of which is *Ṣirāt-al-*

1 *Akbarnāma* III, Text, p. 160, translation, pp. 226-227.

2 An account of the bridge is given in Qādī Murtaḍā Ḥusain's *Hadīqat-ul-Aqalim* (Lucknow lith. edn.), p. 677, where it is stated that he also built an *'Idgāh* at Jaunpūr. The author of the *Maāthir* has incorrectly given the chronogram of the bridge as صراط المستقيم The complete verse in inscription on 1st pier of the bridge by Mir Muḥsin-ud-Din correctly recorded in Faqīr Khair-ud-

mustaqīm (The Strong Bridge: 981 A.H., 1573-74 A.D.). It one of the great bridges of the empire.

Dīn's *Jaunpurnāma*, runs as نقش صبری کر الشکلی-لفظ ید را از صراط المستقیم بقاء This means that the date of building of the bridge is to be obtained b subtracting the value of the word ید from the words صراط المستقیم *i.e.*, 6 fro 981, which gives the date as 975. The same date is obtained from another in cription on the top of the east wall on the south end of the bridge in which th chronogram is بانی این منعیم خان *Bānī in Mun'im Khān*. The same date found from the chronogram پل محمد منعیم خان *Pul Muhammad Mun'i Khān* in a verse on top of the 1st pier on its north end. The chronogram the inscription on the 2nd pier on its north-west side, however, is فضل الله Fadl Allāh which gives the date 976; this is explained in Faqīr Khair-u Dīn's *Jaunpūrnāma* (Ms. in the Benares State Library, p. 60) as being d to the pier having been completed one year after the bridge was finishe The bridge according to an inscription on top of the 2nd pier, north en east side, was completed under the superintendence of Khwāja Shaik Nizām-i-Nizām-ud-Din, by the architect Afdal 'Alī Kābulī and not Hadr 'Alī of Kābul as stated by Nevill in the Jaunpur District Gazetteer, p. 23 (Allahabad, 1908). Nevill's account is otherwise very detailed and may b consulted for a description of the bridge. For complete inscriptions and the translation see Fuhrer, A. & Smith, Ed. W.—*The Sharqi Architecture Jaunpur—Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.* I (n. ser.), pp.17-20 (Calcutta, 1889). Cunning ham's account of the genesis of the bridge based on a translation of the accou in *Jaunpūrnāma* may also be consulted. He is, however, incorrect in stating th there are inscriptions on each pier giving the date and name of the build (*Ropts. Arch Surv. Ind.* XI, pp. 120-123, 180). There is an interesting referenc to the bridge and its solidarity in Stewart, *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), 162. Blochmann [translation of *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, 1 (2nd edn., 1939), p. 33 following the *Maāthir* has given the incorrect date as 981 A.H., this inaccurac was pointed out by Vincent Smith (*Akbar The Great Mogul*, 2nd edn., 191 p. 143, footnote 1). Beveridge (*Akbarnāma*, translation, Vol. III, Index, p. 45 noted that two chronograms of the building of the bridge are given in Bāyazī Biyāt's *Memoirs*, but only one of these by Qāsim Arsalān refers to the Jaunpū Bridge, while the second incorrectly printed as بانی او منعیم خان instead o بانی این منعیم خان was for the Jalālābād Bridge which was repaired by Mun'im Khān in 965 A.H., see p. 161 of the text of Bāyazīd's *Memoir* published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series by M. Hidayat Hosain in 1941.

MUN'IM KHAN KHAN KHANAN BAHADUR SHAHI
(Vol. III, pp. 667-677).

His father was Sulṭān Bēg of the Barlās tribe, and held an appointment connected with the *Kōtwālī* of Āgra. He also went to Kashmīr on State business. After his death Muḥammad Mun'im went to the Deccan in search of service. Through righteousness and skilful service in the imperial army he came to the notice of Ruḥ Ullāh Khān, the *Mīr Bakhshī*. The latter created an office for him, and made him Keeper of his seal. Later, by good fortune and luck he got promotion, and became known to Emperor Aurangzīb; he was employed in various offices. In the 34th year, he[1] was appointed to the charge (*Amānat*) of the seven guards (*Haft Chaukī*) in succession to Mīr 'Abdul Karīm Multafat Khān. In the 46th year, he was made Superintendent of the elephant stables[2]. As in the Khēlna affair he did not come to the help of Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur, and was negligent, his rank was reduced[3], and his fief was also confiscated. Later he was appointed *Dīvān* of the eldest son Prince Muḥammd Mu'aẓẓam in succession to Aslam Khān, and the *Dīvānī* of Kābul[4] was also assigned to him. His pleasant manners and royal service made him a great favourite with the Prince. In the 49th year, he, as agent for the Prince, was appointed Governor of the Panjāb. In accordance with the proposal of the Prince, the *faujdārī* of Jammū was made an additional charge for the Khān, and he was given the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse[5]. By his judicious dealings, and bravery, he subdued the seditious and turbulent men of the province, and settled all affairs with equity and justice. As he was a clever tactician, and had taken upon himself to serve the Prince loyally, he kept himself wise to the trend of the changing times, and secretly and

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 338.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 459. He was also raised to the rank of 1,300.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 462. The confiscation of his fief is not mentioned there.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 482.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

openly exerted himself in advancing the interests of the Prince.] chance the news of the death of Emperor Aurangzīb reached Mun' Khān[1] on the 25th Dhul Ḥijja, 1118 A.H. (19th March, 17(A.D.). By the time, when on 2nd Ṣafar (24th April, 1707 A.D the Prince reached Lāhōre from Pēshāwar—which was the win quarters of Kābul—Mun'im Khān had collected nearly 5,000 hor and a powerful artillery, and presented himself for service on t other side of the bridge of Shāh Daula. By the time they reach Sirhind, his rank had been increased to 4,000 with 2,000 horse[2], a he had been granted the title of Khān Zamān and presented a *tō* and kettle-drums. By the time he reached the Capital, he had collc ted 50,000 horse, in addition to the Prince's forces which came to t same figure. His rank was advanced to 5,000 with 5,000 hor: and he was granted the title of Bahādur Ẓafar Jang. In the bat against Muhmmad Ā'ẓam Shāh he was the principal figure. A bri account of it is that when Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh left his bagga with his full sister Zīnat-un-Nisā Bēgam and Jumlat-ul-Mulk As. Khān at Gwāliyār, and marched forward, Bahādur Shāh—who w possessed of great clemency and piety—being averse to sheddi Muḥammadan blood, wrote[3] to his brother that in accordance wi their father's will[4] the Deccan up to Mālwa and Gujarāt had be given to Ā'ẓam Shāh and Upper India to himself. If out of kindn he would surrender Telingāna which was an appendage of Bījāpū and Bījāpūr to Kām Bakhsh—their younger brother who was as th son—he (Bahādur Shāh) would make up the difference to Ā'ẓam Shā from his own share and inheritance. If Ā'ẓam Shāh was not prepare to accept these terms, it would be better that, instead of the live

1 Adapted from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 573, but the date there is 27th Dh Ḥijja. The year in the text is wrongly given as 1018 A. H.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 575.

3 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 584-587.

4 For Aurangzīb's will or wills see Fraser ***History of Nadir Shah***, pp. 36, 3 Irvine ***Later Mughals***, I, pp. 5, 6, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, ***History of Aurangzi*** V, pp. 262-267.

and properties of large numbers being sacrificed in a selfish war for gaining control of the country, Ā'ẓam Shāh and he (Bahādur Shāh) should decide the issue by a personal duel.

Hemistich

Whom does the Beloved desire, and who has his love!

And in this he (Ā'ẓam Shāh) would have the advantage, as he did not regard anyone as his equal in swordsmanship.

Some reliable authorities state that Bahādur Shāh was not aware of this will, but that in the end Aurangzīb sent him a *farmān* on the envelope of which was written with the Emperor's own hand "Hail to thee, the Sovereign of India" In any case, when this message reached Ā'ẓam Shāh, he wrote that he was not agreeable to the proposed division, but suggested another which was far from just and equitable.

Verse

Let the territory from the groundfloor to the roof be mine,
From the roof to the Pleiades may be yours.

Then he lost his temper and said to the ambassador: "Apparently the old dotard has not read even the Gulistān of Shaikh Sa'dī (where it is stated) that there is not room for two kings in one clime!"

Verse

When on the morrow the sun rises nigh!
There will be I, my mace, and the battlefield of Afrasiyab[1].

On the 18th Rabi 'I (8th June, 1707 A.D.) a battle took place between the two forces at Jajau[2], at a distance of 10 *kos* from Āgra. Khān Zamān came up with a well equipped force, and with the princes

1 Khāfī Khān II, p. 587. There is an extra conjunction—and—between battlefield and Afrasiyāb in Khāfī Khān.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 587-592. For a detailed account see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, pp. 22-35.

on the right and left. At the time when Bidār Bakht attacked Muḥammad 'Azīm-ush-Shān on the three sides, a great fight ensued, and though a bullet struck him on the right side under the armpit—his ribs were not broken, but the muscles and skin were partially removed —he did not turn back from the battle, and attacked so vigorously that Muḥammad Ā'ẓam and his two sons, Bīdār Bakht and Wālā Jāh, were killed. Alas for Muḥammad Ā'ẓam! (*Hā'i Muḥammad Ā'ẓam*: 1119 A.H., 1707 A.D.) is the chronogram. In the confusion that followed, Khān Zamān took all possible care of the family and property of Ā'ẓam Shāh, and about midnight presented himself before Bahādur Shāh. He fainted as a result of his wound. On the 29th of the same month (19th June), he was rewarded with the high title of Khān Khānān Ẓafar Jang, and the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and appointed to the noble office of the *Vazīr*. He was also granted a *kror* of rupees in cash, and a *kror* in goods out of the imperial exchequer—no officer since the time of Tīmūr had received such a bounty. As he was still confined to bed on account of his wound the Emperor paid him a visit in the Dahrārā Garden on 10th Rabī' II (30th June), and with great kindness and earnestness ascribed the victory to the force of arms and sage counsel of that master of the sword and pen. Out of all his offerings, which were worth nearly ten lacs of rupees, only one lac worth were accepted[1]. On the 8th Jummāda I (27th July) the duties of the *Vazīr* and governorship of the province of Āgra were assigned to him. In the 3rd year he was permitted to have his musical band played in the Presence. In the 4th year, when Emperor Bahādur Shāh went to Shāh Dhōra[2] (Sādhaurā) for the purpose of extirpating the evil-minded Gurū (*Banda Bahādur* the leader of the Sikhs), Khān Khānān was deputed against him under the leadership of Prince Muḥammad Rafī'-ush-Shān. After several engagements that evil-doer retired to a place difficult of access

1 Adapted from Khāfi Khān, II, p. 598.

2 Shāh Dhora of text is Sādhaurā in Khāfi Khān II, p. 660. It is Sādhaurā of *Imperial Gazetteer* XXI, p. 347. It is in Karnāl District in the Panjāb.

known as Lōhgarh[1]. The royal forces did not desist from his pursuit, and besieged the fortress. The followers and companions of that accursed leader—who regarded sacrificing their lives as transmigration to an eternal life—came out with great zeal and enthusiasm and falling on the royal batteries killed large number of the troops; and were then slain. After a while when their provisions were exhausted, one of the Khatrīs, Gulābū by name and a tobacconist by profession, offering himself as a sacrifice for their misguided leader, dressed himself in splendid clothes and took his place. The Gurū with a few followers attacked the royal entrenchments, and retired to the adjoining territory of the Snow Rāja (the Rāja of Nāhan). After the conquest of the fort, the imperialists seeing Gulābū in all his glory, believed that he was the Gurū, and seizing him took him to Khān Khānān. The latter with all speed conveyed the news to the Emperor, and was duly commended (for his services). An order was issued for preparing the orchestra and getting ready the public audience hall. It was ordered that an iron cage with bars should be made. Later, when as a result of a searching enquiry the veil was lifted, it became apparent that the hawk had flown and only the owl has been netted. Khān Khānān was greatly upset, and blaming his men ordered that they should all proceed on foot to the hills of the Snow Rāja, and either get hold of the Gurū, or seize the Rāja and bring him. He also wrote to the Rāja that he should recognize the fact that his own

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 671. See also Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXIII, p. 134 (1894). According to him the exact situation of Lōhgarh or Iron Fort cannot be determined but it was "about half-way between the towns of Nāhan (in Sirmūr) and Sādhaurā (Ṣarkār Sirhind)." The کرد kard in the text is a misprint for Gurū. His name was Bandah. For a detailed account of the siege of Lōhgarh and Bandah's flight see Irvine's detailed paper cited above, pp. 134-140. The name of the Gurū's follower who impersonated for him after his flight, is گلابا in the text, but it should be گلابو Gulābū, see Irvine, p. 139. According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.) he died in 1123 A.H., 1711 A.D., but in Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 556 the date is 1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.

safety lay in the capture of that scoundrel. It is said that the mess gers of Dhulfiqār Khān—who was the rival of Khān Khānān— accordance with their master's instructions spread the report from hill-country to the Royal camp that the Gurū had been captur The messengers of Khān Khānān believed this report of their colleag and regularly passed it on to their master, who in turn reported it the Emperor. Dhulfiqār, Khān, however, remarked that probably news also was not correct. Afterwards when it was found to be correct, and though the Rāja was seized and put into the same ca and sent to the Capital and imprisoned, Khān Khānān felt grea humiliated and fell ill. His brain becoming deranged he went i retirement, and died about the same time.

Khān Khānān was very modest and well-behaved in his dealin He was without pride or arrogance. He always tried to observe claims of past acquaintance and paid due regard to merit, so much that in view of past friendships he even treated petty officers w respect. Though he was not very lavish in regard to liberality, ki ness, favours and the distribution of food, yet he was generally be volent in his dealings. He carried out the duties of the *Vazīr* w a good reputation, honesty and without greed and selfish motiv He had appointed *Sazāwals* to ensure that, during hours of offic papers of applicants should not remain unsigned till the following d To reform the evil practice[2] of the demand of food of cattle from *Manṣabdārs*, he introduced a new system of collections. Dur Aurangzīb's time as soon as food of cattle became due from a *M ṣabdār*, the Superintendent of Elephant Stables, the Master of Horse and other officials rigorously demanded from the *Manṣabd* agent the cost for the maintenance of the animals irrespective

1 According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 602, at the time of seating himse the *Dīvān* (*khana*). The entire account of his administration appears to be b on the same source.

2 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp, 20, 21 for a detailed cussion of the *Khurāk-i-dawābb*.

the meagre balances due[1] from the fief, or of the fact that owing to its being poor land its produce was very small, and that also after long intervals, and which would be worth barely half or one third of the cost of animals' food; it would be hardly enough to reimburse him for the expenditure incurred in its cultivation, No remonstrance was of any use. The agents being helpless handed in their resignations. Khān Khānān laid down that at the time of making an assignment (*tankhwāh*), a deduction in *dāms* should be assessed proportionate to the cost of the animals' food, and this should be recorded in a supplement (to the grant). This regulation has been in force to date.

Hemistich

Good men depart, but their institutions remain.

He had acquired perfection in various directions, and these indicated his ability and capacity for interpretation. He composed verses. He also was inclined towards Ṣūfīsm. He wrote a treatise under the title of *Ilhāmāt-i-Mun'imī* (The Inspirations of Mun'im). It was not a high class work. He rendered some quaint phrases into verses suited to the subject matter. Some captious critics charged him with heterodoxy, and others compared these to false pretensions of ascent (to heaven). Really the work is not open to these objections. In the inspiration in which he describes his journey to Paradise, and from there to the foot of the *'Arsh* (the Throne) in the guise of a dream, there is no incompatibility. However, the word "Inspiration", if it implies saintliness, is a claim without any justification; further it is disparaging. With his endeavours after tranquility and reducing molestation (of the public), and out of vanity and ambition, and finally to immortalize his name[2] on the page of time he wanted that in every city and town he should have a mansion, an inn and a market place (*Katra*) of his own. He sent money to various places to buy land and

1 *Paibāqī* here probably means the reserved lands from which the *Manṣabdārs* got their grants, see Wilson's *Glossary*.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 603.

materials. The foolish agents disregarding willingness and agreem acquired land and houses by oppression and force. As evil is foundation of oppression, it is patent that buildings erected on suc foundation could not last for any length of time. Many of the complete buildings became ruins after the death of the owner. It stated that Khān Khānān also bought many of the confiscated hou from the State. One day Mukhliṣ Khān Mughal Bēg out of pers sity and antagonism represented to the Emperor that India, by grace of God, was an assemblage of seven climes. The custom of Emperor of India selling land to his servants, if reported to the Ki of Iran or Turkey, would give rise to ridicule. The Emperor with the reports about his indifference very judiciously replied as follow "Mukhliṣ Khān, what harm do we do? We give him waste land. spends large sums in improving and developing it. He has grown and will soon die. The lands will again be confiscated by the State

His eldest son Na'īm Khān, after Bahādur Shāh adorned the a picious throne of the Indian Empire, was granted the rank of 5,0 with 5,000 horse, and the title of Mahābat Khān. He was also po larly called Mukarram Khān Khān Zamān Bahādur, and was appoin as the 3rd *Bakhshī*[1]. When Jahāndār Shāh ascended the thro Dhulfiqār Khān on account of his old enmity made him the object the Emperor's anger,[2] and he was put in chains, and a collar was pl ed round his neck. Later, in the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siy Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, in view of old acquaintance a friendship, redressed his grievances, and took him with him to the D can. At last he joined 'Imād-ul-Mulk Mubāriz Khān, and was pres in the battle[3] which took place in 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. The second son Khānazād Khān had in t beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 hor

1 Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 425.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 598, 599. His imprisonment after Jahāndār S ascended the throne is recorded on p. 688. See also Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, 187, 221. His release after Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne is noted on p. 2

3 Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakarkhēlda, 11th October, 1724.

MUQARRAB KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 796-801).

He was the son of Amīr Khān Bahādur[1] whose biography has been included in this work separately. When through shortsightedness his father, in spite of the kindness shown to him by Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, forgetting his obligations went and joined Mubāriz Khān at Ḥaidarābād, Muqarrab Khān with a force took service under Āṣaf Jāh. He took part in the battle against Mubāriz Khān, and during the fighting it so happened that his father from the side of the enemy encountered him. Following the Deccan system, Muqarrab Khān and his force dismounted, and there was severe fighting with swords. Muqarrab Khān killed with his own sword a number of the enemy and cut off his father's head who had been wounded[2]. After the victory, Muqarrab Khān was rewarded with the rank of 4,000. He thereafter managed the affairs of his fief properly and encouraged cultivation.

It is stated that he selected a fertile tract of land in the villages of Bālkanda (Bālconda) and called it after his name. This is generally known as *Sīr*[3] land. Its cultivation was carried out by his agents, and he farmed it himself, so much so that he controlled the sale of milk and seeds. As a result he made much profit out of it. He constructed the enclosure of the fort of Bālkanda. Most of his troops were *Bārgīrs*[4] (hired troopers). The old Deccan custom, especially in this family, was that the troopers were paid two or three rupees a day or even more. The said Khān was not a voluptuary or a man of pleasure, but he was fond of music. Celebrated singers and

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I. pp. 352-357. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 236-240.

2. Battle of Shakar Khēra or Shakarkhēlda, 11th October, 1724. According to Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 957, 958, the report that Muqarrab Khān killed his father is incorrect.

3 Home farm from *Sīr*, a plough. See Wilson's *Glossary*.

4. Hired troopers or those who did not own their horses, *vide* Irvine, *Army of Indian Moghuls*, pp. 37, 47.

musicians of the Deccan gathered round him. He kept up the of a holder of the rank of 7,000 though he had only one pargan two or three *Mahāls* in Ilkandal. For three or four years h developed a carbuncle on the back, and this resulted in chronic Several times the excrescences were removed by surgeons, b sooner were the wounds healed, than the sores developed again. last, as the wolf of death was lying in wait, he died on 22nd R 1158 A.H. (13th April, 1745 A.D.). At first he was repor be impotent, but later he married and sought out wives. H sons, but all died while they were still young.

His real brother was Nabī Munawwar Khān. On accoun disagreement and personal differences he subsisted separately small fief. When he heard of the death of his brother, he we with his mother, who was living with him, and took possessi the property of the deceased. Assuming the position of his bro successor he began to act as the ruler of the place. As he knev while his brother's sons were alive, and the property would r transferred to him, he began to stay away from the *Darbār* finally out of greed became presumptuous. Having placed the ch and other relations of his brother under surveilance, he set strengthening the fortifications, and collecting provisions etc. C sibly the elimination of the true heirs, but in reality his great wea which was the subject of common report—provided the prete Āṣaf Jāh for dispossessing him. On 13th Rabī' I, 1159 A.H. March, 1746 A.D.) he, therefore, encamped in his territory. officers set about constructing batteries. That headstrong pers his presumptuousness had more than 2,000 horse and three o thousand infantry men entrenched outside the town ready for ing. Every time he engaged the victorious troops (of the N his leading men were killed, and he had to make a shameful re But as he had extensive equipment and stores of all kinds, and b ing the city on all sides was not possible owing to the vast area surrounding wall, he did not give way to fear, and was glad th rainy season was at hand, when owing to the country being floo

would be impossible to carry on the conflict. He expected that the besiegers would be forced to abandon the siege and retire. As the resolves of the great men are as firm as Fate, it is impossible for them to give way. Accordingly Āṣaf Jāh ordered that an encampment be established there. As a result the besieged were partly disheartened.

It is stated that during the siege, in spite of all care and prudence, which was characteristic of the leader, one day unwarranted remisness happened. After inspecting the troops in various quarters, Niẓām-ul-Mulk with his ladies and a few men—not more than 1,000 horse in all—went for an airing round the city wall. When he came opposite the gate, from where his troops were at a distance of two or three *kos*, his men suggested to him that a wonderful opportunity had presented itself for them to make a sudden sortie and surprise the party and capture it. He answered, "I am not a claimant for viceroyalty of the Deccan. My fight is only to secure this *pargana*." At last at the end of Jummādā I (July, 1746) when the siege had lasted some two months, the good fortune of Āṣaf Jāh prevailed, and dissension broke out in the garrison.

A brief account of the affair is that: that inhuman wretch wished to get rid of the helpless children of his deceased brother. Many of the Deccanīs—who had taken his side, had been the servants of the deceased and were under obligation to him. When they came to know of this design, they did not like to be regarded as unfaithful to the salt, and so severed their connection with him. They did not allow him a moment's peace, and discharged their muskets and *jizāirs* at him. The wretched man lost heart, and the same night fled on foot with his partisans, and took shelter with Rāja Rām Chandar sen Jādūn. The next day, the sons of the deceased through the intermediation of Ḥirz Ullāh Khān Bahādur, governor of Nānder, waited upon the Niẓām and were reinstated in their rank, and granted the town with some other villages as their fief. As universal mercy and extreme benevolence were characteristic of that great man, that wretched man also, at the recommendation of the Rāja was pardoned, and received a second life. About two lacs of rupees, all that was

left after the nine or ten lacs which he had spent during the days of his power, with two hundred odd horses and some elephants, and a quantity of corn, powder and lead were confiscated to the State. At the time of writing this biography, Nabī Manawwar Khān's younger son, who had his father's title, died of cholera in 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.); the camp of Ā'ẓam Jāh Niẓām-ud-Daulah was at this time near the fort of Kalyān. His elder son, who is known as Ibrāhīm Munawwar Khān, had another fief, and is doing well in service. Recently he received the title of Khān Zamān.

MURSHID QULĪ KHĀN KHURĀSĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 493-500).

He was a Turk by birth and a soldier by profession. He was distinguished for his ability and understanding. At first he was a servant of 'Alī Mardān Khān Zēg, the governor of Qandahār. When the said Khān surrendered that great fort to the imperial officers, some of his best servants also took up service under the State; among these was Murshid Qulī Khān. He soon, through his good fortune, came[1] to the notice of the Emperor, and received royal favours. In the 19th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was appointed *Faujdār* of the *Dāman-i-Kōh* of Kāngra[2] in succession to Khanjar Khān. When the government of Balkh and Badakhshān was assigned to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, he was appointed *Bakhshī*[3] of the forces deputed with him. In the 22nd year, he was made Master of the Horse in succession to Jān Nithār Khān, and in the 24th year, was promoted to the post of *Bakhshī*[4] of Lāhōre. When in the 26th year, the said prince (Aurangzīb) was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, Murshid Qulī Khān was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and being appointed

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 158. He was appointed governor of the Panjāb in the 3rd year, p. 177, Superintendent of the Artillery etc. in the 6th year, p. 331, and Superintendent of Elephant Stables, p. 362.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 471.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 688.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 124.

Dīvān of Bālāghāt[1] he accompanied the Prince. And as he rendered valuable services, his loyalty and ability became apparent, and, at the recommendation of the Prince, in the 27th year he was granted an increase of 500 in his rank and the title of Khān. In the 29th year, he received a further increase of 500, and was appointed *Dīvān* of Pāyānghāt in succession to Multafat Khān.

When the fortunate and victorious Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb determined on proceeding to the Capital with a view to curbing the high-handedness of Ḍārā Shikōh—who, on account of the great favours shown to him by Emperor Shāh Jahān, did not consider any of his brothers as his equal, and beating the drums of his conceit and selfishness left nothing of the administration except for the name of sovereignty to Shāh Jahān—he started making preparations with this end in view. In a short time he collected a large force and well equipped artillery. Of the royal servants, who were in that province, those, whom Fate favoured, allied themselves with him and agreed to serve him. Murshid Qulī Khān, whose determination and bravery were apparent through his expressions of good-will received preference over all faithful and devoted servants, was appointed the chief *Dīvān*[2] of the State in succession to Mīr Ḍiyā'-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Islām Khān, who in company with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān had left Aurangābād with the advance forces for Burhānpūr. His rank was also increased to 3,000. On 10th Rajab 1068 A.H. (3rd April, 1658 A.D.) the Prince crossed the Narbadā at Akbarpūr, and on the 22nd of the same month (15th April, 1658 A.D.) a battle—which was the first battle of the victorious Prince—took place with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh), who through his ignorance and presumption, was barring the progress of the Prince by taking up a position in the neighbourhood of Ujjain. Several famous Rājpūts such as Mukand Singh Hāra, Ratan Rāthōr, Diyāl Dās Jhāla, and Arjun (Singh) Gaur—who were the leading men of that brave tribe—attacked regardless of the danger

1 *'Amal-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 151.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 44. The increase of his rank to 3,000 with 1,500 horse and not 3,000 only as in the text is recorded on p. 54.

to their lives. At first they attacked the artillery of the Prince whose command at this time had been assigned to Murshid Qulī Khān, a devoted officer, and a master of the sword and pen. The said Khān with Dhulfiqār Khān, the commander of the vanguard, in spite of the small force under them and the large attacking force of the enemy, firmly defended the positions, and after a very hard struggle, which culminated in great deeds of gallantry and self-sacrifice, they bravely laid down their lives[1], and by the display of their loyalty won eternal glory.

Though Murshid Qulī Khān was a brave man and an expert warrior, he also had a clerical understanding. Trustworthiness and fear of the Almighty were characteristic of him. While he was the *Dīvān*[2] of the Deccan, he did his utmost for the conciliation and betterment of the peasantry, and exerted himself for increasing cultivation in the area. He settled the land with skill and care, and arranged to take one fourth of the produce as its revenue. He also prepared a code of regulations. It is stated that out of caution, and lest fear or favour should influence, he often took the measuring chain (*Jarīb*) in his own hand and measured out the land. His good nature gained him eternal life, that is, his name on account of this code would long be remembered.

It should be borne in mind that in the spacious, fertile and opulent countries of the Deccan revenue was not assessed on the *bighā* basis, by measurements or on the different classes of land and their produce, or even upon mutual arrangements Cultivation was assessed on the basis of a plough and a yoke of bullocks. A small portion of whatever crop was produced—and this varied in different centres and *parganas*—

1 Taken from *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 66, 67.

2 This account of the settlement of the Deccan is taken almost verbatim from Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 732-735, note 123. Apparently the author of the *Maāthir* had a Ms. of Khāfī Khān with the alternate reading as given in the footnote. See also Moreland's account in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 468, for a good summary of the reforms introduced by Murshid Qulī Khān, apparently based on Khāfī Khān.

was handed over to the ruler (the *Ḥākim*) as the revenue. No enquiries were made in regard to increases or decreases. Later, when the country for some time was trodden by the armies of the Emperors of India, the peasantry on hearing the name of the Mughals and the new arrangements feared and trembled, and left their homes. Further, a great decrease in rainfall was followed by famine for several years. So great was the desolation that in spite of Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 4th year of his reign, reducing the revenues of Khāndesh by 30 to 40 *krors* of *dāms*, the country did not recover its normal condition till Murshid Qulī Khān was appointed. He on his own initiative carefully and energetically introduced the revenue system of Rāja Tōdar Mal, which, since the time of Emperor Akbar had prevailed in Upper India. In the first place he did everything possible to bring back the runaway peasantry, and appointed intelligent officials (*Āmins*)[1] and honest collectors to measure the lands, known as the *Raqba*. They were instructed to differentiate between land fit for cultivation, and hilly areas and riparian tracts which could not be ploughed. Wherever there was no headman in a village, and his heirs had disappeared as a result of the conditions that had prevailed, a new headman well qualified to look after the cultivators and protect the peasantry, was appointed. For the purchase of cattle and other requisites of cultivation advances—known as *Taqāvī*—were made, and collectors were instructed to recover these advances at harvest time[2]. Three regulations were instituted in regard to cultivation. Firstly, as was customary in former times, agreements were to be executed. Secondly, the crop was to be divided—this was known as *Baṭā'ī*,[3] and this was to be carried out in three ways:—(i) crops raised by rainfall were to be divided half and half (*viz.*, half to the cultivator and half to the

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Mughal Administration*, p. 87, and P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), pp. 292, 293, note 1.

2 Khāfi Khān has "by instalments".

3 بتاوی in the text is apparently a misprint for بتائی *Baṭā'ī* or division. It is the same as غله بخشی ghalla *bakhshi*, see P. Saran, *The Provincial Government of the Mughals* (1941), pp. 300, 301.

State); (ii) of crops irrigated by well-water; if it was some kind of corn two-thirds to the cultivator aud one-third to the State, if the crop consisted of grapes, sugar-cane, cummin or *ispaghūl*[1] (isahghūl in text) etc. the shares were to be assessed according to the expenses incurred in irrigation and the time required for ripening—the State share varied from one-ninth to one-fourth, and the balance was to be retained by the cultivators; and (iii) in areas cultivated by underground channels (*kārēz*), or by canals from rivers—and which are known as *Pāṭ*[2], the division varied more or less against the rates of the well irrigated lands. The third regulation was in respect of measurements or *Raqba*[3]. Every kind of crop was inspected in view of the previously executed agreements and enquiries were made as to the rates and cultivation from sowing to harvest and it was thus possible to decide after measurement as to what share should be taken. These regulations were introduced in the three or four provinces of the Deccan—which was the extent of the territory under the imperial rule at the time—and they were known as the *Dhāra'* of Murshid Qulī Khān.

His son 'Alī Bēg received, in the 4th year of Aurangzīb's reign, the title of Ihtimām Khān, and his other son Faḍl 'Alī Bēg was appointed in the 32nd year, the reporter (*Waqāi' Nigār*) of the chief *Dīvān*. At the time of granting the title and Khānī, the Emperor enquired whether they would like the title of Khān or their father's title. He for certain reasons chose the title of Murshid Qulī Khān. Aurangzīb said[4], "I and my mother were the gifts (*Qurbān*) of 'Alī—May the

1 *Plantago ovata* Forsk. (*Plantago ispaghul* Roxb.), see Burkill *Dictionary of Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, II, p. 1767. The seeds are used in medicine.

2 *Pāṭ* according to Wilson's *Glossary* is "a small raised water-course for irrigating fields and gardens."

3 Raba رقع of the Text should be رقبة *Raqba* i.e., area, as it is in the previous page of the Text.

4 Taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 313, but it appears to be an incorrect quotation. According to the work cited Faḍl 'Ali did not like his father's title and preferred to be called Faḍl 'Alī Khān. Upon this the Emperor remarked

ercy of God be upon him—tell the ignorant fellow that he should ɔt become Qulī in place of 'Alī. Faḍl 'Alī Khān is better." ıter he was appointed *Dīvān* of Prince Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, ɔo was released from confinement. In the 42nd year, he was ɪpointed *Dīvān* of the province of Multān. We have heard it ated by one of his companions, who was not unworthy of belief, ıat when he started from the Deccan for Multān, he and his comɪnions were full of high hopes. When, however, he reached āhōre, he halted there for a time to recover from the fatigue of the urney. Every morning he would go to a garden for a walk, and ery evening a fresh assembly would be arranged. Suddenly a stone calamity was flung from the sling of Heavens, and it fell upon the ass of his expectations. An order came to the Governor of the ovince to put a collar and chains on Faḍl 'Alī and send him to the ɔurt. The governor was obliged to carry out the order. On this currence being communicated to the Court, it was discovered that ıe supposed royal-patent was a forgery, and that the poor man had ithout any justification been subjected to severities and imprisonment. nmediately mace-bearers were deputed to release him wherever they ıould meet him, and to restore to him his goods and property which ıd been confiscated at Lāhōre.

MURSHID QULĪ KHĀN TURKMĀN known as MURAWWAT KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 421-428).

During the reign of Jahāngīr he came from Irān, and on being ken in royal service was granted the rank of 700 with 200 horse. the 3rd year of Shāh Jahān's reign, he was promoted to the rank 1,000 and appointed Master of the Horse[1]. As his skill and

and my mother and father were the gift of 'Alī. Tell this ignorant fellow to ve aside 'Alī and take the name of Qulī; Faḍl Qulī Khān is best."

1 In the 6th year he was removed from the office of Master of the Horse, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 67.

devotion became conspicuous, and as in the office of the *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies) consideration for rank and office were essential requisites, and the Mīr Tuzuk Khalīl Ullāh Khān, on account of his uncouth manners, could not carry out the duties to the royal satisfaction, this office also was entrusted in the 6th year to Murawwat Khān in addition to his former duties, and he was granted an increase of 500 in his rank. He also received the title of his uncle Murshid Qulī, who was the *Lala'* (guardian) of Shāh 'Abbās I. When the royal standards started from Āgra towards Daulatābād, as is expressed in the chronogram:

Ba pādshāh Jahān īn safar mubārak bād,

(May this journey be blessed to the World's Emperor: 1045 A. H., 1635 A. D.); at the stage of Rūpbās, the *Faujdārī* of Mathurā and Mahāban[1] and the chastisement of the turbulent men in that unsettled area was assigned to the said Khān. As a large force was essential for keeping that country in order, he received an increase of 500 foot and 300 horse; his rank became 2,000 with 2,000 horse; and he was granted a standard. Later, as his policy of government proved successful for that unsettled area, and the turbulent inhabitants were curbed by his powerful hands, he was rewarded with royal favours, and received an increase of 500 with 500 horse[2] and the gift of kettle drums. In the 11th year, 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) at the time of storming Barēkī[3]—one of the villages of the sedition-mongers, who had all assembled there under the protection of a wall, and were plotting to create disturbances—he was killed by a gun shot. During the time he was the *Faujdār* of Mathurā, he bound and imprisoned many (men) and collected a large number of beautiful maidens, each more handsome and

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 105.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 7. In the text the name of the place is printed as Burēlī, but it is Barēkī in *Bādshānāma* and in Khāfī Khān, I, p. 552, and this has been adopted in the translation.

:aceful than the other. It is stated that at Gawardhannagar (Gōkul) –which is situated opposite to Mathurā on the other bank of the ımnā, and which is regarded as the place of birth and residence of .rishna, a vast crowd of men and women assembles on the night of th Sāwan—which on account of his birth they call the *Janam Ashta-ıī*. It happened that the Khān, following their custom, placed a *'ushqa* (caste-mark) on his forehead, and wearing *Dhōtī* mixed in the :owd enjoying the sight of the beautiful women. He saw a woman, ho in beauty was the envy of the moon, and like a wolf pouncing oon a flock carried her away. As his men had kept his boat in :adiness he hurried away by it to Āgra. The Hindus never disclosed s to whose daughter she was.

As the story of Murshid Qulī Khan Shāmlu Lala' Istāljū is not ithout interesting incidents, a short account of it is included here. :e was the governor of Khwāf and Bākhurz. 'Alī Qulī Khān Shām-i, the Governor of Herāt and Amīr-ul-Umarā of Khurāsān was entrus-:d with the guardianship of 'Abbās Mīrzā, who since the days of his randfather Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī was the governor of Khurāsān. ulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, father of the said Prince, became ne ruler of Iran, but, on account of lack of eyesight, he could not ıanage the Iranians, and the country became the abode of calamity nd strife. In the year 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) he, by a judicious :alization of the situation, gained the assent of the officers of Khurāsān nd raising 'Abbās Mīrzā to the throne, gave him the title of Shāh Abbās. Murshid Qulī Khān before everyone else expressed his agree-ıent to this arrangement, and took oaths of fealty. But Murtaḍā)ulī Khān Durnāk, the Governor of the holy Mashhad, who regarded imself an equal of 'Alī Qulī Khān, and as prince of princes *Bēglar 'ēgī*) of half of Khurāsān did not agree and strove to cause dissension. ulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda proceeded with a large force to Khurā-in, and 'Alī Qulī Khān, not feeling himself equal to the contest, took :fuge in the fort of Herāt. Murshid Qulī Khān, also found refuge ı the *Turbat*. After some strife and contention a peace was arranged. ulṭān Muḥammad, on condition of his offering obedience, confirmed

the territory of Herāt for the Prince and Murshid Qulī, as it was prior to the event, and returned. Out of regard for the said Khān he removed Murtaḍā Qulī Khān from the holy Mashhad, and to conciliate Murshid Qulī Khān and the Istāljū tribe he appointed Sulaimān Khān, who was a son of their patron saint as the governor of that place. Before he had established himself there, Murshid Qulī Khān on a pretence of a pilgrimage to the shrine of the Imām of genii and men (*Imām-i-Raḍī*) came to the city. He opened the gates of deception and trickery, and professed friendship and loyalty to Sulaimān Khān. When he had gradually collected a force, he sent a message to Sulaimān Khān to the effect that as the latter did not have a force strong enough to keep the contumacious persons of the place in order, he should leave this affair to him, and should himself proceed to Khwāf and Bākhurz to live there camfortably. Willy-nilly Sulaimān Khān agreed, and left the place. On the way he cast away his goods and property and proceeded to 'Irāq. Murshid Qulī Khān became firmly established in holy Mashhad, and by persuasion and reconciliation he subdued most of the sedition-mongers of Khurāsān. He so effected their conciliation that his rule became supreme in Khurāsān, and his power and influence increased materially. Afterwards professing regard and loyalty for 'Alī Qulī Khān (? Murshid Qulī Khān) he sent his brother Ibrāhīm Khān to him, to prevail on him to come with the Shāh to holy Mashhad, so that he might be able to give a proof of his loyalty and devotion.

As worldly matters are often of such a nature that what begins in friendship ends in enmity and opposition, the elderly persons of the Shāmlūs, regarding his power with derision, calumniated him. Enmity broke out between the two leaders, and gradually matters came to such a pass, that 'Alī Qulī taking that Shāh with him led an army against Mashhad. Murshid Qulī Khān who had no general, tried to bring about a peace by all possible means. In the direction of Sufaid Tarshēz the two armies came face to face. 'Alī Qulī Khān, not agreeing to peace on any terms, and casting aside the

reins of caution and alterness from his hands, himself became the messenger of war. He attacked a force of Murshiḍ Qulī Khān, and dispersing it started in pursuit. Murshid Qulī Khān, with a few men, was waiting on one side. He saw the royal standard, and taking advantage of his good fortune, captured the fortunate King. Then he attacked the enemy with the same small force, and signally defeated them. Later when 'Alī Qulī Khān returned from his persuit he could discover no signs of his centre or the royal Umbrella. He was utterly bewildered, and in utter disappointment went off to Herāt. Murshid Qulī Khān rejoiced over his unexpected victory. He wrote an affectionate letter, couched in servile terms and with friendly reproaches, to 'Alī Qulī Khān, and ascribed what had happened to the decrees of Fate.

In fine, Murshid Qulī Khān organized the affairs of the Kingdom of Shāh 'Abbās, and established himself as'his *Vakīl* and guardian. As the land of Irān had been shrouded by a mist of tumult and calamity, Murshid Qulī Khān heard that Qazvīn (Kazvīn)—which was the seat of the Ṣafavī princes—was unprotected, and so taking the Prince with him and with all speed proceeded by the route of Dāmghān to Qazwīn. Persian grey beards, hearing of the King's arrival, came from all sides, and when this news reached the camp of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda, everyone from the soldiers, the middle-class men to the nobles—all of whom had their men and families in Qazwīn—deserted him without his leave.

As Fate had so decreed, all the officials, who were the mainstay of the State, also gave up the reins of expediency from their hands, and went to Qazwīn. They became assured of their positions by taking oaths and promises from Murshid Qulī Khān. And when they entered the city, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khudābanda—who had become disgusted with the whimsical ways and ups and downs of the inconstant world, and was looking round for a corner of rest and retirement —in an interview with his son, Shāh 'Abbās, expressing his happiness and satisfaction abdicated, and adorned his son's head with the royal crown. Next day Murshid Qulī Khān decorated the hall of

Forty Pillars, and placed the Shāh on the throne. He called to account the officers for the number of Sulṭān Ḥamzā Mīrzā, and having beheaded a number of the leaders, who were the pillars of the State, condoned the offences of other officers and dignitaries. It generally happens that whenever a great and brave man exerts himself to raise a king to the throne, and by good fortune and hard work succeeds in doing so, he does not afterwards repose on the bed of prosperity, but has to quaff a bitter draught from the cup-bearer of time, and all his help and friendship is recompensed with dislike and enmity; in place of favours there is rebellion, and finally they destroy him. Probably the reason for this is that the powerful and far-seeing kings on becoming cognisant of their genius and influence in the important affairs of the State, regard the continued presence of such persons as inimical to their welfare, and so exert themselves to destroy them. It is also well known that most great men who exert themselves for service and putting the affairs into order, as a result of their pre-eminence develop haughtiness and pride, and cannot brook any opposition to their management. When the power and predominance of Murshid Qulī Khān rose to a great height, and he had supreme control of every affair of the State, flames of hate and envy burst up in the breasts of his colleagues and competitors. The Shāh, who had been brought up among the Shāmlūs, did not like the guardianship of Murshid Qulī Khān and the interference of the Istāljūs; the behaviour of Murshid Qulī Khān was also not agreeable to him. In the 2nd year of his reign, in the year 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.), while they were proceeding towards Khurāsān, he gave a hint to a body of men, and they suddenly entered the guard house (*Kushk khāna*) and killed Murshid Qulī Khān while he was asleep[1].

[1] The account of Murshid Quli the uncle, which forms the major part of the above notice, appears to be raised on *Tārikh 'Ālam Ārā-i-'Ābbāsī* by Iskandar Munshī.

MURTAḌĀ KHĀN (SAIYID) MUBĀRAK KHĀN (Vol. III, pp. 644-646).

He was one of the Bōkhāra Saiyids. He grew up in the time of Aurangzīb, and was for a time the Governor of the fort of Rām Kēsar, and for some time that of Asīr. He was also for a time *Faujdār* of Sulṭānpūr, Nandurbār. Later in succession to Muḥāmid Khān, Daulatābād was also added to his charge. In the 29th year he was granted the title of Murtaḍā Khān[1], and the rank of 3,000. It is stated that he was closely connected with Khān Jahān Bahādur. When the Emperor proposed to grant the title of Khān to his sons Saiyid Maḥmūd and Saiyid Jahāngīr, Khān Jahān represented: Saiyid Maḥmūd says that no one in their family had received the titles of Maḥmūd Khān or Fīrūz Khān. The Emperor asked him to suggest some suitable titles. He proposed that Saiyid Maḥmūd might be called Mubārak Khān, and Saiyid Jahāngīr Mujtabā Khān. The Emperor commented that Mubārak Khān was the title of the father. Khān Jahān enquired wheather the title of Murtaḍā Khān was reserved for some other person. If not, there was no one better fitted for it than the said Khān. The Emperor approved of the proposal. Murtaḍā Khān died in the 45th year, 1112 A.H. (1700-01 A.D.). *Qil'adār Bibist* (The Commandant of the Heavens) gives the date, if the *ha* in Qil'a is omitted. After his death, his eldest son, Saiyid Maḥmūd Mubarāk Khān was appointed Governor of Mahākōt in the fortress of Daulatābād, and in Muḥammad Shāh's reign had the rank of 3,000. After him his son Saiyid Murād 'Alī Mubārak Khān, who had the rank of 2,500, and on his death, his son Saiyid Shēr 'Alī Mubārak Khān were respectively the Commandants of the fort. The second son Saiyid Jahāngīr Mujtabā Khān was appointed to the charge of 'Ambarkōt. Later, his son Saiyid 'Alī Raḍā, his son, had his father's title, and during the reign of Muḥammad Shāh held the rank of 3,000, the title of his grandfather, and the charge of the same province. After

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 273.

his death Saiyid 'Alī Akbar had the title of Mujtabā Khān in succession to his father and grandfather. Afterwards the fort fell into the hands of Ṣalābat Jang. Up to that time the commandants of the forts of the area had never submitted to the viceroys of the Deccan such as Ḥusain 'Alī Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh and his sons. When the viceroys in question carried out measurements of the fiefs connected with the fort and confiscated them, Emperor Muḥammad Shāh fixed a grant in cash of two lacs of rupees per annum from the State exchequer for the *Ta'aluqdārs* of the fort.* Once Āṣaf Jāh for some reason became angry with the Commandant of the fort, and deputed an army to besiege him. On hearing of it Emperor Muḥammad Shāh sent him a royal patent to the effect: "We have only one fort pertaining to our dominions in the whole of the Deccan. You should not try to take it." Āṣaf Jāh, in deference to the Emperor's orders, made peace, and withdrew his forces.

MURTAḌĀ KHĀN SAIYID NIẒĀM

(Vol. III, pp. 479-481).

He[1] was the second son of Mīran Ṣadr Jahān Pīhānī. He was born of a Brahman mother who was greatly loved by the Mīrān. On her account he was very fond of this son, and took great pains for his education. During his lifetime he brought him to the notice of the Emperor, and had a high rank bestowed on him. After Mīrān's death, Emperor Jahāngīr promoted him to the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse[2]. In the 1st year, after the accession of Shāh Jahān, he received an increase of 500, and his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse[3], and he was granted the gift of a drum. After the death of

1 His name was Saiyid Niẓām Khān, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 183, and Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 522. A summary of his career is given in the same work on pp. 522, 523. For his father Ṣadr Jahān see p. 522 of the same work, also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, III, Haig's translation, pp. 198-200. Pīhānī is a village near Qanauj in the United Provinces.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 183.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

Murtaḍā Khān Mīr Ḥisām-ud-Dīn Injū, the Saiyid received the title of Murtaḍā Khān. When Mahābat Khān Khan Khānān was deputed to the Deccan as the Viceroy, the said Khān was also appointed an auxiliary, and permitted to leave for the Deccan. When, in the 6th year corresponding to 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.), the great fort of Daulatābād was conquered through the brave efforts of Mahābat Khān, Commander-in-chief, he desired to leave one of the leaders of the army with a trustworthy force in charge of the fort and himself to return to Burhānpūr. On account of the great hardships they had to endure for a long time during the course of the siege of the fort, and never having had any rest from the day and night harassment by the Bījāpūr and Niẓām Shāhī forces, and also because of the scarcity of provisions, no one to whom he offered the charge agreed to accept it. As Murtaḍā Khān was a man of means and had a following, Mahābat Khān urged him to accept a charge. The Saiyid raised so many objections and urged them so strongly, that Mahābat Khān made him hand over a written letter of resignation.

When Khān Daurān, out of loyalty and steadfast courage accepted the task, Khān Khānān diplomatically left Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān[1] and a number of others with him in the fort, and retired. Soon afterwards a letter patent was received by Khān Daurān stating that as he had endured more hardships and troubles than anyone else, he should make over the fort to Murtaḍā Khān, and proceed to Malwa, which was his government, and rest there for a while. The said Khān left the Saiyid in the fort, and handed over to him the money of the State treasury, which he had in his charge, for the expenses of the fort, and departed for his destination[2]. Later Murtaḍā Khān was promoted to the charge of Dalmau', and was appointed to punish the malcontents there who had become very troublesome. As his home was in the neighhourhood of Dalmau', he collected a

1 The account of the hesitation of the officers to accept command of the Daulatābād fort is taken from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 532.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 534.

large force, and exerted himself vigorously in searchig for and reducing the bands of malcontents. He was repeatedly victorious, and his administration proved successful. For a long time he was in Baiswāra and Lucknow, and was engaged in putting these places into order. At last, as owing to old age and infirmity he did not have the necessary strength to tour about, he could not look after his duties. In the 24th year he was removed from office, and was granted a yearly pension of 20 lac *dāms* out of the revenues of the Pihāni *pargana*, which was his native place, and the annual revenue of which was one kror *dāms*. As his sons had died, each of his grandchildren, 'Abdul Muqtadīr and 'Abdullāh received increases of rank, and his other grandchildren also received suitable allowances. As a result 80 lac *dāms* out of the annual revenue of the *pargana* were received by them. For a long time the Saiyid was on the list of pensioners till he died at his appointed time. In Shāh Jahān's reign 'Abdul Muqtadīr had the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse, and later was appointed *Faujdār* of Khairābād.

(MIR) MURTAḌĀ KHĀN SABAZWĀRĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 290-292).

He was a Saiyid of the Deccan, and one of the *Amīrs* of that area. At first he was in the service of 'Ādil Shāh, the ruler of Bijāpūr. At the invitation of Murtaḍā Niẓām Shāh he went to Aḥmadnagar, and was appointed head of the Berār army. When Shāh Quli Ṣalābat Khān, the Circassian, became the Prime Minister of Niẓām Shāh, Saiyid Murtaḍā was appointed Amīr-ul-Umarā, and was deputed to devastate the country of 'Ādil Shāh. He greatly distinguished himself by his bravery and valour in that campaign. Later, when Niẓām Shāh became melancholy-mad and retired, and communication with him became restricted to letters only, Ṣalābat Khān obtained complete control of all affairs. Clouds of hostility rose up between Ṣalābat Khān and the Mīr, and the former set about putting down the fief-holders of Berār. The Mīr in collusion with

Khudāwand Khān Ḥabshī, Jamshēd Khān Shīrāzī and other fief-holders of Berār, raised a large army in the year 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.), and hastening to the vicinity of Aḥmadnagar encamped there. Ṣalābat Khān represented the matters in a different way to Murtaḍā Nīẓām Shāh, and in attendance on Prince Mīrān Ḥusain prepared for battle. The Berār army was defeated. The Mīr not only lost a great deal of property, but was also forced to leave the country. He went with his companions to Emperor Akbar, and received from him the rank of 1,000 and a fertile *jāgīr*[1]. He rendered valuable services in the Deccan campaign in attendance on Prince Sulṭān Murād. When the Prince after making peace returned from Aḥmadnagar, he held a council for deliberations. Many of the great officers did not agree to take up the government of the conquered territories. Muḥammad Ṣādiq, however, offered to accept the duties of safeguarding the border areas, and took up his quarters at Mahkar[2], and Mīr Murtaḍā was appointed in charge of the cultivated country, and he fixed his headquarters at Ellichpūr on account of the vicinity of Gāwīl fort, as there was no better fort in Berār, and this had always been the residence of the rulers of the country. It was some two *kos* from Ellichpūr. Though a large part of the country had been conquered by the imperialists this fort had not so far fallen into their hands. By his skill he took possession of it. and by his careful management was able to ward off the chance of any further worry for the time being. Wajīh-ud-Dīn and Biswās Rā'ī the defenders of the fort, owing to the scarcity of provisions, delivered the keys of the fort in the 43rd year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.). They received ranks

1 See *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 456, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 456.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 702, translation p. 1050. In that work, however, it is not definitely stated that the Prince arranged the Council. Mahkar, with the incorrect variant Bhakkar in *Akbarnāma*, is in Mahkar *Sarkār*, Berār, *vide* Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 237. Gāwīl *Sarkar* is also in Berār, *op. cit.*, p. 233, also see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VII, p. 367; it is now included in Amrāotī district, Berār, and is called Gāwīlgarh. In *Akbarnāma* the change of headquarters from Gāwīl to Ellichpūr is not mentioned.

and *jāgīrs* and were taken into the royal service[1]. Later, the Mīr performed good service in attendance on Prince Sulṭān Dāniyāl in the taking of the fort of Aḥmadnagar. After that fort had been taken, he waited on Emperor Akbar at Burhānpūr, and for his loyal services was rewarded with an increase in his rank, and the gift of a standard, a drum, and a fertile *jāgīr*[2].

MURTAḌĀ KHĀN (SAIYID) SHĀH MUḤAMMAD

(Vol. III, pp. 597, 598).

He was a Bokhārā Saiyid. He had a high post in the special guards (*Chaukī Khāṣ*) of Prince Aurangzīb Bahādur. When the Prince started from the Deccan to Upper India to enquire after the health of his venerable father, he was elevated by the grant of the title of Murtaḍā Khān.[3] In the battle against Jaswant Singh he had the charge of *Iltutmish* (Advance Guard of the Centre), and performed valient deeds. In the first battle against Dārā Shikōh his bravery was decorated with a wound. In the battle with Shujā'[4] and in the second battle with Dārā Shikōh also he distinguished himself. In the 7th year, as a result of increase, his rank became 5,000 with 5,000 horse. In the 21st year[5], corresponding to 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.) he died. The Emperor had sent Bakhtāwar Khān, the eunuch, to enquire after his health. In reply he said, "I had the desire to sacrifice my life in the service of my master, but this did not come to pass. Other make offerings of gold and jewels. I present a few lives in place of my offering, and hope that these will be of service to my

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 744, translation, pp. 1111, 1112.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 779, translation, p. 1166.

3 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 62.

4 His part in the battles against Shujā' and Dārā Shikōh is to be found on pp. 249, 308 respectively of *'Ālamgirnāma*.

5 The account of his good qualities and death is taken from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 163, 164. The exact date of his death is given as 3rd Rabī' I, 1088 A.H.

ster[1]." After his death, most of his servants from the rank of ·oo to 80 entered royal service, and his footmen were given em-ployment in the workshops. He was a bold Saiyid, and kept his ·n in good care and discipline. His son was Saiyid Ḥāmid Khān, o received the title of Khān in the 4th year. In the 15th year, was deputed[2] with Ra'dandāz Khān for the chastisement of the ·nāmī clan, and rendered good service. In the 16th year, he ·ught to the Court the son of the *Zamīndār* of Kumā'ōn, who, ·r his territory had been much traversed by the royal troops, was ·doned at the instance of Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān. In the 20th year, was appointed governor of Ajmēr[3] in succession to Saiyid Aḥmad ān. In the 21st year, he returned to Court, and on the death of father, was honoured with the appointment of Superintendent[4] of Special Guards. In the 23rd year he was deputed[5] to chastise the ·bulent elements in Sūjat and Jītāran, and in the 24th year, per-med valuable services by inflicting punishment on the Rathor rebels ·ards Mairtha[6]. Later he received the title of Mujāhid Khān. the 35th year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mēwāt, and had the ·k of 3,000 with 1,500 horse[7]. It has not been possible to trace year of his death.

MUSAḤIB BĒG
(Vol. III. pp. 179-181).

He was the son of Khwāja Kalān Bēg, who was the son of Maulā-Muḥammad Ṣadrā, who was one of the chief officers of Mīrzā 'Umr aikh, and whose six sons devoted their lives to the service of Bābur[8]. wāja Kalān because of such claims, and by his high sense of justice,

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 115.
2 *Op. cit.* p. 128.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 158.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 165.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 193.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 195
7 See *op. cit.*, p. 347, where the grant of the title of Mujāhid Khān at ·e earlier date is also mentioned. مهراب in the Text is a misprint for Mēwāt, ill-defined tract south of Delhi.
8 *Akbarnāma*, I, Text, p. 92, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 236.

wisdom, pleasing manners, and great literary attainments became a favourite of Bābur, and rose to the rank of a high official. His brother Kuchak Khwāja[1] was in-charge of the royal seal and a trusted servant. After the conquest of India, which occurred on Friday, 8th Rajab[2], 932 A.H. (20th April, 1526 A.D.), and Āgra became Bābur's residence, the Chaghtā'ī soldiers found little congeniality or intercourse with the people of India. The extreme heat of the atmosphere, the pestilential wind (*simōōm*) and the plague added to their distress. During this period, as owing to the communications becoming interrupted there was delay in the arrival of supplies; this resulted in a scarcity of provisions. The great body of officers set their minds upon returning, and many of the brave men went off to Kābul without permission. Khwāja Kalān who had shown much courage in every battle and particularly in this campaign, also changed his mind. Bābur, who had set his heart on remaining in India, said that it was unworthy of wise conquerors to leave a great country—which had been conquered by such efforts, and elaborate arrangements—because of small inconveniences that had appeared. But in consideration for Khwāja Kalān, whose mind was bent on returning, he gave him the fief of Ghaznī and Gardēz, and permitted him to depart[3]. Bābur has written in his Memoirs[4] that the conquest of India was effected by the efforts of the Khwāja, and in his letter to Humāyūn he charged him[5] to treat the Khwāja with consideration and overlook

1 *Akbarnāma* I, Text, p. 120, translation, p. 281.

2 20th Rajab in the Text is incorrect, it should be 8th (20th April), see *Akbarnāma*, Text p. 95 and translation, p. 242. According to Sir Denison Ross in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 13, Bābur sent an advance force on 21st April and defeated Ibrāhim in the battle of Pānīpat.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 101, translation, p. 252. Also see Mrs. Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 525, and her *History of Humāyūn*, p. 94.

4 Mrs. Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 524, where it is stated that the Khwāja had done well in the march from Kābul, in the defeat of Ibrāhim and until Āgra was occupied.

5 See Mrs. Beverid[illegible] translation of *Memoirs of Bābur*, p. 627.

: insolence. After the death of Bābur, the Khwāja sided with īrzā Kāmrān, and governed Qandahār on his behalf[1]. In the year 2 A.H. (1536 A.D.), Sām Mīrzā, the brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp ıfvī came to Qandahār and besieged it. The Khwāja defended it r eight months. When, on the second occasion, the Shāh came in rson, he was forced to surrender the fort, and joined Mīrzā Kāmrān Lāhōre[2]. After the catastrophe of Chausa the Khwāja accomınied Humāyūn, but when that Emperor owing to the unfavourable rcumstances turned towards Sindh, the Khwāja left him at Siālkōt[3], ıd again joined Kāmrān.

When the Khwāja died, his son Muṣāḥib Bēg, in consideration of ıe valuable services of his ancestors, was admitted to a position of ıtimacy and trust. But as his disposition was prone to evil and ischief, and he repeatedly behaved improperly, Humāyūn called him ıe *Muṣāḥib-i-Munāfiq* (The hypocritical courtier). Later, when .kbar ascended the throne, Muṣāḥib Bēg, out of wickedness and lly, began to spend his time in company of Shāh Abul Ma'ālī of imidh, and after spending some time in the eastern districts he beme one of Khān Zamān's companions. In the 3rd year, he came ith evil intentions to Delhī. Bairām Khān arrested him, and sent im off to Ḥijāz. Nāṣir-ul-Mulk, by clever diplomacy, made Bairām hān agree to draw lots by writing "Death" on one piece of paper, ıd "Release" on another; whichever paper turned up would be acted ı according to the inscription on it. By chance Fate also seemed to : in league with the design, and immediately executioners were sent, ıd he was put to death[4]. It is said that on this account all the hagḥtā'ī officers and their sons became frightened of Bairām Khān, ıd plotted against him.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 126, translation, p. 292.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text. p. 135, translation, pp. 307, 308.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 171, translation, p. 360.

4 Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, pp. 69, 70, Beveridge's translation,). 107, 108.

MOSAVI KHAN MIRZA MU'IZZ
(Vol. III, pp. 633-636).

He was the daughter's son of the Saiyid of Saiyids, Mīr Muḥammad Zamān of Mashhad, who was the leader of the learned men of that great place. In his early youth, he became annoyed with his father Mīrzā Fakhrā, who was of the Mūsavī Saiyids of Qūm, and went to the capital Iṣpahān, which was the centre for the learned and philosophers. He studied under the very learned Āqā Ḥusain Khwānsārī, and because of his quick comprehension and retentive memory became the foremost scholar of rational sciences. In the year 1012 A.H. (1671-72 A.D.) he migrated to India.

As his fortune, like his attainments, was in the ascendant, he became recipient of favours from Aurangzīb, and was granted a suitable rank. He was married[1] to the daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, the aunt of Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh. It is stated that at Ḥasan Abdāl he one day had a discussion about theology and precepts with Shaikh 'Abdul 'Azīz. The discussion was prolonged. The Shaikh asked him as to under whom he received his tenets (*Sanad*). He replied from Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn. The former remarked that he had confronted or disputed with the Shaikh in twenty two places. The Mīr retorted that probably it was for this reason that the letters of alphabet were his master. Finally it came to pass, that the Shaikh getting angry enquired the reason for the Shī'as of his class fixing a ramrod to the corpse at the time of washing it (before burial). The Mīr smiled and replied that the same question had once been asked of him by the agents-provocateur of the dancing girls of Lāhōre, and again on that day the Shaikh wanted it to be explained. In fine, he, in the beginning of his career, had been appointed as the *Dīvān* of Patna and Bihār, but he could not get on with Buzurg Umēd Khān, the governor of the

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 337, 338. Aurangzib was married to Dilras Bānū Bēgam, another daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, and Prince Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh the third son of the Emperor was born of her, *vide* Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 2.

province, and dissensions sprang up between them. The said Khān was proud of his high lineage, and of his being the son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāista Khān, and regarded all others as being below consideration. The Mīr relying on his earlier association with the Emperor in addition to his own merits and accomplishments, was not prepared to be submissive to others. Each sent written complaints about the other to the Emperor. Mīrzā Mu'izz was summoned to the Presence[1]. In the 32nd year, he was exalted by the grant of the title of Mūsavī Khān, and appointed *Divān-i-Tan* (Superintendent of *Jāgīrs* etc.) in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. The Khān, with a view to effecting savings, took bonds from the newly appointed officers (*Manṣabdārs*) to the effect that after the preparation of papers (*Yāddāsht*) till they actually took possession of *jāgīrs*, no demands would be admissible for this intervening period. If a *jāgīr* was transferred after its grant, accounts would have to be rendered for the period till they received the grant of a fresh fief. When he got a bad name for this procedure, he, to amend matters, arranged that no office should be assigned in respect of the grant of a *jāgīr* to a new servant without his request. Good God! it is stated that in former times when the accounts of *jāgīrs* were made up, generally amounts were found to be due to the government from the *Manṣabdārs*. Accordingly revenue collectors (*Sazāwals*) had to be deputed for their realization. The *Manṣabdārs* by bribing them used to have recourse to subterfuges. In the Deccan, a result of the small holdings of the reserved lands, the diminished produce, and numerous claimants—especially among the new Deccanī servants—matters came to such a pass that in spite of the bonds introduced by Mūsavī Khān, large sums were taken from the *Manṣabdārs* and entered into the State accounts. Accordingly, although the *Manṣabdārs* presented their accounts, the accountants would not listen or pay heed to them[3]. In these days all the regulations are ignored and have become obsolete.

1 See the account in the notice of Buzurg Umēd Khān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 454, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 429.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 312.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 396, 397.

In short in the 33rd year, Mūsavī Khān was appointed *Dīvān*[1] Deccan in succession to Ḥājī Shafī' Khān. In the 34th year, A.H. (1690 A.D.) he died. *Kujā shud Mūsavī Khān*: V is Mūsavī Khān? is the chronogram of his death, whille the d birth is given by *Afḍal aulad Zamāna*: The best of the sons age (1056 A.H.; 1646 A.D.). He was unrivalled for pleasant h of fancy, and elegant expressions, and was proficient in letter w and subtle compositions[2]. At first in his verses he used the *no plume* (*takhallus*) of Fiṭrat, but later adopted Mūsavī[3]. The follc verse is his: —

Verse

My dissipation is a bar in the way of rebellion!
Nudity is critical of my contaminated clothing.

MŪSAVĪ KHĀN ṢADR

(Vol. III, pp. 441-442).

It is stated that he is a descendant of the Saiyids of holy Mas and was nearly connected with Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Riḍwi[4]. time of Jahāngīr he became known to the Emperor, and in the year was appointed Superintendent of the cool-water stores (*Ā khāna*).[5] Gradually he rose to the high office of *Ṣadr Kull*[6], an the rank of 2,000 with 500 horse. After the death of Jahāng was, in the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when his good fo flourished as a result of his being in the good books of Yam Daulah, confirmed in his office of *Ṣadr Kull*, and his rank increased to 3,000[7] with 750 horse. In the 5th year, h

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 330. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 33

3 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.) under Fiṭ Mūsavī Khān pp. 138, 284.

4 Blochmann, *'Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 369-372.

5 Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, p.

6 *O.p. cit.*, p. 7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i,

promoted[1] to the rank of 4,000 with 750 horse. In the 16th year[2] he was removed from office as a result of a report to the Emperor that he had not carried out the orders about the assignation of lands in the proper manner. In the 17th year, on 18th Ṣafr, 1054 A.H. (16th April, 1644 A.D.) he died. His two sons received suitable promotions[3]. It is stated that though he was not highly educated, he had through regular association with learned men picked up the essential etiquette for meetings, and could carry on a high-flown conversation.

MUṢṬAFĀ BEG TURKAMĀN KHĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 384, 385).

He was one of Jahāngīr's officers. In the end of that reign he had attained the rank of 2,000 with 1,400 horse. After Shāh Jahān's accession, he, in the 1st year, was granted an increase, and his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse[4]. He also received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a flag, and a horse with a silver saddle. In the 3rd year, he was exalted by the gift[5] of a kettle-drum. Later he was appointed to the Deccan, and, in the 6th year, when Mahābat Khān was engaged in the siege of Daulatābād, he was acting as the *Thānadār* of Ẓafarnagar. Many of the followers of the contingents of *Manṣabdārs* assigned for the expedition, had assembled there together with the grain-bullocks, and were, for fear of being way-laid by the Deccanī troops, unable to join Khān Khānān's forces. Muṣṭafā Bēg wrote[6] to Khān Khānān in this connection, and the latter deputed Khān Zamān with a force to escort the supplies of grain and the men to his camp. Muṣṭafā Bēg died in the 7th year[7], 1043 A.H. (1633 A.D.). Ḥasan Khān, his son, attained the rank of 800 with 300 horse, and his brother 'Alī Qulī rose to the rank of 900 with 450 horse; the latter died in the 15th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I pt. i, p. 300. 2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 316.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 372, 373.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 121. His rank after increase is given as 3,000 with 1,500 horse. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 300.

6 *Op. cit.*, pp. 505, 506. 7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 298.

MUṢṬAFĀ KHĀN KĀSHĪ.

(Vol. III, pp. 637-641).

He was a Shi'a of Afghān descent. His father was so destitute[1] that on his death it was found difficult to defray the expenses in connection with his burial. The said Khān took leave of his mother at the age of fourteen, and went forth to earn the livelihood. Gradually, in the service of Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh he gained his intimacy through good service. He became a true courtier and an intimate confidant of the Prince. As there was a constant complaint regarding the excessive expenditure of the forces in the service of the Prince, the said Khān having discovered the real causes arranged that more than 6,000 horse should not be enrolled in his establishment. If, however, in view of recommendations, the arrival of excellent recruits, or in consideration of the needs of some expedition, this number had to be exceeded, no pay would be allowed to the new comers until the fixed limit had been reached either through deaths or by desertions[2]. As a result of his careful attention to details, the Prince's establishment was put on a proper footing, and there were no further complaints either on the part of the soldiery or the camp followers (*Shāgird pēsha*).[3] There was, however, a force of ten to twelve thousand horsemen always in readiness[4]. As a result, he gained the confidence of the Prince to such an extent that no work was done without consulting him. Whatever the Prince did contrary to the wishes of Aurangzīb, the Emperor ascribed it to the clever counsels of the said Khān. As the Afghāns were not trusted (by Aurangzīb), the Khān's supreme authority in the Prince's establishment was viewed

1 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 441. It is stated that he left his home three days after the Fātiḥā, and migrated to India with an Afghān caravan.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 440.

3 The camp followers, such as muleteers, etc.

4 This fact is also mentioned by Khāfī Khān. Probably what is meant is that owing to the excellent arrangements made by Muṣṭafā Khān about ten to twelve thousand horsemen were always available.

with disfavour, and (the Emperor) several times hinted to the Prince in this connection. Finally some fault was found and he was deprived of his office. Mace-bearers[1] were appointed to remove him from the Prince's Camp, and convey him to the port of Sūrat. A royal order was also sent to the governor of the place, that he should be put on board a ship, and sent off to the holy places. The said K͟hān, after performing the pilgrimage to the holy Ka'bā'—May God exalt the Spots !—returned to Sūrat. Although an order summoning him was sent, but there was no indication that he had been forgiven. The said K͟hān, in the 39th year of the reign, arrived at Aurangābād, and in view of the Emperor's inclination, waited on him in the garb of a dervish. Emperor Aurangzīb recited this hemistich:—

Hemistich

I recognize you in whatever form[2] you may come !

It is stated that though Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh tried by recommending his case, to take him with him, but he did not succeed. The said K͟hān, who was adorned with literary attainments and perfections, composed a work entitled *Imārāt-al-Kalām* for easily tracing the verses of the *Qur'ān*. The Prince brought it to the notice of the Emperor and added that it was the composition of Muṣṭafā K͟hān. After reading it, the Emperor said, it should not be styled a composition but a compilation. The Prince represented that no earlier work had come to his notice, and so it was entitled to be regarded as a composition. The Emperor was provoked, and ordered the royal librarian to bring the work, which a certain person had previously written on the subject, and to hand it over to the Prince. The said K͟hān spent the remainder of his life in retirement in his house. A lofty building, which he built in one of the wards of Sulṭānganj in Aurangābād, is known by his name.

1 The expression in the Text and K͟hāfī K͟hān گرز بردارے شدید which would mean strict mace-bearers, probably implying that they had strict injunctions to carry out the mission.

2 Perhaps a play on the words Sūrat and Ṣūrat.

Aurangzīb had more affection for Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh than for his other sons, but owing to differences of temperaments constant clashes occurred. It is stated[1] that, in the 36th year of the reign, Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh was reported to have conceived foolish ideas on account of the news of the release of Sulṭan Muḥammad Mu'ẓẓam. The Emperor prudently deputed Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, who was near Bankāpūr, to proceed to Wāgingēra. As the royal camp was on the route, various reports from the Emperor (? of the Emperor's health) reached Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. The Prince arriving near the royal camp sent a message to the effect that though he was very anxious to pay his respects, yet, as he was proceeding on duty, he was afraid lest his men, after reaching the royal camp, might delay in leaving it. He would, however, carry out whatever orders were issued. A reply was received that the Emperor also was anxious to see his son, but as it would not be desirable for the Prince to enter the royal camp, the Emperor was leaving the camp unattended for the purpose of hunting. The Prince also should come with his two sons and with a guard of only 500 horse. He would then be permitted to depart without delay. Orders were also issued for a small tent to be pitched at some distance from the royal camp on low ground so that it might not be visible from a distance. Secret orders were also issued to the *Bakhshīs*, the Superintendent of the body-guard, the mace-bearers and the royal guards to take with them a few selected armed men. Openly strict orders were issued against the taking of a large number of men with them. The men of Bārha and the Masters of Ceremonies (*Mīr Tūzuks*) were appointed to prevent a crowd, and making arrangements on all four sides of the royal pavilion so that no one could gain entry without permission. After reaching the hunting ground successive orders were sent to the Prince to the effect that space in the royal pavilion was limited, and he should come with only a few men. When the Prince came near the camp, Jamāl Chēla conveyed the order that

1 The account of Ā'ẓam Shāh's visit to Aurangzīb is taken from Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 407-410.

the game, which had been brought close to the guns, would take fright[1]. The space for the equipage was also limited, and the Prince, therefore, should not bring more than three grooms with him. When the Prince with his two sons Wālā Jāh and 'Alī Tabār came to the lines, he, in compliance with the instructions, had only two grooms with him. Under the circumstances the Prince changed colour, and realized that he had fallen in a snare of misfortune. Mukhtār Khān conveyed the order that all three should come leaving their armour behind. After the Prince had paid his respects, the Emperor embraced him with affection, and giving him a gun ordered him to shoot the game. Afterwards he took him to the Oratory, and bade him to take a seat. He made eager enquiries about all affairs. On account of a report that the Prince had a coat-of-mail under his tunic, he called for a cup of perfume, and after opening the fastenings of the tunic rubbed the perfume with his own hands. Taking the royal sword, which was lying near[2] him, out of its scabbard, he handed it to the Prince. The latter took it with trembling hands, and after looking at it wanted to return it. The Emperor, however, presented it to him as a mark of royal favour, and also repeated some words of instruction and indications to the effect that having arrested the Prince he had released him. There-after he allowed him to depart.

MUSṬAFĀ KHĀN KHAWĀFĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 516-518).

His name was Mīr Aḥmad, and his father was Mīrzā 'Arab, a genuine Saiyid of Khawāf. He came to India, and entered Jahāngīr's service, and was soon appointed recorder (*Waqā' Nigār*). Later

1 The word رم *ram* fright has been omitted in the Text: It has been included in the translation as otherwise the sentence is incomplete; it is in the original in Khāfī Khān.

2 In the Text the expression is پیش پادشاه بود while in Khāfī Khān p. 409, it is پیش آنحضرت می گذاشتند. There it is also stated that Aurangzib remarked that the sword had come down to him from the time of Bābur.

through his good fortune he was made an Amīr, and was respected and trusted throughout the remaining period of his life. His sons were Mīrzā Shams-ud-Dīn and Mīr Aḥmad. The first, during his father's lifetime, was killed by his own servant while he was whipping him. The second, during the reign of Shāh Jahān, held for a time the appointment of *Bakhshī* of Lucknow. In the 21st year, when[1] Prince Murād Bakhsh was deputed for the management of the affairs of the Kashmīr province, he was appointed his *Dīvān*. Later, he was posted in the Deccan, and was given the rank of 700 with 250 horse. In the 3rd year, he was appointed commandant of the Ẓafarnagar fort in Bālāghat in Berār, which was situated at a distance of 20 *kos* from Aurangābād.

As he was distinguished for his honesty, ability, and understanding, he became a favourite of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, the Viceroy of the Deccan, and became very influential through his devoted service and excessive loyalty. After Aurangzīb's accession he was honoured with an increase in his rank. The territory of Bālāghāt, Karnātik—which had been conquered by Mu'ẓẓam Khān Mīr Jumla, while he was in the service of 'Abdullāh Quṭb Shāh, ruler of Ḥaidarābād—was presented as a tribute by Mīr Jumla when he took up service under Shāh Jahān; it was, however, reassigned to him as a present from the Emperor. Some of the areas, such as Gingēe Kōt, which was one of the big forts in that area, and much artillery and materials, were in possession of his men. Quṭb Shāh was very anxious to get possession of this tract, and consequently there were great disturbances. Mīr Aḥmad, in the 2nd year, was appointed to look after the affairs there, and was granted the title of Muṣṭafā Khān, a horse, an elephant and an increase of 1,500 foot with 1,400 horse; his rank, as a result, became 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse[2].

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 2. Mīr Aḥmad's appointment as his *Dīvān* is, however, not mentioned.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 440, from where the account is taken almost verbatim. In the 3rd year he, on the death of his father, was appointed governor of Sūrat p. 471. His father's name in that work is given as Mīr 'Arab.

Later, as he was possessed of good judgment and tact, he was sent as an ambassador to the country of Tūrān. A letter-patent, written by Dānishmand Khān was handed over to him together with presents consisting of rare jewelled weapons, and various kinds of precious articles worth a lac and a half, for 'Abdul 'Azīz Khān, the ruler of Bokhārā, also presents to the value of a lac of rupees were sent for his brother Subḥān Qulī Khān, the ruler of Balkh[1]. Both of them by constantly sending presents and offerings had amply confirmed their friendly and cordial relations. No further account of his mission or its return has come to the notice (of the author). His sister's son whom he had adopted, was Mīr Badī'-uz-Zamān by name. His son was Mīr Aḥmad Muṣṭafā Khān II. For a time he was the *Dīvān* of the Household of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His heir was Mīr Muḥammad 'Alī Saiyid Mukarram Khān Bahādur. He had acquired learning, and was highly accomplished in every way. Formerly he was *Dīvān* of the Establishment of 'Alī Jāh, the son of Niẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh. He had great affection for the writer of these pages.

MUTHAWWAR KHĀN BAHĀDUR KHWĒSHGĪ[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 776-793).

His name was Raḥmat Khān, May God's mercy be on him ! He had a placid countenance, charitable disposition, and courageous heart. He was far-sighted, brave, aspiring, noble, a prudent and favoured councillor, and a royal, just, truthful, open-minded, wise and polished speaker. He was well versed in all arts and science, and was a skilled warrior. Among thousands of persons very rarely one finds such an

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 48. He was sent to Tūrān in the 7th year.

2 This is a very long biography extending over 17 pages. The subject of the notice did not do anything very notable, and it appears this long biography was written by the author as a result of his friendship and out of gratitude. The author was sheltered by Muthawwar Khān when he lost favour with Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh owing to his having sided with his son Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, i, p. 19, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 16.

accomplished one; it is only after long intervals that such a priceless pearl is produced in the shell of existence. He was very wise, firm-hearted, brainy, considerate, and the leader of his colleagues; in the nobility of his disposition, bravery, pleasant intercourse, and amiable manners he was superior to his equals. His qualities of leadership and capacity for the management of affairs in reference to all that came to happen led to immediate results; for example if a number of people all together asked him questions about a number of distinct problems, he was not flurrid by the muliplicity of answers, but gave categorical and convincing replies. His grandfather was Ismā'īl Khān Ḥusainza'ī—it is a branch of the 'Alīza'ī, a clan of the Khwēshgīs—who was related and allied by matrimony to Shams-ud-Dīn Khān, eldest son of Nazar Bahādur Khwēsgī who surpassed all other members of the clan in respect to his *Manṣab* and his influence with the kings. He was in the employment of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and was favoured by him. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh) he was granted the title of Jānbāz Khān and the gift of a flag, and by an increase of 500, with 100 horse his rank was advanced to 2,000, 600 horse. As he was on intimate terms with Shaikh Mīr Khawāfī, who was one of the leading courtiers of the Emperor, he in his company displayed bravery and courage in all royal expeditions against the enemies of the kingdom, and was the recipient of royal favours. In the earlier years of the reign he was appointed as the *Faujdār* of Sulṭānpūr and Nandurbār, but later was appointed to Kābul, and rendered valuable services in that province. Of his sons 'Uthmān Khān and Allāhdād Khān, the former took possession of the large property of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān—who except for the family of his daughter left no heirs, and settling down in the country spent his life in ease. The second ignoring his inheritance took to service. He was a strong, well-built person. As a result of his exertions Amīr Khān *Nāẓim* of the place—whose efficient and firm government was proverbial—was displaced. At first he was the *Thānadār* of Gharīb Khāna and later for a time of Mandir—which for its pleasantness and verdure is a well known *thāna* of the area. He was the administrator of

angarkōt; for a time this post was assigned to Rahmāndād Khān, but i the 47th year this office was restored to the said Khān; and he was romoted to the rank of 1,500, 1,000 horse. When Prince Muham-iad Mu'azzam was appointed governor of the Kābul Ṣūba, and as the hwēshgīs there were generally regarded as partisans of A'ẓam Shāh, nd he was the husband of the sister of Sulṭān Ahmad who was the gent of A'ẓam Shāh, the Prince planned to remove him. The said hān on hearing of it sent a reliable messenger to the imperial force. y an extraordinary chance Ḥabīb's slave sought the protection of the onoured ladies of the Prince.

The manifestation of Fortune was that before the said Khān's equest had been laid before Aurangzīb, that as at the time His ajesty was carrying on a religious war, it was incumbent on all Khān-zāds to serve with the victorious stirrups in defence of the religion, ut as religious service must be subservient to submission, this slave 'as carrying on his allotted duties. The Prince Royal also following ie religious tenets proposed to send an army to destroy a sect known s the Kāfirs[1] which inhabited the mountainous areas on the borders f Kābul. Out of the captives taken from the area he sent a few orsemen. This action was highly approved at the royal court, and order was issued that as those were the countries of the infidels, very year a few persons must be sent for the service of the elect and ie highly placed. By chance there was no further expedition, and onsequently he took from Ḥabīb his slave, who was a Kāfir taken risoner on an earlier occasion, and who had fallen to the share of lāl Khān Afghān, and sent her (to the Presence). The Emperor esented her to his eldest son. Later, as she also like Mihr Parvar as a royal slave, she became a royal favourite, and rising to a position f honour and trust became the Superintendent of *Tōra* and *Tūzuk*; id contending with the said Mihr Parvar, who had secured the lvancement of her brother Niyāz Bēg Qulīj Muhammad Khān, she eclared herself as a daughter of the Afghāns. Regarding the inclina-

1 Are they the Kāfirs of Chitrāl?

tion and repentance of the said Khān as certain, she requested that her claim might be investigated. Accordingly they made the same Jalāl Khān agree to being her relation and he confessed about it in the presence of the Prince. And later becoming the agent for the transactions of the said Khān he put the royal mind at rest. After the death of Aurangzīb Bahādur Shāh started from Pēshāwar to fight with Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. Although he presented himself with a large force, but owing to the dispersal of his forces and the severity of disease he was greatly worried and giving up the idea of accompanying Bahādur Shāh stayed behind at Lāhōre. He had greatly hoped for the victory of Ā'ẓam Shāh; about the same time he died. Of his sons Raḥmat Khān who was distinguished in every way, was the recipient of royal favours in preference to all his brothers. When his father owing to illness remained behind at Lāhōre, he desired that none of his sons should accompany Bahādur Shāh, but in spite of it Raḥmat Khān with his step-brother Khudādād Khān went away and joined the royal stirrups at Delhī. He received twenty thousand rupees as a reward before and an equal sum after the battle was over. After the victory he was exalted by an increase of rank and the title of Muthawwar Khān. There was a further opportunity for service. After the battle with Kām Bakhsh he was sent as the *Faujdār* of Lucknow and Baiswārā. As his affair did not prosper, he, after the death of Bahādur Shāh and before being relieved of office, took the road to the Capital. For fear of being reprimanded he did not dare to present himself at the Court, and so enroute meeting Prince I'zz-ud-Dīn, who under the guardianship of Khān Daurān Khwāja Ḥusain had been deputed to oppose Farrukh-siyar, decided to accompany him. That coward on the eve of the battle at Khajūha to chastise the said Khān remained in his place, but as at daybreak Quṭb-ul-Mulk arrived, he making full use of his old friendship joined him in the *ḥowdah* of the elephant on which he was riding. In the battle with Jahāndār Shāh he was with the army of Ḥusain 'Alī Khān. When the leader fled he could not oppose the enemy, and so retired to one side; he was not wounded. He was greatly respected and trusted by the Amīr-ul-Umarā.

On coming to the Deccan he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sirā. The southern Afghāns, who were intrinsically disobedient, hoped that probably because of their belonging to the same clan Muthawwar Khān might overlook their past and hope might replace their perturbation, and in the beginning Bahādur Khān Panī and ʻAbdul Nabī Khān Miyānā waited on him and joined him. Their selfish and interested dealings, however, soon resulted in a break. The Khān spent some time in trying to realize the outstanding dues, but as he did not succeed, and the Zamīndār of Srīrangāpattana, who was without equal (in the area), presented his case to the Amīr-ul-Umara; he was forced to attend to his affair with the help of the *Zamīndār*, the Bharya part of whose holding in Chitaldrōōg, had for a time been taken possession of. That proud rebel with 20,000 horse and 6,000 soldiers came forward to give battle, but fled after he was defeated. Meanwhile the news of Muthawwar Khān's transfer was received. He gave away all his movable and immovable property in payment for the salary of the army, and bowed down by debt and in the company of his debtors retired to Khajastabunyād. ʻĀlam ʻAlī Khān the Governor of the Deccan received him with regard and respect, and granted him a *jāgīr*.

During this time the news of the return of Āṣaf Jāh was bruited abroad. Although Shankarā Malhār, who had full charge of the affairs, was not prepared to fight, that young agent of death out of personal bravery and at the instigation of foolish warriors rashly had an engagement with the van (of Āṣaf Jāh). No one was able to achieve anything, and they lost their lives in vain. Muthawwar Khān fell on the field wounded, while his brother Tuhawwar Dil Khān was killed. Earlier following a hint of Fatḥ Jang he avoided joining (Āṣaf Jāh), later when the disturbances of the Saiyids came to an end, and there was no hope at all for quarter, he was received with favour by Āṣaf Jāh, and was gratified with the restoration of his *Manṣab* and *jāgīr*. At the recommendation of ʻIwaḍ Khān Bahādur he was appointed Governor of Nāndēr in place of Amīn Khān Deccanī. He hurried to his post in extremely poor and humble circumstances. The dismissed

stupid officer hindered the administration of the parganas, and did not make any attempt for the payment of the outstanding dues. As the writings of ʻIwaḍ Khān also had no effect, and as the said Khān was not on good terms with him, he with a view to stir up strife wrote to Muthawwar Khān, "If he has an army, you also are a warrior. Why do you forego your rights?" This uselessly brought about a civil war. Muthawwar Khān out of innate honesty sent a message to that short-sighted officer, who on his way to Bālkonda wanted to pass opposite Nāndēr, "I have been forced into this controversy. If you pass at a distance, I will not hinder you in your journey, and afterwards a settlement could be arrived at in reference to the dispute." That proud fool paid no heed to this message, and did not change his route. The brave Khān out of self-respect and not worrying about death started with a small party of not more than fifty horsemen to hinder his passage. Through the grace of the Almighty a large contingent of archers etc. voluntarily joined him, and his small force increased to a regular army. In the evening the opposing forces encamped opposite each other, and were on guard throughout the night. With the appearance of the morning the fire of the battle was about to flare up, when through some sage counsels peace was restored, and it was agreed that on returning to Nāndēr he would render an account of the dues. Unfortunately, he, in spite of having a number of picked men, allowed himself to be carried away as a prisoner by the enemy, while his soldiers were scattered at a distance. As a result of his folly he was a prisoner for some time. It was remarkable that no one in the government took any notice of this high-handed action, and he had to suffer for his failure and folly; he was suspended, and later on he could not secure a post. It is an extraordinary fact that despite his high intelligence the affairs of his government did not prosper in any place. As is well known, the success of a government depends on proper administration. In his case, however, pity and benevolence reigned supreme; he was very generous and obliging, and was naturally inclined to devote a great deal of attention to unimportant affairs which resulted in the neglect of normal business.

:ther in the battle against Mubāriz Khān he formed a part of the 1 of 'Iwaḍ Khān Bahādur as the leader of 2,000 horsemen, most of iom were Panī Afghāns. They having arranged with the enemy serted at the time of battle and stood aside. He himself led his ›hant, and by that time the enemy having arrived were fighting :h the brave forces. For a while his own party suspected him, and out the same time a bullet wounded him in the right hand, but he wed no signs of retiring from the field.

Although his advice was always considered and accepted by : leaders, but in the government of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, :y he always prosper ! his requests were accepted more than ·etofore, and as a result of his recommendations numerous ople were successful. When Āṣaf Jāh returned from North dia, Muthawwar Khān hastened to Burhānpūr and waited on n. He talked harshly and uselessly, which was not proper, d as a result lost favour with Niẓām-ud-Daulah. Although ·ing to the past relations with the Chief there was no apparent ference in his treatment, but internally he was annoyed and there .s no further chance of his being treated with confidence and regard. hen in the 25th year of Muḥammad Shāh's reign the armies ırched for the destruction of Karnātik (Carnātic), he was left in ajastabunyād. In the beginning of the latter half of Ṣafr his ound became inflamed, and in one month he was afflicted with entery and bowel trouble. On the morning of the 1st of Rabī' II, 56 A.H. (14th May, 1743 A.D.) he died. On the last of the ne month he was born. His age was sixty years.

Hemistich

Sabab ḥub 'Alī ajr do ṣad 'Ābid yāft:

(On account of 'Alī's regard he received the reward of two hundred :aries: 1156 A. H.) is the chronogram, but the value of 200 has ›e taken in the calculation and not the value of the letters *du sad*

He was a very zealous votary of the study of Creation, and had ected a large number of tracts and books on this subject. He

used to say that much headway has not yet been made in reterence to it and it is not possible to follow it. Although they were still in the study of the initial stages, but through the mixture of other branches —as if it was hidden from the ancients and moderns—they had explained it on that basis. He explained several verses and chapters of the *Qur'ān* from the beginning to the end in the light of annotations in reference to creation, and explained them so convincingly that his audience were fully satisfied; and in this fashion he extracted from various works on Ḥadīth, sayings of greatmen, the poems of Shaikhs, and the great works of Ṣūfīs the necessary material relative to his thesis. Still more interesting was the fact that he had collected and annotated corresponding verses and traditions regarding the insoluble problems in different r gions, and had almost prepared an encyclopedia. It is said that his researches were not written down; later on the author of these pages tried to do so, but soon the bird of his soul flew to the garden of paradise. That great man used to express his sorrow at the ignorance and lack of interest of the writer in this great branch of knowledge. He also revised the scattered pages of this work, and wrote down a part of his own biography, and this with slight alterations has been included here.

This humble man was extremely fond of hunting in his childhood, so much so that in the school he used to offer flies as a food to the spiders and paid no heed to reading or writing. When he grew up he displayed special aptitude for ornithology, and whatever he could find about the training, diseases and treatment of birds from experts, he being illiterate himself made others write it down. Consequently he turned his attention to learning the letters for the diseases, and used to write such separate words; and for his own understanding used special marks. As each disease could only be treated by a number of drugs with characteristic qualities, he began to think that probably every disease had various types. He referred again to books. As most medicine were Arabian or Greek, one referred to their strange origin. As he found that study was useful and knowledge was an important adjunct thereof, consequently he applied

himself to gaining a mastery of the subject. He collected all reliable books and gained materially from their study. And having made a detailed study of ornithological literature he wanted to write a treatise on the subject. As three branches of knowledge are necessary for this work; healthy and strong birds, and a good knowledge of their habits and likings, particularly the last two are of supreme importance in this connection. As several metallic salts were also used in the treatment of the maladies of birds, he looked up works on alchemy, and turned to simple experiments where the ingredients were mentioned. He was convinced that the characteristics of various elements were connected with their intrinsic composition, and how could these be transmuted into gold and silver, and if this were possible no poor would be left. Becoming satisfied on this head he was greatly perplexed that these books were attributed to well known ancient patriarchs who were fully conversant with exoteric and esoteric sciences. Why had they written such useless works leading to a possible waste of wealth, and which were in the end to lead to opprobrium and public exposure. On further consideration he thought that they had probably written in the enigmatical and conventional language of which they were past masters. But if the key was not discovered these works were nothing but sheer rubbish, and for the learned to waste their energy on them was a matter for wonder and astonishment. Consequently he gave up experimenting, and began to study the subject, till in the year 1132 A.H. (1719-20 A.D.), he became fully conversant with the subject, and was able to discuss as his own the discoveries of each authority in every subject, such as mensuration, geometry, medicine, astrology, geomancy, demonology, sorcery, even archery and keeping pigeons; and similarly of transcribed branches such as commentaries, traditions, expositions, theology, institutions and rights. Consequently he took up the clarification of these branches of knowledge, and for a time was fully absorbed. Later when he turned to theology, he discovered the eloquent truth; he gained the knowledge which was the measure of religious and wordly affairs. In other words, from the invisible to the most perfect man all

their qualities are an apparition of Creation, with which are connected the affairs of religion and the world, and which falsifies all impromptu affirmations. This clears up the saying in the Qur'ān, and clears up the difficult traditions. So he fell into the deep ocean, and not only alchemy but the whole world was forgotten. Let us see where it will lead to. The final is the sacred word.

Two months had not elapsed since he wrote the above when he died. He used involuntarily to repeat kind expressions, and would recommend anyone irrespective of acquaintance and connections. He was compassionate for everyone, and helped everyone. For a time in view of Āṣaf Jāh's message that "*Mutṣaddīs* (clerks) are there to represent the needs of the people, why do you intercede for everyone?" he refrained from doing so, but soon reverted to his former habits. His words were not without acceptance and effect. He always said these with a proper introduction to please the chief, who normally would not heed such requests. He had the rank of 5,000, but lived like a soldier, or rather like a hermit, and did not at all interest himself in worldly affairs. Raḥīm Dad Yaksarīyā, his son, who had been brought up and trained in the *faujdārī* of Baiswārā, was a learned man. He gave away whatever came into his indiscriminate mind. Although they complained against him, he carried on without heed; sometimes without any regard for complaints he would give a properly attested receipt, sealed with his own seal and in the name of his descendants. He was of the Imāmiya religion; and could discourse with full reasoning on all its tenets. Although he was not too well off, he did his best in extolling and respecting the Saiyids. He believed that this exalted class owing to its descent from the family of the Prophet should be exempt from the tenets and restraints of the *Sharī'at*. I remarked that if they were granted such preference and privileges, it would be impossible to restrain them. His convincing argument, which converted me, was that whenever the chosen of the Almighty, in view of his love and regard allowed his family a precedence over his followers, he for the sake of unison ordered that if his followers should regard such favours to the holy descendants as special discrimination, it would

not be beyond the normal canons of humanity. Unknowingly he married a Saiyid lady whose father Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān was a grandson of the famous Mīrzā Ḥaidarābādī of the Saiyids of Māzandarān. On discovery he found it impossible to annul the marriage and was very sorry about it. He had also married a girl of his own class, and another of the Mughal class, and had children by each of them. His son was adopted by the wife of the Ḥabīb after the death of Bahādur Shāh; after her death he came back to his father in the Deccan. In spite of his having been brought up in such surroundings he was not haughty and inconsiderate. Some six months after the death of his father he died. At present one of his sons is living in his native place, while Fakhr-ud-Dīn and other brothers are holders of ranks and *jāgīrs*. His brother's son and son-in-law of the deceased Jānbāz Khān is an officer of the rank of 2,500. Through the kind offices of the deceased the writer of these lines in the beginning settled down in the Deccan. Later when through the rise and fall of fortune he fell out of favour with Āṣaf Jāh for having gone astray. This led to the composition of this work, and he helped the writer in passing the period of unemployment. In his company and at his house nearly two years were spent. He observed the normal proprieties in small matters, and showed due respect in daily life. He was a generous and religious person! May God's blessings be on him! Thanks be to God! that the beginning and end of his life were agreeable and pleasant.

MU'TAMAD KHĀN MUḤAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ KHAWĀFĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 510, 511).

He was, at first, an accountant of the royal artillery, and had a suitable rank. Emperor Shāh Jahān recognizing his ability and administrative capabilities appointed him, in the 24th year, the *Kōtwāl* of the Camp[1], and increased his rank. In the 25th year, he was made *Kōtwāl* of Lāhōre. Later, he accompanied Prince Muḥammad Aurang-

1 See *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 118 where it is stated that he was appointed in charge of the Police Station (خدمت کوتوالی).

zīb Bahādur on the expedition to Qandahār, and, in the 26th year, he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh on the second expedition to the same area. As he performed valuable services in this expedition, he was, in the 28th year, promoted[1] to the post of *Dīvānī-i-Buyūtāt* in succession to Rā'ī Mukand, who, because of old age, could not perform the duties of the post satisfactorily. His rank was increased, and he received a robe of honour, and a gold pen-case. At the end of the same year, his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 200 horse, and he received the title of Mu'tamad Khān; at the same time he was removed from the *Dīvānī* of *Buyūtāt*, and appointed *Dīvān* of Dārā Shikōh in succession to Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm, who, because of excessive weakness, could not carry on his duties. In the 29th year, his rank was increased to 1,500 with 200 horse, and, in the 30th year, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,000 with 200 horse[2]. Later, when fate gave another colour to the affairs, and Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur marched from the Deccan to enquire after his venerable father's health, and a battle took place between him and Dārā Shikōh near Samūgarh, Mu'tamad Khān, who had received the title of Wazīr Khān from Dārā Shikōh, was killed in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.)

MU'TAMAD KHĀN MUḤAMMAD SHARĪF
(Vol. III, pp. 431-434).

He came from an obscure family of Irān. After his arrival in India he, through his good fortune, came to the notice of Emperor Jahāngīr, and in the 3rd year received the title of Mu'tamad Khān. Some Mughal wit composed the following couplet in reference to him:

Verse

Khānship had become cheap during Shāh Jahāngīr's reign!

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 189. The grant of the gold pen-case is, however, recorded later when he was appointed *Divān* of Dārā Shikōh, and granted the title of Mu'tamad Khān and the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, pp. 201, 202.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 460.

Our sweet-tongued custard apple went and became Mu'tamad Khān. He was for a long time *Bakhshī* of the *Ahadīs*[1]. In the 9th year, Sulaimān Beg Fidā'ī Khān[2], *Bakhshī* of Prince Shāh Jahān's army, who had been deputed on the expedition against the Rānā, died, and Mu'tamad Khān was appointed *Bakhshī* of these forces in his place. In the 11th year, when the Prince was deputed for arranging the affairs in the Deccan, Mu'tamad Khān was again appointed *Bakhshī*[3] of his forces. When Emperor Jahāngīr for the first time visited the beautiful country of Kashmīr, his great desire was to see the springs in that area. As at that time the Pīr Panjāl route was heavily covered with snow, and it would be difficult, in fact impossible for the army to cross by that route, he went by way of Pakhlī and Dantūr, and the coronation feast of the 15th year according to 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.) was celebrated on the banks of the Kishengangā river.

As all the way from this stage to Kashmīr (Srīnagar) is along the bank of Bihat (Jhēlum) river[4], and there are high mountains on both sides, and there are several very difficult passes which it is not easy to cross, the office of management for this journey was assigned to Mu'tamad Khān. He was instructed not to allow any of the high officers to pass except for the few in attendance on the Emperor. The said Khān put up his camp at the foot of the pass of Bhalbās (Baliasa). It so happened that when Jahāngīr arrived near his tent, a heavy storm of snow and rain came on, and the Emperor becoming uneasy had to take shelter with the ladies of his harem in his tent. They spent the night in comfort there. The Emperor presented the dress he was

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, I, p. 300.

2 The death of Fidā'i Khān is recorded in the account of the 9th year on p. 265 of the translation of *Tūzuk*, while Mu'tamad Khān's appointment as *Bakhshi* of *Ahadis* was in the 10th year. In *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, his appointment in succession to Fidā'i Khān is recorded on p. 76.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīri*, p. 91. He was given a rank of 1,000, a robe of honour and an elephant.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 137-139. The increase in his rank to 1,500 with 500 horse is recorded on p. 139. After the return from Kashmīr he was sent to the Deccan with Prince Khurram as the *Bakhshi* of the army, p. 176.

wearing to Mu'tamad Khān, and also increased his rank to 1,500 with 500 horse. Stranger still, though he had come unattended, as was necessary in a journey to Kashmīr, Mu'tamad Khān had with him sufficient number of tents, carpets, sleeping garments, cooking utensils and other paraphernalia. In fact whatever was required for the royal suite was there and it was not necessary to borrow anything. Such an entertainment was provided that there was enough for everyone. God be praised! How fortunate it was that while holding such a junior rank, he had all the necessary equipment and paraphernalia so that all of a sudden and without any previous notice he was able to entertain so lavishly the Emperor of India. On the return journey from Kashmīr, he was appointed Examiner of Petitions in succession to Mīr Jumla. As his loyalty towards Prince Shāh Jahān was well known, he was, after the latter's accession to the throne, granted an increase in rank, and admitted to a position of intimacy and trust. In the 2nd year, he was appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*[1] in succession to Islām Khān. On the death of Mīr Jumla in the 10th year, he was promoted to the high post of *Mīr Bakhshī*[2], and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 2,000 horse. In the same year at the request of Sīv Rām Gaur[3], the son of Rāja Bēthal Dās' brother, he was deputed with the said Rāja to the territory of Dhandēra. Mu'tamad Khān arrested Indarman the landlord of the place, and produced him in the Court. In the 13th[4] year, 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.) he died. He is reputed as a historian, and from his *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*[5], which is written in a polished style, it is clear that

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 17, but his appointment in succession to Islām Khān is not mentioned.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 279. His rank at the end of the 10th year is noted as 4,000 with 1,200 horse, p. 297.

3 This appointment, however, was prior to his appointment as *Mīr Bakhshī*, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 168.

5 See Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (1924), p. 45 for issues of this work, and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 445,446 in regard to its historical value.

he was not a very accomplished historian. Although he was entrusted with the duty of chronicling the events of the reign, he has not recorded any but the most essential matters, and has even abridged and suppressed many important occurrences. His son Dōstkām reached the rank of 800 with 200 horse by the 30th year, and occasionally was deputed to act as *Bakhshī* of Gujarāt, Kābul and Bengāl. In the 7th year of Aurangzīb's reign he died in Bengāl. Muḥammad Ashraf the brother of Mu'tamad Khān built magnificent buildings in his jief of Lucknow, and laid the foundations of the *Sarā'ī* (inn) and the quarter of Ashrafābād. He also laid out a garden which was a public resort. The day of its laying out engraved on the gate was—*Bōstān-i-Dōstān*: The Garden of Friends (1040 A.H.; 1630-31 A.D.). He lived in retirement in this garden till he went to the Garden of Eternity.

MU'TAQAD KHĀN MĪRZĀ MAKKI
(Vol. III, pp. 482-485).

He was the son of Iftikhār Khān, who in the 7th year of Jahāngīr's reign in the campain against 'Uthmān Khān Lōhānī performed deeds of great bravery and valour, and was finally killed[1]. The Mīrzā also distinguished himself in that battle[2]. Both father and son were unrivalled marksmen. After his father's death, through his good fortune, he attached himself to the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān. As a result of good and constant service he received royal favours, and was admitted to a position of intimacy and trust. It is stated that he was also connected with Shāh by fosterage.

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, pp. 209, 10. The battle took place on 12th March, 1612.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 213. The *Maāthir* account does not mention his services under Emperor Jahāngīr. In the 9th year he defeated Aḥdād Khān Afghān and was rewarded with the title of Laskhar Khān, pp. 263-565. Later he was appointed *Dīvān* of the Deccan, p. 406.

When the Prince went to the Deccan for the first time for straightening the affairs there, Afḍal Khān and Bikramājīt, who were amongst the high officers of Shāh Jahān, were deputed to bring 'Ādil Shāh of Bījāpūr to his senses and make him subservient to royal orders. The Mīrzā and Jādū Dās, *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* were sent to Ḥaidarābād to rouse Quṭb Shāh, the ruler of the place, from his imprudent slumber, and guide him along the path of obedience. As he acted with great speed, he found Quṭb Shāh fully submissive and obedient, and returned with a tribute of 18 lacs of rupees[1] in the form of valuable jewels, noted elephants, and Qibchāq horses. After arrival he was greatly commended and honoured for the valuable services rendered by him. During the days of misfortune of the Prince, when as a result of the unfavourable Fortune, there seemed nothing left for him except to wander in desert lands, the Mīrzā out of great regard and sincere attachment—as were incumbent on a foster-brother —regarding service and welfare of his patron as his best interest, never separated from the Prince's stirrups. Before long a change came about in the affairs, and the eyelids of the garden opened on the other side—Shāh Jahān's springtide blossomed. In the year 1037 A.H. (1627 A.D.) Emperor Jahāngīr died, and the royal standards (of Shāh Jahān) marching gloriously from Junair, in the Deccan, halted on 17th Rabī' II (16th December, 1627 A.D.) at Kān Kariyā[2] tank, which is situated outside the city of Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt. The administration of that Province was, as a matter of exigency, assigned to Shēr Khān Tūnūr. And although he had not yet reached the Capital, and his rule had not been firmly established, he raised Mu'taqad Khān to the rank of 4,000[3] with 2,000 horse, and left him with a force in Aḥmadābād. In the 2nd year, he was promoted to the post of *Faujdār* of Ajmēr[4], and later was appointed Governor of Mālwa[5]. In

1 This is mentioned in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 184,185, but the amount of the tribute is stated to be 15 lacs.

2 *Ibid*, I, pt. i, p. 78.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

5 *Op.cit.*, p. 362.

the 5th year, the government of Mālwa was assigned to Nuṣrat Khān Khān Daurān, and Mu'taqad Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of the Capital[1]. In the same year repeated complaints were received at the Court against Bāqir Khān, Najm Khān II, Governor of Orissa, to the effect that he was maltreating the subjects. Consequently Mu'taqad Khān was granted an increase in his contingent of cavalry, and appointed Governor of Orissa.[2]

One of the strange things that is stated is that Bāqir Khān had done certain things whereby he had acquired large sums of money, and if any of these transactions had been divulged, he would have been disgraced. He wanted to conceal them, and so collected all the *Zamīndārs* of the area including the *Dēshmukhs*, *Dēshpānds*, and leaders, whom he suspected of intriguing, and imprisoned them. And out of these he put 700 to the sword. One of them escaped this dreadful catastrophe, and reached the Court, and presented a statement (*ṭūmār*) demanding 40 lacs of rupees as due from Bāqir Khān. The investigation of this affair was also entrusted to Mu'taqad Khān. It so happened that Mīrzā Aḥmad son-in-law of Bāqir Khān, who had been appointed *Bakhshī* of the province, was accompanying him. On the day when they were travelling in a boat from Allāhābād, Mīrzā Aḥmad raised the question of the *ṭūmār*, and interrogated the *Zamīndār* about it. And on the pretence of looking at it he took the paper from his hand, and then in a moment so smote the *Zamīndār* with his sword that his head was removed from the body and it fell into the river. And tearing up the *ṭūmār* he flung it into the river. He said to Mu'taqad Khān, "I have done this solely for your benefit, for they may as well have prepared a similar *ṭūmār* against you." Mu'taqad Khān approved of the action, and consequently was for some time in disfavour[3] at the Court.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i. p. 425. 2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 430, 431.

3 He was removed from Orissa in the 13th year and Shāh Nawāz Khān succeeded him as Governor of Orissa, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 183. In the 15th year he was appointed to Rohtās, p. 244.

Mu'taqad Khān remained long in those parts, and ruled justly; he favoured the loyal subjects and punished the recalcitrants. He then came to the Court, and, in the 19th year, was reappointed Governor of Orīssa[1]. In the 22nd year, he was recalled to the Presence[2]. As A'zam Khān, the Governor of Jaunpūr, died about this time, Mu'taqad Khān was deputed for making a settlement of that *Sarkār*[3]. He turned back on the road to take up his new duties. As he was old and worn out, he, in the 25th year on 12th Dhul Qa'da, 1061 A.H. (17th October, 1651 A.D.) sent a representation to the Emperor to the effect that he was unable to carry on the administration of Jaunpūr. The province was accordingly assigned to Murād Khān Safavī, and strangely Mu'taqad Khān also died about the same time at Jaunpūr[4].

(MIRZĀ) MUZAFFAR HUSAIN SAFAVĪ[1]
(Vol. III, pp. 296-302).

He was the son of Sultān Husain, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'īl Safavī. When in the year 965 A.H. (1558 A.D.) the fort of Qandahār came into the possession of Shāh Tahmāsp Safavī, he made over that territory together with Zamīn Dāwar and Garmsīr as far as the river Helmand (Hīrnand in text) to his brother's son Sultān Husain Mīrzā. He spent nearly twenty years in training under his venerable uncle, and in the year 974 A.H. (1566 A.D.) died during the reign of Shāh Ismā'īl II. The Shāh, though he was suspicious about him was also afraid of him, and so did not carry out his intention of putting all his cousins to death. But after he died, the Shāh set himself to remove all his relations. Out of the five

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 473.
2 *'Amal Sālih*, III, p. 64.
3 Khāfi Khān, I, p. 675.
4 See *'Amal Sālih*, III, p. 130, where his death is recorded.
5 Blochmann, *Ā'in* I (2nd edn.), pp. 327,328. He should not be confused with Muzaffar Husain Mirzā, son of Gulrukh Bēgam and Akbar's son-in-law.

sons of the late Sulṭān Ḥusain, Muḥammad Ḥusain who had gone to Īrān, was murdered there, while Shāh Qulī Sulṭān, the Governor of Qandahār, was commissioned to murder the other four brothers. The latter sent Budāgh Bēg to kill these innocents. Budāgh Bēg intended to secure some help to kill them, but their lives were saved by the sudden news of the death of the Shāh.

When Muḥammad Khudābanda became the King of Īrān, he made over Qandahār to Muẓaffar Ḥusain to the eldest of the brothers, and Zamīn Dāwar up to the banks of the Helmand to Rustam Mīrzā; the other two brothers Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā were sent with him. Hamza Bēg Dhūl Qadar, known as the Kōr (the Blind) Ḥamzā—who had been the *Vākil* of Sulṭan Ḥusain Mīrzā was appointed guardian of the Mīrzās. Ḥamza Bēg acquired such influence that except for name no power was left in the hands of the Mīrzās. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā becoming dejected determined to kill Ḥamzā Bēg. The latter having come to know of his design fled to Zamīn Dāwar, and taking Rustam Mīrzā with him returned for a fight. As most of the soldiers were in league with him, the Mīrzā was defeated, and he took shelter in Qandahār. A number of Irānian headmen, however, intervened and peace was arranged. After three years the Mīrzā once again tried to kill Ḥamzā Bēg. He secretly summoned Rustam Mīrzā to Qandahār, and sent him to the fort of Qabāt which is in the Hazārajāt, and appointed Muḥammad Bēg—who was his son-in-law, and a leader of the Bayāts—with five hundred men to guard the place. The Mīrzā (Muẓaffar Ḥusain) intrigued with them, and after a time started for Sīstān. Malik Maḥmud, the Governor of the area—who was the father-in-law of the Mīrzā—had become estranged with the Mīrzā after a quarrel, but now acted as an intermediary, and arranging a peace with Ḥamzā Bēg, secured firmly the *Maṣnad* of Qandahār for the Mīrzā. During this time, the Mīrzā, with the assistance of Muḥammad Bēg, whom he had promised the post of the *Vakīl*, succeeded in killing Ḥamzā Bēg. This resulted in Rustam Mīrzā leading an army against Qandahār, but on account of Malik Maḥmūd Sīstānī rendering help (to

Muzaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā), he was unsuccessful and returned to Zamīn Dāwar. As Muzaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā was fickle-minded, he became displeased with Muḥammad Bēg also, and hastened away to Sīstān. He fought a battle with Malik Maḥmūd and was defeated. The Malik, however behaved with humanity, and took the Mīrzā to his house, till Muḥammad Bēg apologized and requested him to return to Qandahār. The Mīrzā taking advantage of an opportune moment killed Muḥammad Bēg, and consolidated his position. But Ūzbēg Amīrs of Khurāsān, particularly Dīn Muḥammad Sulṭān, and Bāqī Sulṭān, daughter's son of 'Abdullāh Khān the ruler of Tūrān—who had been deputed for the conquest of Khurāsān—repeatedly sent forces to the borders of Qandahār, and fought with the Mīrzā. Although the Ūzbēgs were defeated, but no place was safe owing to their incursions and depredations. Most of the officers and leaders of the Īrānians had been killed in the battles with the Ūzbēgs, and the promised help and auxiliaries from the Shāh of Īrān had not arrived, when suddenly a critical situation was created by the report of the approach of the imperial troops from India. The departure of Rustam Mīrzā to India, and his being appointed as the Governor of Multān further increased the Mīrzā's fears. He, therefore, resolved on migrating to India[1]. Though 'Abdullāh Khān wrote him a reassuring letter to the effect that the enmity between the Īrānians and Tūrānīs[2] was of long standing, he should now trust him, and on no account hand over his hereditary country to the Chaghtā'īs, but the Mīrzā regarded this only as a clever diplomacy. Meanwhile Qarā Bēg Kurjā'ī[3]—an old servant of Sulṭān Ḥusain Mīrzā flying from Muzaffar Ḥusain had gone to India, and had been appointed *Farrāshbēgi* at Akbar's Court—was deputed to bring the Mīrzā, and he hurried to

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 645, 646, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 992, 993. See also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, pp. 434,435. In *Akbarnāma* only 4 sons, instead of 5, of Sulṭān Ḥusain are mentioned.

2 Apparently 'Abdullāh meant by the Tūrānīs the Mughal Emperors of India.

3 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 650, 658, translation, pp. 999, 1010.

Qandahār. Acting in the guise of loyalty he so prevailed upon the Mīrzā, that he sent his mother and elder son Bahrām Mīrzā with apologies to India, and begged that he himself might be sent for. The Emperor sent orders to Shāh Bēg Arghūn the Governor of Bangash to proceed by rapid marches, and take possession of the Qandahār fort, and to send the Mīrzā (to India). When Shāh Bēg Khān entered Qandahār, the Mīrzā came out with his followers and belongings, and though the Irānian officers and leaders had left, yet there again appeared a well equipped army. The Mīrzā repented of his hasty action, and sent a message to Shāh Bēg Khān inviting him to come out of the fort and be his guest for a day so that he might be able to communicate something important to him. His object was to creep once again into the fort and make excuses to Shāh Bēg Khān. But the latter was an old experienced soldier, and did not want to make the project, which he had so easily completed, once again difficult of solution. He, therefore, excused himself by replying that as he had entered (the fort) at an auspicious moment, it would be improper again to come out. Whatever had to be said could be communicated by letter. The Mīrzā finding himself helpless started on his march[1] (to India).

In the 40th year, at the end of 1003 A.H. (1595 A.D.) when he, with his four sons, Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥaidar Mīrzā, Alqās Mīrzā, and Ṭahmās (Ṭahmāsp) Mīrzā and 1,000 Qazalbāsh soldiers, arrived on the 3rd stage (he was met) by Mīrzā Jānī Bēg and Shaikh Farīd *Bakhshī*, who had been deputed to welcome him. When he was three *kos* off, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka and Zain Khān Kōkaltāsh received him and escorted him to the Presence. Emperor Akbar honoured the Mīrzā by calling him *Farzand* (son), gave him the rank of 5,000 and assigned to him the territory of Sambhal, which was larger than Qandahār[2]. But the

1 Mīrzā's attempt again to get possession of Qandahār by trickery from Shāh Bēg Khān is not metioned in *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 671, translation, p. 1030.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 671, translation, pp. 1030, 1031. The name of one of the sons in the text is Ṭahmās instead of Ṭahmāsp.

Mīrzā, who was ignorant of the world, and lacked comprehension, through sloth and neglectfulness, left the affairs to avaricious and oppressive servants. Repeatedly the peasants complained against the assessments, and some traders also sent petitions. Advice had no effect, and Muẓaffar Ḥusain getting annoyed prayed for leave to go on a pilgrimage to Ḥijāz. He repented of his foolish action soon after the permission was granted, and felt at a loose end. Emperor Akbar brought him out of retirement, and reinstated him in his rank, and restored his *jāgīr*[1]. In the 42nd year the Mīrzā's agents again started their oppressive actions. The *jāgīr* was confiscated, and a cash allowance was granted. The Mīrzā started towards Ḥijāz, but returning from the first stage presented himself at the Court[2]. But, as his luck was against him, complaints against him reached the Emperor, and he fell from his position of trust. Every day he fell lower and lower. It is stated that the Mīrzā was, as a result of the discordance of Fate, dissatisfied about everything in India. Vacillating he resolved sometimes to go back to Irān, and sometimes to start on a pilgrimage to Ḥijāz. From grief and anger he fell ill, and died in the year 1008[3] A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.). In the 4th year of Jahāngīr's reign, his daughter's hand was asked for by Prince Sulṭān Khurram[4] later known as Shāh Jahān. This pious lady, who was known as Qandahārī Mahal, in the year 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) gave birth to Nawāb Parhīz Bānū Bēgam[5]. Of his sons Bahrām Mīrzā, Ḥaidar Mīrzā and Ismā'īl Mīrzā settled down in India. Of these the biography of Mīrzā Ḥaidar is included in the account of his son Mīrzā Naudhar[6].

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 711, 712, translation, p. 1060. On this page he is called Muẓaffar Ḥusain Qandahārī.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 743, translation, p. 1111.

3 This date is certainly incorrect. He died in the 48th year on 10th Abān, October, 1603, see *Akbarnama*, III, Text, p. 823, translation, p. 1234.

4 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 159. The marriage is recorded on p. 180.

5 She died in 1675 A.D., *vide* Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 309.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 555-557.

(SAIYID) MUẒAFFAR KHĀN BĀRHA AND SAIYID LASKHAR KHĀN BĀRHA

(Vol. II, pp. 465-468).

They were the sons of Saiyid Khān Jahān Shāhjahānī. At the time of their father's death[1] the two sons, Saiyid Shēr Zamān and Saiyid Munawwar, were both young. The elder brother Saiyid Manṣūr because of some suspicion left the Court. Emperor Shāh Jahān in view of the special regard that he had for the late Khān (Khān Jahān), cherished each of the two children, and granted them both the ranks of 1,000 foot and 250 horse. A superintendent for the affairs of each was officially appointed[2]. When in the 20th year, the royal cavalcade marched from Lāhōre towards Kābul, the two young men were left with Saiyid 'Alī Khān, son-in-law of the late Khān Jahān, in charge of the fort of Lāhōre[3]. After his return when Emperor Shāh Jahān started for Āgra, they continued to hold the same charge. When, in the 22nd year, the Emperor again went to Kābul, the defence of the city of Lāhōre[4] was assigned to their charge.

After they grew up to years of discretion, they were sent on campaigns. When an army under the command of Mīr Jumla was sent, in the 30th year, on the Bījāpūr expedition, and Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, Saiyid Shēr Zamān was also deputed there. The affair had not yet been liquidated, when Dārā Shikōh prevailed upon Emperor Shāh Jahān to recall[5] the auxiliaries. Many of the officers and *Manṣabdārs* returned to Upper India without the Prince's permission, but a few of

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 473. His rank at his death in the 19th year was 6,000 with 6,000 horse, p. 718.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 473, 474.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 638, 639.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 72.

5 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 29.

the prudent and fortunate ones sticking to the Prince's service delayed their return; Shēr Zamān was one of the latter. In those days the Prince started to make a bid for the sovereignty, and after the Narbadā was crossed Shēr Zamān received an increase in rank and the title of Muzaffar[1] Khān, by which name his father was known in the earlier days. He fought valiantly in the vanguard in various battles and was the leader of the stout hearted, but after the battle against Shujā'—which is known as the battle of Khajuhā, it has not been possible to trace any mention of him. His name is not mentioned either in the list of survivors or of the casualties.

But Saiyid Munawwar, who was in attendance on the Emperor, was in the battle against Dārā Shikōh, and was appointed to the left wing[2], which consisted mostly of Saiyids and the men of the bodyguard. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb he had the title of Khān and was appointed to the Deccan. In company with Rāja Jai Singh, who rendered excellent service in the expedition[3] against Sīvājī, and the attacks on the Bījāpūr territory, he often successfully fought with the enemy. After returning to the Court, in the 10th year he was included among the officers of Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. Later after his return to the Court, in the 12th year he was nominated as the *Faujdār* of Gwālior. In the 21st year, he became, in succession to Subhkaran Bundēla, *Faujdār* of Ratha, Mahōba and Jalālpūr Khandūsa[4]. For a time he was Governor of Āgra, but on account of thefts and robberies in the city, he was held responsible for the maladministration and dismissed. Then he was deputed to look after Burhānpūr[5], and afterwards was granted the title of Lashkar Khān. In the 32nd year, he was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr[6] in succession to Saiyid 'Abdullā Khān

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 47, 54.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 96.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 891, 988.
4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 163.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 220.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 314.

Bārha. His son Wajīh-ud-Dīn was appointed commandant of the citadel there. It so happened that of the Sardars of Rām Rāja (Rāja Rām) whom Saiyid ʻAbdullah had cleverly seized while he was the Governor, and who were, according to orders, imprisoned in the citadel—Hindū Rā'ō, Bahrjī, and some other leaders escaped one night in a manner which could only be explained on the supposition of connivance of the guards. The said Khān and his son were censured and degraded from their ranks[1]. Later he was appointed to the Gingēē (Chēnchē in text) campaign. Though he had not an equipment worth of his name and reputation, and his contingent (*sibbandī*) was always in distress, he indebted himself (lit. made his shoulders heavy) by taking advances of pay from the royal exchequer, but he was not without arrogance. On the day, when Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān reached the environs of Gingēē, Dhulfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang, who had already been conducting the siege, went forward to welcome them. The Prince took his seat in the hall of audience, and gave permission to Jumlat-ul-Mulk, Nuṣrat Jang, and Sarfārāz Khān Deccanī to be seated. The Khān expected to be treated as equal in rank to Nuṣrat Jang, but when the unexpected happened, he became displeased and left the hall of audience[2], and did not return. It has not been possible to trace the year of his death.

MUẒAFFAR KHĀN MĪR ʻABDUR RAZZĀQ MAʻMŪRĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 376-379).

He was a true Saiyid of Maʻmūrābād, which was a village in holy Najf (Arabia). His ancestors had migrated to India. The Mīr in regard to his knowledge and ability was one of the foremost of the age. In the reign of Akbar, through good fortune, he was appointed *Bakhshī* of the Bengāl army. When Rāja Mān Singh Kachhwāha, who was the Governor of the province, was deputed with Prince Sulṭān

1 *Maāthir-i-ʻĀlamgīrī*, pp. 328, 320. 2 *Op. cit.*, p. 356.

Salīm on the expedition against Rānā Sīsodīa, he unwisely left the affairs of that area in charge of his young grandsons. In the 45th year, the sedition-mongers of the province made the son of Qutlū Lōhānī—who was one of the leading men of that territory—the instrument of strife, and stirred up disturbances. The Rāja's men led their forces against them several times, but were defeated. The Mīr was made a prisoner during these skirmishes. At the same time the Prince (Salīm) presumptuously rushed away to Allāhābād and settled there. The Rāja taking permission started to punish the Bengāl rebels. A battle took place near Shērpūr, and the enemy were defeated. In the battle the Mīr was found with a collar round his neck, and chains on his legs and arms. In this condition he was seated on an elephant, and a person had been deputed to kill him in case of a defeat. Suddenly during the tumult his executioner was shot dead, and the Mīr's life was saved[1]. Afterwards, he went to the Court, and received royal favours.

As previously the Mīr had left the Prince's forces without permission, and had received favours on arriving at the Court, and later been appointed as *Bakhshī* of Bengāl, the Prince was displeased and even annoyed with him. After Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he very generously pardoned his offences, and confirmed him in his rank[2]. He granted him the title of Muzaffar Khān, and appointed him 2nd *Bakhshī* of Khwāja Jahān's expedition. In this service the Mīr gained a reputation for his good nature and greatness.

When after the death of Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg Tarkhān the province of Tatta (Sind) came into the royal hands, Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī was appointed Governor of the area, and Muzaffar Khān was deputed to make a permanent settlement of its revenue. He by his skill and good

1 See *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 784, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1174 from where the account of 'Abdur Razzāq, the *Bakhshī* of the Bengāl army is taken.

2 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 13. He was later appointed the *Bakhshī* of Prince Parviz, p. 16, and afterwards *Bakhshī* at headquarters, p. 82.

ıdgment fixed the revenue on the basis of the past and current oduce, and fixing grants of land for the Mīrzā and his dependants :urned. In the end of Jahāngīr's reign he was appointed to the ›h post of the Governor of Mālwa. When after Jahāngīr's death, ıāh Jahān, on account of the insincerity and disloyalty of Khān ıān Lōdī, Governor of the Deccan, proceeded from Junair to the pital *via* Aḥmadābād (Gujarāt), it was reported that Shāh Jahān om Gujarāt would attack Māndū, where Khān Jahān's treasure and ost of his property were stored. Khān Jahān left his sons with Sikan- Dōtānī at Burhānpūr, and himself with a number of royal servants me to Māndū, and seized Mālwa[1] from Muẓaffar Khān. When ıāh Jahān ascended the throne, the governorship of Mālwa in ıccession to Muẓaffar Khān[2] was assigned to Khān Zamān, the son Mahābat Khān, and no favour whatsoever was shown to Muẓaffar hān. He lived in retirement in the Capital, and was included in e reserve detachments[3]. After a time he died.

MUẒAFFAR KHĀN TURBATĪ[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 221-227).

His name was Khwāja Muẓaffar 'Alī, and he was the *Dīvān* of airām Khān. When the latter during the period of his fall of power roceeded from Bīkānīr towards the Pānjab, he left Mīrzā 'Abdur ahīm, his three year old son, with the rest of his family and goods in ıe Taṛhind (Tabarhinda or Bhatinda) fort, which was the fief of Shēr Auḥammad Dīwāna—an old servant whom he had favoured. That ıgrate took possession of the properties, and insulted the dependants the Khān in various ways. Bairām Khān sent the Khwāja from Dīpālpūr to pacify and conciliate Shēr Muḥammad, but that impudent,

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 76.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 126.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 427.
4 Blochmann, *Ā'īn* I (2nd edn.), pp. 373-375.

ungrateful person imprisoned the Khwāja and sent him to the Court[1]. Though some of the high officials of the State put forward arguments and for various reasons urged that he should be put to death, Emperor Akbar out of clemency and in view of his capabilities granted him his life. For a time he was the Collector of the *pargana* of Pasrūr[2]. As a reward for his careful work he was exalted to the post of the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* (Master of the Household etc.).

As his abilities and high merits impressed the Emperor, he was appointed *Dīvān* and granted the title of Muzaffar Khān. In the 11th year, he abolished the *Jama'-i-Raqmī* (cash assessment) of the empire, which had been in force during Bairām Khān's regime, and according to which owing to the large number of men (*kathrat-i-mardum, i.e.*, the fiefholders) and the smallness of the territory, the revenue for mere show (*barā'ī mazīd i 'tibār*) was increased only in name (*ba-nām afzūda*). He replaced it by a rent roll in accordance with his own judgment and on the returns of *Qānūngōs* (this was called *Jama'-ḥāl-i-ḥāṣil* or the assessment of the actual current income). Though in reality it was not in accordance with the amount of the current produce, yet in comparison with the earlier assessment it would not be far wrong to designate it a true *ḥāl-i-ḥāṣil*. As the regulation for the branding (*Ā'īn-i-Dāgh*) of the horses was not yet in force, Muzaffar Khān fixed the number of men which the officers and royal servants should entertain. The soldiers fixed for the officers were divided into three classes: the first received 48,000 *dāms* a year, the second 32,000 and the third 24,000[3]. In the 12th year, it was reported to the Emperor that Muzaffar Khān had become infatuated with a smooth-faced boy named Quṭb Khān. As this disgraceful act was highly

1 *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 109, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 166, 167.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 197, 158, translation, pp. 305-307 where his earlier appointments as Collector of Pasrūr in Siālkōt District, Pānjab, and as *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt* are also mentioned.

3 For an account of Muzaffar Khān's revenue arrangements and classification of officers see *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 270, translation, pp. 302, 403 and Beveridge's valuable footnotes on the two pages.

distasteful to the Emperor, he ordered that the boy should be kept in custody separate from Muẕaffar Khān. The Khān becoming despodent assumed the garb of a mendicant, and took to the desert. The Emperor out of great kindness and regard that he had for him, restored his beloved to him[1]. In the 17th year, one day the game of *Chaupar* was being played in the Emperor's presence. Muẕaffar Khān losing control on account of his heavy losses behaved in an uncouth manner. Akbar degraded him from his position of trust, and ordered him off to Mecca[2]. Wise rulers judge men's nature by their behaviour in games and trifles. Outwardly they keep them in a playful mood, but in reality they are testing them. It is, therefore, essential for courtiers, both while at work and in play, never to ignore the rules of respect and obedience, and a close study of the dispositions of their superiors, who are easily offended, must be regarded as a matter of paramount importance in all their dealings.

Finally, however, Emperor Akbar because of his valuable services recalled[3] him. He paid his respects while the Emperor was besieging Sūrat, and in the 18th year was sent off from Aḥmadābād to govern Sārangpūr in Mālwa[4]. And in the same year, 981 A.H. (1573 A.D.), he was summoned to the Presence, and was appointed to the high office of the *Vakīl*[5], and granted the title of Jumlat-ul-Mulk. The bridle of the management of the affairs of the four *dāngs* of India (the entire Mughal Empire) was put into his hands. But he again through some of his actions incurred the Emperor's displeasure, and so lost his office[6]. At the time when the Emperor was returning from Patna, and a force had been deputed for the reduction of the Rohtās fort, he without being permitted to pay his respect, was appointed an auxiliary.

1 *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 286, translation, p. 427.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 368, translation, pp. 534, 535.

3 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 6, translation, p. 9. His arrival at Sūrat is recorded on text, p. 27, translation, p. 36.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 33, translation, p. 48.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 67, 68, translation, pp. 93, 94.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 86, translation, p. 120.

In those parts he judiciously and zealously performed deeds of valour, in company with Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfī who also had been deputed there. Having repeatedly chastised the rebels and sedition-mongers, he again freed Hājīpūr of which the Afghāns had taken possession. As a reward for these valuable services, he was, in the 20th year, appointed to guard the country (Bihār) from the Chausa ferry to Gathī[1].

It is stated that after the taking of Ḥājīpūr—which increased his reputation materially—news was received that the rebel Afghāns had collected on the other side of the old Gandak, and were planning to create a disturbance. Muẓaffar Khān determined to put them down, and encamped near that river. He himself with a few men went to explore the depth of the river, and to find some ford. Suddenly some forty horsemen of the enemy were seen on the other bank. Muẓaffar Khān directed Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn and 'Arab Bahādur to cross the stream at a distance and punish these careless people. The latter getting news of this manoeuvre, sent word for reinforcements. But as soon as they saw the Khwāja, they turned their reins and galloped away. Muẓaffar Khān in his impetuosity after crossing the river joined the Khwāja. Suddenly the rebel reinforcements arrived, and the horsemen turned. The few men who were with the Khān, got scattered, and plunged into the water and were drowned. Muẓaffar Khān also nearly perished in the river, but Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn seized his rein and took him off to the hill country, and quickly sent word to the Camp in the hope that someone would come to their rescue. The Khwāja and 'Arab Bahādur kept back the enemy—who had not given up the pursuit—by shooting arrows, but the position for Muẓaffar Khān became critical.

When a report was spread in the Camp that Muẓaffar Khān had been killed, everyone thought of retiring from the place. Meanwhile the fast-footed courtier arrived asking for reinforcements. Khudā Dād Barlās and others with 300 brave men crossed the river. As the

1 *Akbarnāma*, III. Text, p. 142, translation, p. 200.

enemy had already been tired out by their exertions they lost heart on the arrival of the reinforcements, and took to flight. Muẕaffar Khān had a new life and started in their pursuit. Next day he attacked their camp, and took much booty[1]. In the 22nd year, he paid his respects at the Court, and was employed in the business of the State. Rāja Tōdar Mal and Khwāja Shāh Mauṣūr *Vazīr*, carried out the financial and administrative work in consultation with him[2]. When Khān Jahān Governor of Bengāl died, Muẕaffar Khān was sent off to administer that extensive province. In the 25th year[3] Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr with a view to effect economy found as a result of searching enquiries that large amounts were due from the officers of Bengāl and Bihār, and set about realizing them. On this account Ma'ṣūm Khān Kābulī and other fief-holders of Bihār raised the standard of rebellion. Muẕaffar Khān—who combined collectorship with administration—though he heard of the disturbances in Bihār, carried on in Bengāl the same inconsiderate demands from the fief-holders. He sent out bailiffs, and put the fief-holders into difficulties[4]. The officers because of his harsh and inconsiderate measures became offended, and Bābā Khān Qāqshāl combined with the other fief-holders of Bengāl and rebelled. They fought several times and were defeated. At length they made supplications, but Muẕaffar Khān became more headstrong. Finally the Bihār rebels joined them, and together they renewed the strife. They encamped opposite Muẕaffar Khān, and there were fights every day in which the imperialists were always successful. Consequently the rebels were helpless and wanted to retire towards Orīssa. At this stage some disloyal vagabonds deserted from the royal army and joined the rebels. This move resulted in Muẕaffar Khān losing the thread of his plan. Though people said to him that he should not be disturbed because of these deserters, as he held the upper hand he should keep up his battle array, but, as he had lost heart, he

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 137-140, translation, pp. 194-198.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 215, translation, p. 303.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 315, 316, translation, pp. 461, 462.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 290, translation, pp. 427, 428.

did not listen to them. And when the leaders lose courage, what can be expected from the followers? They dispersed. Stranger still, the enemy had also lost heart, and were wondering how they would be able to contend Muẓaffar Khān, when suddenly the general preferring rotten life to a brave death retired to the fortified city of Ṭānda. The rebels thus emboldened sent a message demanding full pardon, permission to go on pilgrimage to Ḥijāz and restoration of one-third of their property. Meanwhile Mīrzā Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain escaped from his custody, and informed the rebels of the perturbation of Muẓaffar Khān. They became emboldened afresh, and entered the fort. Muẓaffar Khān, and his slaves prepared to sacrifice their lives, but they were captured, and he was put to death in the month[1] of Rabī'l, 988 A. H. (April-May, 1580 A. D.). The chief mosque[2] of Āgra near the *katra* of Miyān Rafīq was built by Muẓaffar Khān.

NAJĀBAT KHĀN MĪRZĀ SHUJĀ'
(Vol. III, pp. 821-828).

He was the third son of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh[3], the Governor of Badakhshān. He was distinguished above his brothers both for his bravery and reputation. He was born in India during the reign of Jahāngīr[4]. Although, owing to his being in collusion with his other

1 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 299-304, translation, pp. 442-449. According to Beveridge, he was killed about 19th April, 1580.

2 The *Masjid Jāma'* of the text is not what is now known as the Jāma' Mosque of Āgra. That was built by Emperor Shāh Jahān in 1644 in honour of his daughter Jahān Ārā. The expression *Jāma' Masjid* in the text apparently means a public mosque. According to Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 375, this mosque was in ruins, and was known as *Nawāb Muẓaffar Khān ki Masjid* or *Kāli Masjid*.

3 For an account of his life see Blochmann's translation of the *Āin*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 326, 327. Mīrzā Badī'-uz-Zamān mentioned later was the 4th son of Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, and Blochmann describes him as "a bundle of wicked bones" who was murdered by his brothers in Patan (Gujarāt).

4 This is probably a mistake for Akbar, as he was imprisoned in the 18th

brothers in the killing of his elder brother Badī'-uz-Zamān—who was a personification of wickedness and oppression—he was imprisoned, yet he later received royal favours, and performing loyal and good services rose to high office. In the 3rd year[1] of Shāh Jahān's reign he was granted the title of Najābat Khān and the rank of 2,000, and was made the *Faujdār* of Kōl ('Alīgarh). In the 4th year[2] his rank was increased and he was exalted by the present of drums, and appointed as the *Faujdār* of Multān which formed a part of the fief of Yamīn-ud-Daulah. Afterwards he was made *Faujdār* of the Dāman-i-Kōh Kāngra, and having performed his duties satisfactorily his rank was increased to 3,000 with 2,000 horse. He undertook[3] the Srī-nagar (Garhwāl) campaign, engaging that he would either conquer the country or levy a proper contribution from the rulers thereof and present it to the royal exchequer. An auxiliary force of 2,000 horse was assigned to him.

It is stated that when Sahāranpūr and Mīrath (Meerut) were in his charge, the Rāja[4] of Srīnagar—who was the greatest of the hill

year of Jahāngīr's reign—*vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, II, p. According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 289, he was born on 25th November 1603 A.D., which would be during Akbar's time.

1 See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 292. The increased rank is given there as 2,000 with 800 horse. Kūl, Kōl or Koil is the *Sarkār* of Kol in Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 186. It is the present day Aligarh in the United Provinces.

2 See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 372. He was removed from this office in the 5th year, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

3 The account of the Srinagar campaign is taken from *Khāfī Khā*[illegible] pp. 505, 506 or from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 90-93. For another version see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 215, 216 (1907), according to which the Rana of Srinagar was styled Nak-kaṭi-rānī or Cut-nose by Shāh Jahān as he spared the lives of the soldiers of Najābat Khān on the condition that their noses must be cut off. The general Najābat Khān is also stated to have had his nose cut off. See also Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 123, and *Sirmur State Gazetteer*, pt. A, p. 13 (1939).

4 The Rāja is later styled *Zamindār*.

rājāhs and whose country was extensive and had gold mines—died. His wife, in concert with Dost Bēg Mughal—who had control from the time of the Rāja—became all powerful. Whoever did not obey her had his nose cut off, and so she was known as the *Nak-katī Rānī*. Some short-sighted scoundrels represented to Najābat Khān that as Mīrzā Mughal, the former *Krōrī* of the district, had taken Kīlāgarhī[1] which belonged to the Rāja, and had established a royal thana there. If he still existed the entire country might be conquered. What power had a woman to resist you? The inexperienced Khān's vanity became excited, and in the 9th year (of Shāh Jahān's reign) he proceeded against the country. After taking strong fortifications such as Shērgarh—which the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar had built on the borders of his dominion on the bank of the Jumna—and the fort of Kānī[2] which formerly belonged to the *Zamīndār* of Sirmūr[3], he made them over to the *Zamīndār* (of Sirmūr). He also took the fort of Nanūr(?). Near Hardawār he crossed the Ganges. Though the ruler of the country had assembled a large force of infantry, had closed the mouths of the passes, and had erected barriers of stone and lime in the narrows of the river, the audacious Khān forced his way through against all odds. When he arrived within thirty *kos* of Srīnagar, the ruler becoming frightened, offered allegiance and sending his agent promised to pay a tribute of ten lacs of rupees. He was allowed a fortnight for fulfilling his promise. Having protracted matters by various pretexts for a month and a half he produced only a lac of rupees. The inexperienced general elated at his successes did not attach much importance to the delay, till at length the dearth of provisions became so acute that his men were left without any food. As the hillmen had closed

1 According to Walton's *Gazetteer of Debra Dun*, p. 171 (1911), Kiligarh, "which may be identified with Kaulagir", a village near Dēhradūn.

2 Kālsi or Kālpi according to the *Gazetteer of Sirmur*, p. 13.

3 The Rāja of Sirmūr at the time was Mandhata Parkāsh who reigned from 1630-1654, *vide Gazetteer of Sirmur*, p. 11. Nanūr is Santūr in *Bādshāhnāma*, and also in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 96.

: roads, anyone who went for obtaining supplies was cut off and lled. When things came to an extremity (*lit.* when life was en-ngered and knife reached the bone), and the robbers surrounded the my, the young Khān awoke from his sleep of neglect, and realized at there was no other course left except to retreat. Consequently commenced to march back. Some proud spirits refused to retreat d were killed fighting. Many men dismounted in the hope of 'ing their lives, and wandered away; most of them were lost ajābat Khān after encountering great difficulties emerged from the ls on foot, and after twenty days, during which he staved off hunger eating leaves, he emerged near Sambhal[1]. As a punishment for mismanagement he was for a time deprived of his rank and fief[2]. terwards he was reinstated in his rank, and finally appointed[3] vernor of Multān in place of Qulīj Khān. In the 15th year, when : country of Chakī[4] including Mau', Nūrpūr, Tārāgarh and Paithān s taken, it was made over[5] to Najābat Khān. In the 23rd year er returning from the Qandahār he was raised to the high rank of 000, and he always rendered good service.

Towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign[6] he was attached to the ops of the Prince (Aurangzīb) which had been assined to the ex-

1 Sanbhal in text, but more correctly Sambhal. It is probably Sambhal Morādābād District situated at 28°35′ N. and 78°34′ E., some 23 miles th-east of Morādābād.

2 Mīrzā Khān son of Shāh Namāz Khān succeeded Najābat Khān as the jdār of Dāman-i-Kōh-Kāngra, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 93.

3 In 1049 A. H. (1639-40 A. D.) 12th year of Shāh Jahān's reign his ointment as Governor of Multān in succession to Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān hkandi is mentioned, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 155.

4 Chaktā and Chaknā in the text, but river Chaki in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, .62, which is correct (see *Kangra Gazetteer*, p. 11, 1906). Mau', Nūrpūr, āgar are all in Kāngra, but Paithān is Pathānkōt in the Gurdāspūr District, jāb, west of Nūrpūr, see the *Gazetteer cited* p. 261.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 278

6 See Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 239. This was in 1657 A.D.

pedition against Bījāpūr. During these days as a result of the sudden illness[1] of the King commotions sprang up on all sides. At the summons of the heir-apparent Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh the officers attached to the Deccan army started for the Court. No officer, who remained with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, was of a higher rank than that of Najābat Khān[2]. As the Prince (Aurangzīb) decided to make a bid for the sovereignty, (Najābat Khān) became his principal councillor. He was raised to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and in the beginning of Jummāda 1, 1068 A.H. (January, 1658 A.D) he was sent off in advance with Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān from Aurangābād[3]. In the battle[4] with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh), Najābat Khān, who was in Sulṭān Muḥammad's vanguard and had command of its left wing, distinguished himself by his gallant deeds. He was granted a reward of a lac of rupees, and the high title of Khān Khānān Bahādur Sipāh Sālār. But as Najābat Khān was independent and insolent, the favours shown made him arrogant, and in displaying his greatness he behaved haughtily towards his master. Princes are generally of a jealous temperament, and this was specially the case with 'Ālamgīr Bādshāh—as is clear from his treatment of his father and brothers. He did not like that anyone should give himself airs, and so could not endure Najābat Khān's presumption. Some-

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 276, 277, and Banarsi Prasad, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 321. The date in both works is given as 6th September, but it should be 17th September 1657.

2 In *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 29, the names of three officers who remained with Aurangzib are given, but it is not stated that Najābat Khān was the officer of the highest rank among them; also see p. 570, where it is stated that none of the senior officers except for Mu'aẓẓam Khān and Najābat Khān remained in the Deccan.

3 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 42. The increase in rank is not mentioned, but it is stated that he was granted a *khil'at*, a horse with gold trappings and an elephant.

4 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April 1658. See *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 59-75, Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 348-364, and Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 259,260.

ng happened after the accession which brought the matters to a sis. During the pursuit of of Dārā Shikōh while the victorious ndards (of Aurangzīb) were encamped at Delhī, Najābat Khān for ne reason, arising out of his unaccommodating temper, shut himself in his quarters. Khuld Makān (Aurangzīb) sent Mīr Abūl Faḍl a'mūrī—who was an old servant and had been granted the title of 'mūr Khān[1], and who was also on very good terms with Najābat ān—to advise him and convey certain messages to him. The Mīr d his best by friendly councels to clear the misunderstanding that taken a hold in the mind of Najābat Khān, but did not succeed, l the latter arrogantly started making insolent remarks against the iperor. The latter out of courtesy and regard for being true to the (of his master) rose up to depart. This mad man (Najābat Khān), ose brain was like a wasp's nest full of thousand follies, afraid lest might expose him, took up his sword which was lying on the *isnad*, and struck Ma'mūr Khān such a blow on the back of his k that it cut the poor Saiyid into two[2]. For this serious crime was deprived of his rank, *jāgīr*, and his high title which had made n so proud. After the return from Multān, when Delhī again

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 75, where it is recorded that he was granted a special 'at, two elephants, a lac of rupees and the title of Khān Khānān *Sipāh Sālār*. he Biography of Ma'mūr Khān Mīr Abūl Faḍl Ma'mūrī (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, t, III, p. 505) the reward is correctly given as two lacs of rupees.

2 There is a different version of it in the account of Ma'mūr Khān Mīr il Faḍl Ma'mūrī (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 505, 506). See Khāfī n, II, pp. 46, 47; according to this author the murder took place in 1069 H. (December 1658 A.D.) on Aurangzīb's return from Muttra, but in the *āthir-ul-Umarā*, both in this biography and in the account of Ma'mūr Khān, about the time of Aurangzīb's first coronation on 1st August, 1658. The is given as 2nd August in Dow's *History of Hindostan*, III, p. 259 (1772), 21st July in Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 446 (1925), Ishwari Prasad, *Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 586 (1939); the s in the latter work are in the Old Style or unreformed calendar apparently n from Sir Jadunath's work and to convert them to the New Style 11 days st be added.

became the headquarters, he was again admitted to the Court at the recommendations of Amīr Khān[1] the brother of Shaikh Mīr. On the occasion of celebrations for the 3rd anniversary of the accession, Najābat Khān, who up to that time used to come to the Presence unarmed, was presented a sword[2]. In the 5th year[3] the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and his original title were restored. In the 6th year[4] Ja'far Khān, the governor of Mālwa was summoned to the Court for appointment as the *Vazīr*, and Najābat Khān was assigned those vast dominions. There he died in the 7th year[5] of the reign. In bravery, manliness and courage he was unique of the age. He had select men under him. Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb on the return journey to Upper India (from the Deccan) to contest his claims for the sovereignty often took his advice. As he was a tried soldier with a good following, the Prince took good care of him and treated him with great courtesy and regard. It is stated that when after the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh) the Prince was proceeding to Āgra, Dārā Shikōh was preparing to oppose him, Shāh Jahān[6] said that the last course appeared to be that he (Shāh Jahān) should go into the field personally. Most probably there would then be no fighting as most of Aurangzīb's companions were government servants, and under those circumstances they would not obey Aurangzīb's behests. Further, the royal servants with Dārā Shikōh would be more zealous than hitherto in Shāh Jahān's presence. When this news was received in letters from Āgra by the Prince (Aurangzīb), he taking these letters went in an agitated state to the house of Najābat Khān, and asked for his advice. Najābat Khān represented that it was time for his seista, and requested the Prince also to rest there likewise. So the Prince

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 230.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 564.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 762.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 837.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 873.
6 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, pp. 378, 379 and footnote.

sat down and waited. Najābat Khān after his rest took his usual bang-water (*bhang*), and he coming intoxicated returned to the Prince. On hearing the proposal he said, "Considering you to be a man of determination I have made up my mind to quarrel with my master (Shāh Jahān). Now the affair is in your hands. When I am excited, I will even cross swords with the Lord of the Universe (Jahāngīr). Come what may!" The Prince was reassured, and praised him for his firm determination. He had good sons[1]; some of them have been noticed in this work.

NAJIB-UD-DAULAH NAJIB KHAN
(Vol. III, pp. 865-868)[2].

He was an Afghān. Orignally he was a *Jama'dār*[3]. During the days when a contest was going on between Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk[4] and Abūl Manṣūr Khān[5], he took up service under Ghāzī-

1 One of his sons Najābat Khān who was the *Faujdār* of Mālkher and later of Sūrat is mentioned in Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, III, p. 490. A biography of his sister's son Sarbuland Khān Khawāja Raḥmat Ullāh is published in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 477-479.

2 This is a very incomplete biography of a very important personality of the times, particularly as almost half of it is devoted to an account of his son Ḍābiṭa Khān. Beale's account in *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), pp. 289,290, is much more detailed. Reference may also be made to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vols. I, II. His character is summed up in Vol. II, pp. 515, 516. His life by Nūr-ud-Dīn Ḥusain translated by Sir Jadunath Sarkar was published in *Indian Hist. Quart.* and *Islamic Culture* (1933).

3 For *Jama'dār* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughuls*, p. 183. He was a party leader of a lower rank than the *Tūmāndār*.

4 For his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 143, Irvine, *Journal As. Soc. Bengal*, p. 128 et seq. (1879), *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 847-856 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 674-678.

5 For his life see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 341, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 365-368, and Beveridge's translation, pp. 137-140. Beale states that his proper name was Muqim and surname Manṣūr 'Alī Khān, while in the *Maāthir* his name is given only as Abūl Manṣūr Khān.

ud-Dīn Khān, and by frequently attending the royal *Darbār* imp his bearings. Through 'Imād-ul-Mulk's intercession he was rais the rank of 7,000 and granted the title of Najīb-ud-Daulah Bal Thābit Jang. When the Shāh Durrānī came in 1170 A.H. (A.D.), he had an interview with him in the Capital, and be the same tribe became very powerful, so much so that he was a even of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and the 'Imād-ul-Mulk[1].

When 'Imād-ul-Mulk after leaving Farrukhābād summoned R nāth Rāō and Malhār Rāō Hōlkar from the Deccan, and with besieged Delhī, Najīb-ud-Daulah started negotiations with H and coming out with his bag and baggage went over to his esta the other side of the Jamnā[2]. There Dattā Sīndiah besieged h 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) at Shakartāl, and had reduced him to mities when he was relieved[3] by the help of Shujā'-ud-Da During this time when the Shāh Durrānī came, Najīb-ud-Daula in the van of the Shāh's army. He attacked Sadāshiv Rāō Bhāū, performed valiant deeds. Later when the sovereignty was assign Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and the Shāh Durrānī returned to his co he was confirmed as the Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the year 1179 (1765-66 A.D.) he ably opposed Jawāhir Singh Jāt, son of Sūraj who had advanced towards Shāhjahānābād to avenge his father[5]. (Najīb-ud-Daulah) made Mīrzā Jawān Bakht the instrument authority, and remained in the Capital and in possession of full po Much of the Miyān (Gangetic) Dūāb constituted his fief. He di 1185 A.H.[7] (1771 A.D.).

1 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, pp. 140, 1

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 152, 153.

3 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 207-212.

4 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 715-722.

5 For a good account of the Jāts and Jawāhir Singh's attack on Del Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 417-468.

6 This is scarcely correct. Aḥmad Shāh 'Abdālī when returning to placed "Mirza Jawan Bakht, in the nominal charge of affairs under the p tion of Najib-ud-Daulah", *vide* Keene, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 79 (1

His son Ḍābiṭa Khān[1] took possession of his father's fief. When Shāh 'Ālam Bādshāh was returning to Shāhjahānābād from Allāhābād, he through the intervention of Majd-ud-Daulah[2], who was then the Deputy *Vazīr*, was conciliated and came to do homage[3]. The standards of the Emperor were in the environments at Bādlī[4], 12 *kos* from the Capital, when in accordance with the royal commands Mīrzā Najaf Khān Bahādur[5] came from Akbarābād, and waited upon the Emperor. At this time the financial officers of the kingdom claimed a large sum as arrears for the royal lands in the Miyān Dūāb of the Ṣūba of Shāhjahānābād which were in Ḍābiṭa Khān's possession. He on account of the duplicity of the Chief superintendent, and the coalition of Najaf Khān with the Royal forces, and realizing the change of fortune, and being conscious of what he had done, slipped off at night from the royal camp. He crossed the Ganges to Ghauthgarh[6],

A.H. (October 1770). Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 415, states that his death took place on 31st October, 1770, at Hāpur.

1 See Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 423, for a more detailed biography. He died in 1785 A.D. See also Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-144.

2 His name was 'Abdul Aḥad Khān, and he succeeded Ḥisām-ud-Daulah as the *Dīwān-i-Khālṣa*, see Keene, *op. cit.*, pp. 105,106, 114, 117, 120-124, 129.

3 Shāh 'Ālam from Allāhābād had appointed Ḍābiṭa Khān as the *Mīr Bakhshī* in succession to his father, but wanted him to render accounts and pay customary fees of succession, but he preferred fighting and after being defeated fled from Shakartāl—Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, III, pp. 46, 52. Later after the battle of Putāna Qil'a, 17th December 1772 (*op. cit.*, p. 69) the Emperor was forced to restore him to his old office, and all the *jāgīrs* (p. 75).

4 Bādlī with Bāwlī as a variant in the text. The correct name is Bādlī, a small railway station in the Delhī Taḥsil, some nine miles to the north-west of Delhī on the North-Western Railway towards Ambāla

5 His title was *Amīr-ul-Umarā Dhūlfiqār-ud-Daulah*. For his life see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 289, *Siyar-ul-Muta'ākhkhirīn*, Text, pp. 995, 996 (Newal Kishore edn., 1897, translation (Cal. edn.), IV, pp. 18-110, and for fuller details, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-230.

6 Ghauthgarh was a stronghold built by Ḍābiṭa Khān thirteen miles north-east of Shāmlī in the Muẓaffarnagar District, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar;

which had long been his home and took refuge there. After the Emperor returned to the Capital, he with the help of Najaf Khān led an army against him (Ḍābiṭa Khān); there was some fighting, and he was besieged. Being reduced to serious straits he fled from the fort and joined the Sikhs, who had raised the standard of revolt in the Panjāb, and had taken possession of the country from Multān to Lāhōre, and even some areas of Shāhjahānābād. For a time he used to invade the imperial territories with their armies. Mīrzā Najaf Khān applied himself to conciliating him, and sent for him, and requested the Emperor to forgive him. Part of his old estates were restored to him and he was permitted to leave for looking after their management. At the time of writing of this biography he was still alive.

NAJĪB-UD-DAULAH SHAIKH 'ALĪ KHĀN BAHĀDUR (Vol. III, pp. 863-865).

He was a descendant of the Saiyid clan of Shaikh Junaid[1] of Baghdād. His father Shaikh 'Alī Khān the elder, and his uncle Bahrōz Khān were the sons of Shaikh Muḥammad Junaidī whose daughter was married to Shaikh Minhāj Bījāpūrī. Shaikh Minhāj was a nobleman of Bījāpūr. In the 17th year[2] of 'Ālamgīr's reign when Bahlūl Khān siezed 'Abdul Karīm Khawāṣ Khān, who was the minister of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, and made himself supreme

op. cit., p. 136. Dābiṭa Khān's defiance of the Emperor's demands, his flight to Ghauthgarh, siege of the latter, his flight to the Panjāb and his defeat are described in the same work from pp. 129-163. His visit to the Court, his pardon and the restoration of his property and part of his *jāgīr* on 30th January, 1779 are described on p. 162.

1 Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 203.

2 1673-74 A.D. According to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, p. 140, however, Khawāṣ Khān was made a prisoner by Bahlūl Khān in 1675. For an account of the Bījāpūr intrigues referred to above, see the same work, pp. 140, 141.

in view of the fact that he did not trust the Deccanīs
uted the Shaikh with a force for chastising Sīvā Bhōnsle. He also
after him Khiḍr Khān Panī ostensibly to help the Shaikh but
y to kill him. On the day when Khiḍr Khān invited the Shaikh
feast, the latter having come to know of his plans dexterously
:d Khiḍr Khān; and then returned to his force. Bahlūl Khān
wed with his army, and fought a great battle with the Shaikh.
Shaikh then came to Gulbarga. In the 15th year[1], when Bahā-
Khān Kōka, in accordance with the royal orders, marched from
'istabunyād (Aurangābād) to chastise 'Abdul Karīm Khān, the said
kh came and joined the royal army. After peace had been arrang-
:he said Kōkaltāsh sent the Shaikh to Gulbarga. The Shaikh wrote
if a force was deputed, the fort could be captured. The said
n sent Mazbūr Bēg son of Qalandar Khān the *Qil'adār* of Bēdar—
later became known as Jān Nithār Khān—with a force. The
kh entered the fort and made prisoners of the guards and delivered
fort to Vazīr Bēg. When Dā'ūd Khān left the fort of Naldrug,
wanted to enter the royal army, he sent Bahādur Khān Shaikh
ıhāj to the Governor of Ḥaidarābād. After Ḥaidarābād was taken,
ecame influential by taking up service under the Crown. He died
is appointed time. Shaikh Muḥammad Junaidī, who was in service
:r Bījāpūr, entered royal service after Bījāpūr was conquered. After
death the leadership passed to Bahrōz Khān, and after his demise
evolved on Shaikh 'Alī Khān. In the earlier years of the reign of
laus Ārāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh), when the Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf
delivered much of the territory of the Deccan from the hands of
Barāh Saiyids, and the high and low of the Deccan hastened to his
:e, the Shaikh felt disgusted. On the first day of the interview,

1 This is certainly incorrect. Bahādur Khān was not appointed to the
:an till the 16th year, see *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 123,124. For Bahādur
ı, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 798-813, Beveridge & Prashad's
ılation, pp. 783-791.

while he was standing at the place of salutation he had a paralytic stroke, and died of this illness[1].

After him power was transferred to Shaikh ʻAlī Khān Bahādur. He passed all his time in the service of the Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. After a time he was appointed the governor of Nāndēr[2], and attained a high rank. During the time of Ṣalābat Jang he received the title of Najīb-ud-Daulah, but he did not like that anyone should call him by this name. He was corpulent, but was a good rider. He died in 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.). His eldest son ʻAbdul Qādir became the fief-holder of Āshtī and other villages in the Pargana of Pāthrī in Berār. This in accordance with the orders of the Sulṭān, had been the fief of his ancestors, and he held it during his lifetime. But he died soon. None of his sons attained any distinction.

(SAIYID) NAJM-UD-DĪN ʻALĪ KHĀN BĀRAH (Vol. II, pp. 508-510).

He was the son of Saiyid ʻAbdullāh Khān Saiyid Miyān[3]. He was distinguished for bravery and manliness, which were the attributes of his high family. When his brothers Quṭb-ul-Mulk and Amīr-ul-Umarā distinguished themselves in the service of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, and rose to high ranks, he also was exalted by an increase in his appointment. Afterwards, when the jugglery of Fate cast the Emperor[4] into the whirlpool of misfortune, and Quṭb-ul-Mulk in attendance on the Sulṭān Rafīʻ-ud-Daulah marched from the Capital to chastise Rāja Jai Singh, the government thereof was entrusted to

1 The account so far deals with the ancestors of ʻAli Khān, whose biography is confined to a short account in the next paragraph.

2 District in Ḥaidarābād State.

3 For his genealogical tree see Blochmann's translation of *Āʻīn* I (2nd edn.), p. 428. His full name was Saiyid ʻĀbidullāh Khān Tihanpūrī *alias* Saiyid Miyān. Najm-ud-Dīn was the 4th son.

4 This is a reference to Farrukh Siyar's deposition and finally his murder in 1719 A.D. For details see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, pp. 386-394.

Najm-ud-Dīn[1]. In the 2nd year of the reign of Firdaus Arāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh) when the Amīr-ul-Umarā was assasinated, and Quṭb-ul-Mulk, who was returning to the Capital but had not yet arrived there, he became distracted in his mind by the news of the assassination of his brother. He sent his men to the Capital to bring a prince[2] and wrote to Najm-ud-Dīn to look after the affairs. When the said Khān heard the news he lost patience[3], and sent a force of infantry and cavalry with the *Kōtwāl* to besiege the house of Iʻtimād-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīr Khān. Later on receipt of a letter from the Qutb-ul-Mulk he withdrew his forces. It is stated that in arranging about troops he had issued a proclamation that small ponies and old lame horses would be accepted equally with Arabian horses[4].

On the day of battle[5], he was in charge of the vanguard, and fought bravely in a severe and extraordinary fighting. In this hard battle he was severely wounded, and having lost an eye was captured and put into the prison. His daughter, who was 9 or 10 years old, had been taken from the palace by his men and hidden in the house of a hereditary female singer during these turbulent times. She was taken and brought before the Emperor. Some of the ladies

1 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 428. According to the authorities cited by Irvine, however, it was Khān Jahān who was left in charge of the city and the palace at Delhi.

2 *Lit.* the expression برای آوردن توره means: for bringing a regulation. *Tora* is, however, used here for the insignia of the empire, i.e., a prince, Khāfī Khān, II, p. 914. This prince was Ibrāhīm, whose enthronement took place on 26th October, 1720. He was dethroned after the battle of Ḥasanpūr and died in 1746 A.D.

3 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 913. Irvine, *op. cit*, II, p. 75.

4 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 916. This happened after he had been appointed 2nd *Bakhshī* by Sulṭān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. It means that the owners of ponies etc. received equal pay with those who had good horses. Khāfi Khān's account is very graphic and clearly shows the anxiety of Najm-ud-Dīn to enlist whatever was available. See also Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 77.

5 Battle of Ḥasanpūr, 24th November, 1720, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-91.

of the palace wished to marry her to the Emperor. At the urgen representation of the Quṭb-ul-Mulk, that such a thing had neve happened to the Bārah Saiyids, this was stopped, and the girl was take back to her father's house[1]. In the 7th year through the intercessio of Mubāriz-ul-Mulk Sarbuland Khān, Najm-ud-Dīn was released fron the prison, and appointed to the charge of Ajmēr[2]. When Sarbulanc Khān, the Governor of Gujarāt, went to Aḥmadābād, the Marhatta who were plundering the area, blockaded the city and besieged him The said Khān, in accordance with the royal orders, hurried to hi assistance, and fighting bravely with the vile enemy repulsed them Later he returned to his post, and after some time was appointec Governor of Gwāliār (Gwālior), where he carried on the affairs of th government zealously till he died[3]. It is stated that after he lost a eye, he had an artificial one made of crystal which was insertec between the two eyelids, so that it appeared to onlookers as if both hi eyes were normal.

NĀMDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 830-833).

He was the eldest son of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Ja'far Khān[4]. Hi mother Farzāna Bēgam was the sister of Mumtāz-uz-Zamānī. In th 19th year of the reign of Firdaus Āshiyānī (Shāh Jahān) when th King resolved to go to Kābul, and appointed Ja'far Khān the Governo of the province of Lāhōre, Nāmdār Khān was given the rank of 50 with 100 horse[5]. In the 23rd year when the said Khān was appointec

1 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 934, 936. Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 93.

2 Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 185. He was released in 1725 A.D. after havin been in prison for 5 years.

3 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

4 He is called 'Umdat-ul-Mulk in his biography in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text, I, pp. 531-535, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, pp. 723, 724.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 500, and '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 470.

Governor of the province of the Capital,[1] his (Nāmdār Khān's) rank was increased to 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 24th year, when his father was appointed Governor of Bihār, he had an increase of 500 with 400 horse[2]. In the 28th year[3], he was exalted above others by being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 29th year[4] he was honoured with the grant of a flag, and in the 30th year[5], he was appointed Superintendent of the Household in succession to Ḥayāt Khān, and his rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,500 horse. Later when Sulṭān Muḥammad Aurangzīb came from the Deccan, and fought with Sulṭān Dārā Shikoh at Samūgarh, and Dārā Shikōh fled towards Lāhōre, and most of the royal servants took service under 'Alamgīr, he also did so and was exalted with the grant of a robe of honour[6].

After some time he hurried to the Deccan[7] to assist Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, and distinguished himself there. In the 7th year he, in accordance with the royal orders, returned to the Court. In the 9th year he was employed to convey from Āgra to the Capital[8] the treasure which had been transferred there earlier in accordance with royal orders. The same year it was decided to send him there. In the same year, as agreements had been broken between the King and Shāh 'Abbās II of Irān, and Sulṭān Mu'aẓẓam had been sent to Kābul with an army as a vanguard, Nāmdār Khān was granted a robe of honour, and a horse, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was deputed to accompany the said Prince.[9] In the

1 *'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 104.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 120; his rank is given after promotion as 1,000 with 600 horse.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 201, where his new rank is stated to have been 2,000 with 600 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 204. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 221. 6 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 115.

7 In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 817, it is stated that he was in the Deccan in the 6th year, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 2,500 horse; also see pp. 864, 865.

8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 961, 962. 9 *Op. cit.*, p. 976

10th year, he was appointed *Faujdār* of the Sarkār of Murādābād, and his hopes were fulfilled by the grant of a robe of honour and a horse with gold trappings. In the 13th year[1] he came to the Court and offered his salutations. And as in the same year, his father, who was the Prime Minister, died[2], Sulṭān Muḥammad Ā'ẓam and Muḥammad Akbar were sent to convey condolences to the house of Nāmdār Khān and Kāmgār Khān. Each of them received a robe of honour, and their mother was granted a suitable present (*Tōra*). Sulṭān Akbar made the two brothers give up mourning, and presented them at the Court. Each received a decorated dagger with a string of pearls attached and other favours as marks of the ending of the mourning. In the 14th year[3] Nāmdār Khān was appointed Governor of the Ṣūba of Akbarābād (Āgra). In the 17th year he for some reason fell out of grace, and was deprived of his rank. He was granted a pension of Rs. 40,000 a year and retired to Aūbgarh[4]. In the 18th year[5] he was restored to favour, and was reinstated in the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Oudh in succession to Sādāt Khān. Afterwards he was removed from this office and remained in attendance at the Court till he died[6]. Marḥamat Khān Dīndār was his son. He in the 25th year was appointed to accompany 'Aẓīm-

1 See *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 92, where his recall from Murādābād is recorded in the 12th year.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 103. Also see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, translation, I, p. 723 and notes 1, 2.

3 *Maāthir-i 'Ālamgiri*, p. 112.

4 *Id.*, p. 132, see also Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 389, note 2, where it is stated that he retired to Ūbgaḍh?

5 *Id.*, p. 143, where he is stated to have succeeded Sa'ādat or Siyādat Khān.

6 Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 390. According to Manucci, who says that he was a friend of Nāmdār Khān, the Khān was an illegitimate child of Shāh Jahān by his mistress Farzāna Bēgam. He gives 1678 A.D. as the year of his death, but this is not recorded in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*. He was the son-in-law of Dhulfiqār Khān Qarāmānlū, *vide Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 27, and *'Ālamgirnāmā*, p. 439.

in towards Ajmēr. In the 28th year[1] he was appointed *Thān-* Garh Namūna in the Deccan. In the 29th year[2] he was sioned to convey treasure to Bījāpūr.

NAQĪB KHĀN MĪR GHIYĀTH-UD-DĪN 'ALĪ[3]
(Vol. III, pp. 812-817).

was one of Safī Saiyids of Qazwīn (Kazvīn)—a clan which was hroughout Irān for its Sunnī tendencies. His grandfather Mīr Ḥasanī Saifī was a well-known scholar of the rational and tradi- ciences. He was unique of the age in his knowledge of travels tory.

Verse

No one has equalled him in the knowledge of chronology.

stated that he could give offhand the date of any event of e, about which enquiries might be made of him, and accounts ings, Shaikhs, learned men, and the poets from the rise of Islām wn time, including the dates of birth and death of each. *Lubb-* *-rīkh*[4] was one of his works. At first he was an honoured and servant of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Safavī, and the Shāh used to call aḥyā Ma'ṣūm. At last his enemies turned the Shāh against

Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 249. The name of the place is given as Karrah i.

On p. 267 of the work cited his appointment as the *Thānadār* of is mentioned while his appointment to convey the treasure to Bijāpūr is on p. 273.

The account is based mainly on Badāoni's account in *Muntakhab-ut* , Text, III, pp. 97-99, Sir Wolseley Haig's translation, III, pp. 148-150, *barnāma*. An excellent biography of the family supplemented with notes er available sources was published in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I .), pp. 496-498; this may be consulted for other details.

Elliot, *Bibl. Index*, I, p. 129 (1849), Rieu, *Cat. Persian Manuscripts in sh Museum*, I, p. 104a (1879), and Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manus- . Soc. Bengal*, p. 2 (1926).

him saying that Mīr Yaḥyā and his son Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf were Sunnīs, and the leaders of the Sunnīs of Qazwīn. The Shāh while still in Ādhurbāijān appointed messengers to arrest the Mīr with his family and take them to Iṣfahān (Ispahān), and keep them imprisoned. At that time his second son Mīr 'Alā-ud-Daulah Kāmī, the author of the narrative *Nafā'is-ul-Maāthir*[1], was in Ādhurbāijān; he sent this news by a special messenger to his father. Mīr Yaḥyā was too old and infirm to run away, and so went with the King's men to Iṣfahān where after a year and nine months he died in 962 A.H. (1555 A.D.) at the age of 77. But Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf on receipt of the news at once fled to Gīlān, and later on the invitation of Jannat Āshiyānī (Humāyūn) went to India. Humāyūn, however, had died before his arrival, and the Mīr reached India with his sons and grandsons in the beginning of Akbar's reign[2]. He was graciously and kindly received, and in the 2nd year was exalted with the appointment of Akbar's tutor. That great sovereign could neither read nor write, but he learnt from the Mīr some odes of Ḥāfiẓ (*Lisān-ul-Ghaib*). The Mīr was distinguished for his learning, eloquence and forbearance. Because of his liberal views devoid of bigotry he was well-known as a Sunnī throughout Irān, and in India he was generally accepted as a Shī'ā. Apparently because the Mīr had reached the stage of universal tolerance, the zealots of every sect reviled him. It is stated that he led a very pure and ascetic life, and was always ready to help all who were in trouble. He lived well and prudently. When the King became displeased with Bairām Khān, and the latter started from Āgra towards Alwar, and it was reported that he intended to bring about a rebellion in the Panjāb, Akbar came from Delhī, and sent the Mīr[3]—whom he used to regard superior to all his courtiers in wisdom and fidelity—to Bairām Khān, so that he might by his sage counsel restrain him

1 *Vide* Ivanow, *op. cit.*, p. 465; the work is stated to have been written in 973-982 A.H. (1565-1575 A.D.).

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 19, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 35.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 101, *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 153.

from evil designs. The Mīr died in the town of Sikrī in 981 A.H. 1573 A.D.) and Qāsim Arslān composed the chronogram:

Fakhr al Yas (The glory of the race of Yas—981). His son Mīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī was distinguished for his benevolence, good nature and his long service under Akbar, and was always a favourite of the King. In the 26th year[1] he was granted the title of Naqīb Khān. Though he only reached the rank of 1,000 by the 40th year, he was on terms of grear intimacy (with the King). Akbar gave Sakīna Bānū Bēgam, the sister of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, in marriage to his cousin Shāh Ghāzī Khān. His uncle Qāḍī 'Īsā—who had long served as a Qāḍī in Irān—came to India, and was taken into government service. He died in 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.). Naqīb Khān in the 38th year reported to the King that Qāḍī 'Īsā had left his daughter to the King, and that chaste lady had since long been aspiring for the honour of marriage. Akbar went to the house ot Naqīb Khān and married her according to ancestral rites[2]. In the reign of Janāngīr he was honoured by an increase in his rank and influence[3], and in the 9th year 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) when Jahāngīr was residing at Ajmēr, he died[4], and was burried in the marble courtyard of the mausoleum of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn (Chishtī) along with his wife[5] who was a great and wise lady. Naqīb Khān was exceptionally well versed in the knowledge of *Ḥadīth* (Traditions), travels, and chronicles. His historical knowledge was unequalled. It is stated

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 357, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 524; according Kēwal Rām quoted by Blochmann (*op. cit.*, p. 497) the title was granted in the 25th year.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 641, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 985.

3 Rogers & Beveridge, *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I. 28.

4 *Id.*, pp. 264,265.

5 She was the daughter of Mīr Maḥmūd, the *Munshī*, who was for twenty-five years Chief Secretary of Akbar; see *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh*, Text, III, p. 322, Sir Wolseley Haig's translation, III, p. 444. She had died two months earlier than her husband, *vide Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I, p. 264. Sir Wolseley Haig has also a valuable note on the life and works of Mīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī on the same page.

that he had learnt the seven volumes of ***Rauḍat-uṣ-Ṣafā***[1] by heart, and was also skilled in geometry. Jahāngīr mentions in his Memoirs that Naqīb Khān had remarkable powers of conjecture, and was wonderfully keen sighted. After seeing a flock of pigeons in the air, he could say exactly how may there were. Naqīb Khān was long lived. It is stated that he was intimate with I'timād-ud-Daulah[2] and Mīr Jamāl-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Injū[3]. His son Mīr 'Abdul Laṭīf, who also bore the same name as his grandfather, was also a wise and learned man. He was married to the sister of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān Riḍvi[4], and had a high rank. But later he became insane and died.

NĀṢIR KHĀN MUḤAMMAD AMĀN
(Vol. III, pp. 833-835).

He was the son of Ḥusain Bēg Khān[5]. In the reign of 'Ālamgīr he was appointed to Kābul, and having performed good services there was granted the title of Nāṣir Khān. In the beginning of Bahādur Shāh's reign, when Ibrāhīm Khān, who had been appointed Governor of Kābul, did[6] not make a proper settlement of the country, and so retired to his fief in Sōdhra[7], Nāṣir Khān was appointed Governor in

1 For details of this work see Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts Asiat. Soc. Bengal* (1924), pp. 5, 6 and Hidayat Hosain, *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, preface, pp. XXIX—XXXI

2 Father of Nūr Jahān, for life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 127-135.

3 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 358-360, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 742,743.

4 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 369-371.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umāra*, Text, I, pp. 591-593, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 639-640.

6 For Ibrahim Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 295-301, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 643-657. کشته in the text is a typographical error for گشته

7 A town on the west bank of the Chenāb river near Wazīrābād in the Panjāb.

his place[1]. He died about the end of Farrukh Siyar's reign, probably in the year 1129 A.H. (1717 A.D.). His son Naṣīrī Khān succeeded his father as the Governor. As his mother was an Afghān, he made a proper settlement of the country and kept the roads in good order. In the 2nd year[2] of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, when Niẓām-ul-Mulk was appointed the Chief Minister, an order was issued confirming Naṣīrī Khān in the appointment and granting him the title of his father. When Nādir Shāh on his way to India entered Kābul, he was in Pēshāwar. When in 1151 A.H. (1738 A.D.) the royal army reached Pēshāwar, a battle took place between them, and the said Khān was made a prisoner[3]. For a time he was under surveillance. After reaching Lāhōre, Nādir Shāh pardoned him, and as before appointed him Governor of Kābul[4], and confirmed him in the appointment after his return from Delhī. He spent a long time in Kābul, but lost his governorship in the time of Shāh Durrānī[5]. He came to Shāh Nawāz Khān Philaurī, and later went to Delhī. In the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) he hurried with I'timād-ud-Daulh to fight against the Shāh Durrānī[6]. Afterwards, he went to the Panjāb with Mu'īn-ul-Mulk, and was given charge of certain estates. As they disagreed, he returned to Delhī[7]. During the period of premiership

1 In 1713 in connection with the appointments made by Farrukh Siyar, it is noted that Kābul was left in the hands of Nāṣir Khān, see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, I, p. 261.

2 Niẓām-ul-Mulk was appointed *Vazīr* on 3rd March, 1722, see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, p. 106.

3 Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah*, pp. 135, 136. For fuller details see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, p. 270, 324, 325, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar's account in the same work, pp. 330, 331, and footnotes.

4 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

5 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 205, 206, 212.

6 *Id.*, p. 215.

7 *Id.*, pp. 415, 416. He was appointed *Faujdār* of the four maḥals—Siālkōt, Pasrūr, Gujarāt and Aurangābād—by Mu'īn-ul-Mulk the Ṣūbahdār of the Panjāb. He, however, began to conspire with Safdar Jang against his patron.

of Intiẓām-ud-Daulah he went to Aḥmad Khān Bangash in Farrukhābād[1], and was content with whatever was offered to him. He died there.

NAṢĪR-UD-DAULAH ṢALĀBAT JANG
(Vol. III, pp. 835-837).

Generally known as 'Abdur Rahīm Khān[2], he was the uterine brother of Khān Fīrūz Jang. In the time of Aurangzīb he was exalted by the grant of the title of Khān, and in Bahādur Shāh's reign he received the title of Chīn Qulīch Khān, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr. Later he attached himself to Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and when the latter went from Mālwa to the Deccan, he accompanied him and commanded the advance guard of the centre in the battle[3] against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān. In the battle[4] against 'Ālam 'Alī Khān he was in the ring wing. After the victory and after reaching Aurangābād, he in 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.) was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and received the title of Naṣīr-ud-Daulah Ṣalābat Jang. Next year he was transferred to the governorship of Burhānpūr in succession to Marḥamat Khān. When Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur went to the Court, and after appointment as the Prime

The latter defeated him in a battle at Siālkōt in July, 1749, after which he returned to Delhi.

1 See Irvine's account of *The Bangash Nawabs of Farrukhabad* in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XLVIII (1879), pp. 128, 147. On the breaking up of the imperial court at Delhi and its occupation by the Marhattas many of the nobles sought shelter at Farrukhābād. Nāṣir Khān *ex-Ṣūbahdār* of Kābul is mentioned on p. 147 as one of the "great nobles", who was in-charge of the fireworks on the occasion of the marriage of the son of the Nawāb.

2 He was the uncle of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and was his faithful agent in the Deccan during the Niẓām's absence in Delhi. He kept him regularly informed of the rebellious designs of his son Nāṣir Jang, the Viceroy of the Deccan. Nāṣir Jang was defeated in a battle near Daulatābād on 23rd July, 1741.

3 Battle of Ḥusainpūr, 30th June, 1720.

4 Battle of Bālāpūr, 21st August, 1721.

Minister was deputed to suppress Ḥaidar Qulī Khān in Aḥmadābād, he in accordance with the orders of the Prime Minister hurried from his province and joined him[1]. After that business was disposed of, he returned happily to his post. In the battle[2] against Mubāriz Khān 'Imād-ul-Mulk, he was assigned the command of the left wing, and after the victory he was promoted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. After the death of 'Aḍad-ud-Daulah he presented himself in response to the orders of Āṣaf Jāh and was given the charge of Aurangābād, and the governorship of Burhānpūr was assigned to Ḥafīẓ-ud-Dīn. When the aforesaid Bahādur (Āṣaf Jāh) went to the Court for the second time, and left Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, as his deputy in Aurangābād, the said Khān was appointed as the Governor of Burhānpūr in the year 1148 A.H. (1735 A.D.). After the invasion and return of Nādir Shāh, when Āṣaf Jāh after taking leave from the King was returning to the Deccan, and reached near Burhānpūr, Naṣīr-ud-Daulah went to welcome him, and both were gratified at this opportunity of meeting each other. When Āṣaf Jāh started on the expedition towards Trichinopoly[3], Naṣīr-ud-Daulah was for a second time appointed Governor of Burhānpūr in addition to the charge of Aurangābād. In the same year 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.) he died. He was of a very courteous and hospitable nature, and very fond of sightseeing and amusements. He built a good house in Burhānpūr. Outside of Aurangābād by the side of Khiḍrī Tank he built a bungalow known as the "The Spectacle House". His servants were chiefly of Mughal descent. He had a son named Mujāhid Khān. Āṣaf Jāh was very kindly disposed towards him, but he was a simpleton. At last he donned the dress of a dervish. For a time he lived by selling his father's properties in Burhānpūr. His end is not known.

1 See Yusuf Husain Khan's *Niẓāmu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jāh*, I, p. 149.

2 Battle of Shakarkhera, 21st October, 1724.

3 Niẓām-ul-Mulk occupied the fortress of Trichinopoly on 29th August, 1743, see Yusuf Husain Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

(MIRZA) NAUDHAR SAFAVI

(Vol. III, pp. 555-557).

He was the son of Mīrzā Haidar, the second son of Mīrzā Muzaffar Husain Qandahārī[1]. As Mīrzā Muzaffar's fortunes did not follow the road of success in the Court of the Emperor Akbar, his sons also did not get any high positions. In the reign of Jahāngīr Mīrzā Haidar attained the rank of 500 with 150 horse. When the kingdom was glorified by the accession of Shāh Jahān to the throne, he, in view of his being descended from a noble family, was granted the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse[2]. In the 4th year he died. His son Mīrzā Naudhar through good luck became the recipient of royal favours, and in the 18th year[3] had attained the high rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 19th year[4] he had an increase of 500, and was appointed the Chief Falconer (*Qūshbēgī*). In the same year he was further promoted by 500, and consequently his rank advanced to 3,000[5]. In so far as favours need some excuse, he was, in the 22nd year, on the occasion of the feast of the solar weighing, exalted to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the first expedition to Qandahār he accompanied Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb, and was in command of the left wing. In the disposition of the battles, the guarding of the foot of the Chahl Zīnah[6] hill was entrusted to him and his brother Mīrzā Sultān, and in this connection he performed valuable services. In the 23rd year he received the fief of Bahrāi'ch in the south of Oudh, in succession to I'tiqād Khān, and was busy settling it. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mandū.

1 See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 327,328, where a very good account of Mīrzā Muzaffar Husain during Akbar's time is given.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 185.

3 18th year according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 426.

4 *Id.*, p. 470.

5 *Id.*, p. 480.

6 چهرزینه and the variant چاهرزینه in the text are apparently چهل زینه Chahl Zīnah, the hill at the base of which Old Qandahar was built. It is Chahl Zinah in *'Amal Ṣālih*, III, p. 73.

As he suffered from a long and continuous illness, he could not attend to any work, so much so that he even could not look after his own fief. In the 26th year, he resigned his office, and was assigned a pension of Rs. 30,000 a year. An order was also issued that as Mīrzā Murād Iltifāt Khān son of Mīrzā Rustam Qandahārī, his father's uncle, had retired to Patna, he also should go there. After some time he returned from Patna to Āgra, and lived there in retirement, free from want and cares. In the 7th year of 'Ālamgīr's reign[1] in the year 1074 A.H. (1663-64 A.D.) he died a natural death. The Mīrzā was a spendthrift. He squandered whatever he received, but he was invariably benevolent towards the needy. The following posy was engraved on the stone of his ring.

Verse

Poor Naudhar, if he had money,
Would not leave a poor man in the world.

NAWĀZISH KHĀN MĪRZĀ 'ABDUL KĀFĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 828-830).

He was a half brother of Aṣālat Khān[2] and Khalīl Ullāh Khān[3] the *Mīr Bakhshī*. A detailed account of the family has been included in the biography of his grandfather, Mīr Khalīl Ullāh Yazdī[4], and additional details, which were not relevant to the account, have been given in the notices of the brothers; the present biography is supplementary to those accounts. When Mīr Khalīl Ullāh Yazdī left his land and home owing to the oppression of the ruler of Irān, Shāh

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 858.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 167-172, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 295-299.

3 *Id.*, Text, I, pp. 775-782, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 767-770.

4 *Id.*, Text, III, pp. 335-342, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 770-774.

'Abbās I, and came to India, he was very graciously received by the Emperor Jahāngīr, who welcomed his arrival and bestowed favours on him. Sometime later his son Mīr Mīrān escaped from the Shāh, and after enduring great hardships found refuge from the heat of calamities of the world with Jahāngīr. He, however, could not bring his young sons Aṣālat Khān and Khalīl Ullāh Khān with him, and they remained behind in Irān. At his request Jahāngīr sent a message through his ambassador Khān 'Ālam for allowing the sons to migrate to India, and that generous Shāh very graciously sent them to their father. After Mīr Mīrān had settled down in India, and as the nobility and gentility of his family were universally known, and he also was esteemed and respected by all, he married Ṣāliḥa Begam, the elder daughter of Yamin-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Khān, Khān Khānān[1]. She gave births to Mīrzā 'Abdul Kāfī and his sister Shahzāda Begam, who was married to Safshikan son of Mīrzā Ḥusain Safavī. He was always a respected courtier of Shāh Jahān. In the 19th year[2] he was granted the title of Nawāzish Khān, and his rank was gradually increased to 2,500. In the 30th year he was appointed *Qūrbēgī* in succession to Mīrzā Sulṭān Safavī. In Aurangzīb's reign he was sent off as the *Faujdār* of Mandū which was the premier citadel of the province of Mālwa. He died there in the 8th year.

NAẒAR BAHĀDUR KHWESHGĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 818-821).

He was born and bred in Qaṣūr, which is a town in the Bārī Dū'āb, about 16 *kos*[3] from Lāhōre, and was the home of the Khwēshgīs, who among the Afghans were noted for their integrity and nobility. He was one of chief attendants of Shahzāda Parvīz. Later on

1 Elder sister of Mumtāz Maḥal, the Empress of Shāh Jahān.

2 This is incorrect, as according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 679, his rank was advanced to 1,500 with 500 horse by an increase of 500 Dhāt in the 20th year.

3 34 miles to the south-east of Lāhōre.

:ntering Jahāngīr's service he was appointed to the rank of 1,500. In ihāh Jahān's reign, as a result of his close association and his fidelity, ıe was greatly trusted, and in the 2nd year[1] was appointed *Faujdār* of ìambhal. In the siege of Daulatābād his bravery and courage became pparent to all. On the day when 'Anbarkōt fell into the hands of :he imperialists, the garrison poured from the top of the rampart—/hich had been mined—volleys of arrows and bullets, so that the roops which had been assigned to enter the fort could not do so, and :aking shelter in the entrenchments were unable to move forward. Naṣīrī Khān[2] Khān Daurān in company with Nazar Bahādur courageously entered the fort from the right, and started a sharp hand-to-hand ight. This outstanding manoeuvre forced the garrison into the moat of the second fort which was called Mahākōt. As a reward for this ervice Nazar Bahādur received suitable favours from the King. Later :or some reason he passed nearly two years in retirement. As his ruthful and correct nature, constant attendance and ready service were well known to all, he was in the 14th year restored to favour, and eceived the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse[3]. In the 15th year he listinguished himself in the expedition to the Chakī country, and the :onquest of the forts of Mau' and Tārāgarh[4]. In the 19th year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse[5], and was sent off vith Prince Murād Bakhsh to Balkh and Badakhshān. When the atter attaching little value to the ancestral dominions, which had so :heaply fallen into his hands, and owing to his ease-loving nature letermined to retire, Nazar Bahādur Khwēshgī with Qulīj Khān had oeen deputed, in accordance with the plans of the minister Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, to protect Badakhshān. Out of love for his country he left this oost with a number of the Rājas, and came to Pēshāwar[6]. As he was forbidden to cross the Indus, he stayed there, till again he started for :he same country in company with the Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 255.
2 *Id.*, p. 513.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 217.
4 *Id.*, pp. 264,266.
5 *Id.*, p. 723.
6 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 10-19.

In the Qandahār campaign, in the 23rd year, he distinguished himself by sticking firmly to his post, and fighting bravely in the battle which Rustum Khān Deccanī[1] in charge of the advance-guard fought with 30,000 brave Qizalbāsh soldiers. His bravery and courage were almost legendary, and as the enemy in spite of its numbers could not achieve anything, turned back and joined the other forces. After the victory he was, as a reward for his dintinguished services, granted an increase in the rank of 1,000 *Dhat* and horse, which as a result became 4,000 foot with 4,000 horse. In the 22nd year[2], 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.) he died at Lāhōre. Shams-ud-Dīn, the eldest son had the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,500 horse, and Quṭb-ud-Dīn, the second son, had the same rank with 1,400 horse. He also had another son, Asad Ullāh by name, who also was appointed to the same rank. Naẓar Bahādur was distinguished for his piety and honesty. He did not become haughty on account of his rank, and lived like a dervish. All his servants were his relations, or belonged to his clan, and he treated them like brothers. He had one meal of the day with his soldiers. His integrity was such that after paying for the soldiers, and his own necessary expenses, he presented before the King a true statement of the income from his fief, and kept nothing out of it for himself[3].

NIYABAT KHAN

(Vol. III, pp. 809-811).

His name was ʻArab, and he was the son of Mīr Hāshim Khān of Nīshāpūr, who, when the Khān Khānān Munʻim Bēg[4] was sent by Akbar to conquer the eastern districts was appointed to accompany

1 *ʻAmal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 89.

2 Not the 22nd year as incorrectly stated in the text.

3 The author gives details of the good qualities of Naẓar Bahādur, as he was the ancestor of his friend and protector, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 777.

4 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 635-645; and Blochmann's translation of *Āʼīn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 333, 334.

him, and to act as a correspondent[1] for those regions. In the 20th year[2], he died at Gaur cantonment, where many other officers died about this time as a result of the unhealthy climate. Niyābat Khān acted as his father's duputy at the Court, and used to lay before the King his father's reports. In the 19th year[3], he was granted the title of Niyābat Khān, and after the conquest of the Ṣūba of Bihār he was allowed a fief[4] there, and appointed to accompany Khān Khānān, who was deputed to conquer Bengāl, and rendered good service. After a time he was appointed Collector of the Crown-lands, and when the accountants demanded the arrears, he did not pay up, and behaved in an indiscreet fashion. He besieged Karrā, which was in the fief of Ismā'īl Qulī Khān, and killed Ilyās Khān Lankāh, the latter's servant in battle. Consequently Ismā'īl Qulī Khān was deputed by the Emperor with an army to proceed against him[5]. In the 25th year after a battle in which many were killed, Niyābat Khān took to flight. Afterwards he joined Ma'ṣūm Khān Farrankhudī, who had strayed from the right path, and was with him in the battle against Shahbāẓ Khān. When

1 سوانح نویس a newswriter or correspondent was really an intelligence officer.

2 Khān Khānan died at Gaur, the ancient town of Lakhnautī, on 18th Rajab 983 A.H. (23rd October, 1575 A.D.), see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 160, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 226; 227, footnote 1. On the same pages is given a description of the change of capital to Gaur, its unhealthy climate and the names of some of the officers who died there. A list of 14 officers who died there is given by Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 407,408. The number is 13 in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, p. 644. The date of Mun'im Khān's death in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 217, Lowe's translation, II, p. 221, is 11th Rajab 983 A.H. (16th October, 1575 A.D.).

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 95, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 134, where 'Arab's acting as his father's deputy and the grant of the title of Niyābat Khān are recorded.

4 Sāsrām in Bihār, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 285, Beveridge's translation, p. 418.

5 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text, II, p. 289, Lowe's translation, II, p. 297.

Ma'ṣūm Khān[1] after being victorious was defeated, and fled to Oudh, and was pursued by Shahbāz Khān with an army which he had collected, Niyābat Khān separated from him. In the 26th year, he with 'Arab Bahādur and others stirred up a commotion in Sambhal[2]. As Ḥakīm 'Ain-ul-Mulk[3] had strengthened the fort of Bareilly, and set about collecting the fief-holders of the neighbourhood there, Niyābat Khān on the recommendation of some landholders submitted and joined the imperial army. And having solicited a letter of recommendation from the Miriam Makānī, he came to the Court in the 27th year with letter of security from the august lady as his document of pardon[4]. The Emperor considering the prevailing circumstances pardoned his offences. It has not been possible to trace the year[5] of his death.

(KHWĀJA) NIẒAM-UD-DĪN AḤMAD[6]

(Vol. I, pp. 660-664).

He was the son of Khwāja Muqīm of Herāt, who was one of Bābur's officials, and at the close of the reign of that monarch was the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*[7]. After Bābur's death he joined Mīrzā 'Askarī, and at the time when Humāyūn after conquering Gujarāt, assigned Aḥmadābād to Mīrzā 'Askarī, he (Muqīm) was Mīrzā's *Vazīr*. In the

1 *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text, II, pp. 290, 298.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 348, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 511, 512.

3 See *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Haig's translation, III, pp. 229, 230. An account of his work is summarised in note 1 on p. 219.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 383, 384, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 566,567.

5 He was executed by Akbar's order at Ranthambhōr in 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.); see Lowe's translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, p. 308.

6 For a detailed account of his life and work see Prashad's Preface to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, translation III, pt. ii, pp. vi-xxxviii.

7 The *Divān* of government stores and factories, Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 96, note 4 and 238.

affair of Chausa when Shēr Khān Sūr was victorious, and Humāyūn with a few horsemen hurriedly marched to Āgra, the Khwāja was one of these horsemen. Later in the days of Akbar he was honoured with suitable employment. Khwāja Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad was unique of the age for integrity and rectitude, and was the head of his contemporaries in service and practical talent. It is stated in *Dhakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn* that in the beginning of his career, he was Akbar's *Dīvān-i-Ḥudūr*[1], but this is not stated in any other work. In the 29th year[2], when the government of Gujarāt was entrusted to I'timād Khān Gujarātī, the Khwāja was appointed *Bakhshī* of that province. In the commotion of Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī, I'timād Khān left Niẓam-ud-Dīn Aḥmad's son and his own son to guard the city, and in company with the Khwāja went to the village Garhī, which was 20 *kos* from Aḥmadābād, to bring Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān. During his absence, when the city came into the possession of the sedition-mongers, Khwāja's house also was plundered. Later, in a battle against Sulṭān Muẓaffar, which he fought in company with Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān and I'timād Khān, he was defeated in spite of all efforts which he made with the few men under him. Though he was helpless, he did not desert his companions, and in company with them went to Pattan. When the Khān Khānān was appointed by Akbar to extirpate Sulṭān Muẓaffar Gujarātī, a battle was staged at Sarkēj, three *kos* from Aḥmadābād, and the Khwāja was appointed with a number of officers to come behind the enemy, and make a determined attack from the rear. On that day he distinguished himself, and did not spare himself in the pursuit of Muẓaffar. He repeatedly did great deeds, and was for a long time the *Bakhshī* of that province.

In the year 998 A.H. (1589-90 A.D.) corresponding to the 34th year, when the government of Gujarāt was assigned to Khān A'ẓam[3],

1 This was probably another name for the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*.

2 This should be 28th year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 403, Beveridge's translation, III. p. 596.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 571, Beveridge's translation III, p. 865.

who was governor of Mālwa, and the Khān Khānān in lieu of the fief of Gujarāt was granted Jaunpūr, Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad was also summoned to the Presence. He with his camel-corps traversed 600 *kos* in twelve days, and reached Lāhōre in the beginning of the New Year's feast of the 35th year. As it was a wonderful spectacle, an order was issued that all the camel riders should appear before His Majesty. After that the Khwāja received countless favours from the King, and his rank and influence increased. In the 37th year, when Āṣaf Khān Mīrzā Ja'far[1], the Chief *Bakhshī*, was appointed to suppress Jalāla Raushānī, Niẓām-ud-Dīn was exalted to the high office of the *Bakhshī*. In the 39th year, corresponding to 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.) when Akbar went out to hunt, the Khwāja's condition became serious owing to an attack of high fever near Shāham 'Alī. His sons took leave and conveyed him towards Lāhōre. He had only reached the bank of the Rāvī river when he died[2]. He is the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. In this work he has written the history of India up to the 38th year of Akbar's reign corresponding to 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.). He also stated that if life was spared to him, he would describe the future events and arrange these in a supplement to the main work. Otherwise whoever was favoured by the Almighty should engage in completing it[3]. As he had carried out intense research, and very zealously and industriously used all possible means for collecting information, and had the services of Mīr Ma'ṣūm Bhakkarī and other capable scholars in the composition of his work, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* had to be accepted as a very reliable work. It is the first history which contains an account of all the Muhammadan princes of the great country of India—which surveyors have designated as the four *dangs* (⅔)

1 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, pp. 380, 381, Lowe's translation, II, p. 393.

2 See Prashad, *op. cit.*, p. xvi. He died on 14th Ṣafar, 1003 A.H. (19th October, 1594 A.D.). In the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 397, and Lowe's translation, III, p. 412, the date is 23rd Ṣafar.

3 See *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, p. 424, Newal Kishore edn., p. 380, De's translation, II, p. 653.

f the surface of the earth[1]. He is the source of the author of Ferish-:a's history and his followers, who have written at greater length, have ılso relied on this work. But it appears to the author of the present ·ork, that in some places there are discrepancies from the research of :he learned 'Allāmī (Abūl Faḍl). The merits of each are well known :o the students of history, let them meditate thereon (and decide).

One of his sons was Mīrzā 'Ābid Khān, who was treated with ·avour in Jahāngīr's time, and held high offices. When he was *akhshī* of Gujarāt—which appointment he had received by merit and .s hereditary right—he quarrelled with 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang, ·he Governor of the province. The latter, who was an injudicious ınd evil-minded man, insulted him, and endeavoured to disgrace him. Ābid Khān gave up his job, and he and a number of Mughals put ›n caps (*tāqīya*) and winding sheets and appeared in Jahāngīr's Court[2]. ·his led to his offence being pardoned. Later he joined the heir-·pparent Shāh Jahān, and was attached to his stirrups. Afterwards e was promoted to the post of the Prince's *Dīwān*, and on the day in ıkbarnagar (Rājmaḥal)[3], when the Prince attacked the tomb of the

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's text, I, p. 2.

2 The story is incorrectly narrated here, and this misled Dowson who ·anslated the passage in Elliot's *History*, V, p. 180. It was not 'Ābid ·hān, who was pardoned, but 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang. The story is ›rrectly given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 780, Beveridge's translation, I, . 99. The affair occurred in the 11th year of Jahāngīr's reign and a full :count is given in *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, p. 330,331. The *tāqiya* was probably a dervish's cap and so a sign of renuncia-ıon, so also were the winding sheets. Possibly it is the author's confused omposition which is responsible for the mistake, or what appears more probable, ıere may be some omission in the manuscript of the *Maāthir*, as the author new the correct story (see above). He also would have known that 'Ābid hān was not a Mughal, and so was not likely to be accompanied by them, ıereas 'Abdullāh Khān was a Khwāja of Tūrānī or Mughal origin.

3 In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 36-139, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 658, 659. See also Beni rasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 370-372.

son of Ibrāhīm Khān Fath Jang, 'Ābid Khān *Dīwān*, Shariff Khān *Bakhshī* and several other faithful officers jeopardised their lives and attained eternal existence. 'Ābid Khān had no son. His son-in-law Muhammad Sharīf was for some time in the service of Shāh Jahān as the Governor of Ankī Tankī[1] in the Deccan. Later he was the Chamberlain of Haidarābād, and died a natural death

NIẒĀM-UD-DAULAH BAHĀDUR NĀṢIR JANG, THE MĀRTYR[2]

(On him be God's mercy!)

(Vol. III, pp. 848-862).

This great man was a protector of religion, lover of justice, jealous in points of love and honour, determined, foremost in meetings and battle fields. In issuing orders according to the Muhammadan law he used to take great pains, and in delivering justice to the poor and helpless he exerted himself to the utmost. He was unique in respect of his eloquence, and in his perception of the subtleties of speech. His narrations of anecdotes of ancient kings and prophets would keep listeners spell-bound. As a result of the diligence of Mīrzā Ṣāyib he had perfected the art of speaking to such a high degree that even the highest critics of the subtleties of meanings and skilled raconteurs found it to be faultless. From his very early days, his head as a result of high spirits and excessive valour was full of schemes for the conquests of large countries. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh in the year 1150 A.H.

1 A hill fort in the Nāsik district of Bombay (20°11′ N., 74°27′ E.) 'on twin hills rising 900 feet above the plain', *vide* Edwardes' edition of Grant Duff's *History of Mahrattas*, I, p. 256, footnote 2.

2 This is a very long and appreciative biography of the second son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, by his admirer and friend the author of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. His character is painted very differently in *Siyar-ul-Mutā'akhkhirīn* (Calcutta reprint) II, p. 163, where he is compared to Sirāj-ud-Daulah by 'Alivardī Khān. He was the Second Nizām and ruled from 1748-1750.

(1737 A.D.) proceeded to Delhī, the capital, in deference to the orders of Muḥammad Shāh, and left his exalted son as his deputy for the management of the Deccan *Ṣūbas*[1]. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah employed suitable means and made all efforts for the regulation and arrangement of the affairs of the State, for maintaining peace in the country and the cities, and for the tranquillity of the peasants and the general public. Courtiers and officers of the State were made recipients of high favours in the form of rewards, ranks, titles and *jāgīrs*. He signally defeated his enemies the Marhattas, who having extended their influence in the Deccan, had taken possession of the Ṣūba of Mālwa, and had turned upside down the country up to the environments of Delhī, for a time he made safe the Deccan from their depredations. When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh returned from the capital, Delhī, to the Deccan[2], his greedy councillors excited Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah to oppose him. As a result there was fighting. Later, as has been detailed in the biography of Niẓām-ul-Mulk[3], Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh became reconciled with his noble son in the year 1155 A. H. (1742 A.D.). In 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) after granting him further favours, he appointed him the Governor of Aurangābād and allowed him to depart to that place. And when in the year 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh on arrival at Dhārwār from Ḥaidarābād called his son from Aurangābād. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah hurried to his presence, and father and son in

1 Yusuf Husain Khan—*Nizamu'l-Mulk Āsaf Jah*, I, p. 202.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 236-244. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh left Delhī in August, 1740, and the battle near Daulatābād took place on 23rd July, 1741. In the work cited above is included translation of a letter from Āṣaf Jāh to the King at Delhī, in which he outlines the utterly hopeless condition of the administration of the Deccan during his absence at the Capital. This may be compared with the account of Nāṣir Jang's administration as his father's deputy by Samsām-ud-Daulah in the above translation.

3 This is not mentioned in either of the two biographies of Āṣaf Jāh in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, though there is a more detailed account of the fight with Nāṣir Jang on text, III, p. 847.

connection with the exigencies of the State proceeded towards Wākankhēra[1]. From here the Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh deputed his son to Maisūr (Mysore) so that he might levy a contribution from the Rāja of Mysore, and himself returned to Aurangābād. The martyr after reaching Srirangapatam—which was the capital of the Rāja of Mysore—obtained a contribution, and returned to his father at Aurangābād. And soon after, father and son started for the haven of joy, Burhānpūr, where Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went to paradise (died),[2] and Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah adorned the *Masnad* of the government of the Deccan. From Burhānpūr he shifted to Aurangābād which was the headquarters of the rulers of the Deccan, and spent the rainy season there.

During this period, Aḥmad Shāh, the ruler of Hindūstān, sent a royal order, written by his own hand, demanding his presence (at Delhī) for setting right the affairs of the State, which had become very complicated owing to the controversies and differences between the royal officials. The Nawāb—in spite of various hindrances and disturbances in the Deccan, and the rebellious intentions of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān[3]—the son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's daughter, who had been in charge of Rā'īchūr and Adōnī since the time of Āṣaf Jāh,—on receipt of the royal orders and for reforming the imperial affairs started for Hindūstān with a large army and many guns, and expeditiously advanced as far as the river Nerbudda. At this place he received a further letter written by the King himself directing him to

1 A village near Sugger or Sagar between Gulbarga and Bijāpūr, see Edwardes' edition of Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, I, p. 265. For a more detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 218-222, where it is called Wagingera.

2 He died on 4 Jammāda II, 1161 A.H. (2nd May, 1748 A.D.), *vide Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 847, 881. In Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 284, the year of death is incorrectly given as "1164 Hegira".

3 Better Known as Muzaffar Jang, and who was the third Niẓām. He was killed some three months after he was made Niẓām by the French on 13th February, 1751.

ancel his journey[1]. He was meanwhile receiving constant news of 1e insubordination and rebellious intentions of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-)īn Khān. Accordingly he returned to Aurangābād, and spent the ainy season there. During this interval Ḥusain Dōst Khān, commonly nown as Chandā, who was one of the nobles of Arkāt[2] (Arcot) joined :idāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān, and instigated him to invade Arcot. Iidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān turned towards Arkāt, and there through :handā's intermediation a large force of the European French inhabi-ints of the port of Phulchery (Pondicherry)[3] also joined the forces of :idāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān, and all together started to attack inwar-ud-Dīn Khān of Gōpāmuī', who had been the Governor of Arcot .nce Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's time, and during Nāṣir Jang's time was styled hahāmat Jang. On the 16th of Sha'bān 1162 A.H. (21st July, 769 A.D.) a bloody battle took place, and in accordance with the ictates of Fate, Shahāmat Jang was killed.

It should not be forgotten that up to this time the French and the nglish factors were confined to ports, and did not spread beyond ıeir limits. Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān by taking them into alli-ıce made warriors of them. The martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-aulah, which is described hereafter, was brought about by the help the French. After this the factors became very proud and daring. eeing the daring of the French, the English factors also began to ove, and the country of Arkāt was taken over partly by the French ıd partly by the English. The English also started a quarrel with e Governor of Bengāl, and after a fight became masters of Bengāl. hey also took possession of the ports of Sūrat and Kanbāyat (Cambay). idāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was responsible for the rise in power of ıese foreigners.

1 *See Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 386.

2 So in the text, it is Arcot of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, V, p. 403.

3 Puducheri and Pulcheri are two other names for Pondicherry, see *Imperial azetteer*, XX, p. 161. The two bought the help of Dupleix in July, 1749, : *Cambridge History of India*, V, p. 126.

In short, on receipt of the news of martyrdom of Shahāmat Jang, Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah began to collect forces, by inviting the leading *Amīrs* of the Deccan (to his help) and gathering together the weapons of warfare. With 70,000 brave cavalry men and numerous guns, and 100,000 infantry he raised his standard of determination for the punishment of the rebels, and arriving in the vicinity of Pondicherry, which was 500 Jaribi *kos* from Aurangābād, got ready for the fight. On the 26th Rabī' II, 1163 A.H. (24th March, 1751 A.D.) the artillery of the Europeans went on firing constantly for nearly 3 watches of the day. Later, on the 27th the Europeans were defeated by the might and majesty of the Muhammadans, and Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was taken prisoner. The Nawāb, in accordance with the command: "*(There shall be) no reproof against you this day*"[1] kept him alive as a prisoner, and pardoning everyone of his officers and soldiers gave them back their possessions. The Nawāb's well-wishers wanted that he should be removed, and though they proved, by irrefutible arguments, before the Nawāb, that sparing the life of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was like raising the fluid of insurrection, the Nawāb, out of compassion, did not agree to his death. Keeping him under proper surveillance, he appointed servants to look after his comforts. The ungrateful wretches did not consider this favour as extraordinary, and following the precept: "*Every one acts according to his manner*[2]", they forgot the boon of the grant of their lives and secretly prepared malicious designs. The Europeans also, as a result of the signal defeat, became the source of various disturbances and improper actions. The Nawāb, to stop further disturbances, considered it desirable to remain in the area, and proceeding towards Arkāt, deputed an army for the extermination of this devilish crowd. As a result of the vagaries of Fate the armies of Islam were

1 *Vide Qur-ān* (Maulvi Muhammad Ali's edn.. 1917), p. 492, *Sūra* Yūsuf, verse 92 (in pt.)

2 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 578, *Sūra* Banī-Isrāeel, verse 84 (in pt.)

defeated, and the fort of Nuṣratgarh Gingee[1], which was the Capital of the Karṇātik (Carnātic), fell into the hands of the French. The Nawāb with great zeal, firmness and resolution, and keeping in view the demands of rules and regulations of government, and also that there was a way of dealing with each affair, went there immediately, and set himself to the task of punishing the rebels. The excessive rainfall, the heavy storms, and difficulties in crossing and travelling, lack of supplies of food grains demanded close attention, and he set about removing the difficulties of all and sundry. On 11th Shawwāl 1163 A.H. (2nd September, 1750 A.D.) he started from Arkāt. On the 17th of the same month, he, at the instance of a saint foreswore all forbidden things, and stuck to this resolution to the last.

As the juggling Heavens produce new complications at all times, so the Afghān chiefs of the Carnātic, who formed part of the levies in this expedition, in spite of all the favours and kindness they had received, and forgotten altogether their obligations in respect of loyalty to their master, and not remembering the wrath and anger of the true Avenger (God), out of greed for possessions and money secretly allied themselves with the heretical Europeans. They also made a number of other ungrateful wretches join them in their nefarious designs. And they sent special messengers and invited the Europeans, who were collected below the fort of Gingee, to make a surprise night assault (on the Nawāb's forces). On the night of the 17th Muḥarram 1164 A.H. (5th December, 1750 A.D.) just before daylight they suddenly started fighting. If the Afghāns had not relied on the might of the Christians, they, themselves being a handful, would not have had the strength to face the army (of the Nawāb). Although some of his well-wishers had previously warned the Nawāb that the Afghāns were out to rebel, he, because of his excessively honest nature, had not believed them, (and answered): How have I wronged them ? During the fight he directed his elephant towards the Afghāns, so that with

1 Rock fortress in South Arcot district famous in the Carnātic wars, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 242-245.

their help he might be able to deal with the Europeans. When the Nawāb's elephant reached near the elephant of Himmat Khān, the leader of the Afghāns, the Nawāb out of courtesy raised his hand to the head even before the latter offered his ceremonial respects. But from that side no respects were forthcoming. As the morning had not sufficiently advanced, the Nawāb thought that they had probably not recognized him, and raised himself a little in his seat. At this time Himmat Khān and another person, who was seated with him (on the elephant), suddenly fired their guns. Both the bullets struck the Nawāb's breast and he was killed. The Afghāns severing the Nawāb's head set it at the point of a lance. And the treatment which Imām the Martyr (May God reward him!) received from his followers in the month of Muḥarram, was similar to that which was meted out to the Nawāb by his servants. "*Surely we are Allah's, and to him we shall surely return*[1]". Some of the men of the (Nawāb's) force joined the head to the body (of the Nawāb), and sent the bier to Aurangābād. He was buried in the courtyard of the mausoleum of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb near Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. The martyrdom of the Nawāb took place near the fort of Gingee about 20 *kos* from Pondicherry. Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād[2] said:—

Quatrain

The just and noble Nawāb is gone!
The sword of Destiny allowed no respite, and he departed too soon.
He became a martyr on the 17th Muḥarram,
The mourner composed the chronogram of the date:
Āftāb raft: The sun has set (1164 A.H.; 1757 A.D.)
On the night, which was the forerunner of the day of Judgment, he

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 71, *Sūra* Al-Baqarah, verse 156.

2 The chronogram is by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, who was the editor of the 2nd edition of the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, see Beveridge's translation, I, p. 9. 1164 A.H. (16th December, 1750).

asked for a mirror when making up his turban, and got busy in tying it. During this operation he repeatedly addressed his reflection: "Mīr Aḥmad, God is your guardian"—His real name was Mīr Aḥmad. Before mounting (on the elephant) he carried out the sacred ablutions afresh and said his prayers, and turning his beads, and invoking blessings got on to the elephant. It was normal for the Nawāb to wear a coat of mail, covering him from head to feet during battles, but on this night he did not wear anything but a single garment; and in this dress was exalted to the state of martyrdom. The martyred Nawāb had a highly cultivated intellect and quick comprehension. His odes show his extraordinary mastery for composition. The author remembers the following verses by him :—

Which rose in the Garden tore the veil !
When dew broke the mirror over the face of the sun.
O heart ! if we could have the aid of the tresses of the beloved !
The ends of the strands of perpetual life could be grasped.
Why does the drunkard in the wine cellar worry to take an omen regarding the future !
The intoxicated eyes of the beloved portend enough of a guide.
O whimsical air, don't cast away the arrow of sight,
Let this iniquitous arrow pierce some heart.
O beloved ! don't exasperate me; I have a delicate mind;
If you are conceited about your good looks, I am proud of my love for you.
The rose makes the edge of the turban shake voluntarily !
Its stature is that of a young sapling whom I know.

After the martyrdom of the Nawāb[1], the Afghāns and the Christians made Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān their leader. In return for this service the Afghāns made Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān grant them in writing several forts and extensive territory. Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān went with the Afghāns to Pondicherry, and interviewed the

1 An outline of the events is given in the life of Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, see Beveridge's translation of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 15-17.

Captain or the Governor there, and taking a contingent of Christia soldiers with him, he started for Ḥaidarābād. After passing throug Arkāt he entered the territory of the Afghāns. Fate decreed th arrangement for the revenge of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, and raised crowd of disaffection in the minds of Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān anc the Afghāns. On the day when they pitched their tents at Lakrē Palī (Lakkarēdī Pallī) the disaffection of the parties became apparent and led to a fight. On one side Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān anc the Christians and on the other the Afghāns became ready, and startec a fight. Himmat Khān and other Afghān leaders were killed, and Hidāyat Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Khān was killed by an arrow which hit him in the pupil of the eye. The leaders of the army selected Nawāb Ṣalābat Jang son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh as their leader, and having fixed the heads of Himmat Khān and other Afghān leaders on the points of lances they entered their camps sounding drums of victory. And this event took place on 17th Rabī' I, 1164 A.H.[1] (2nd February, 1751 A.D.). The massacre of Nawāb the Martyr led to surprising results. All those, who behaved treacherously towards him, were punished, and after sixty days of the event all the murderers were simultaneously killed.

Verse

Did you notice how the innocent slaughter of the moth by the candle
Left no respite that the night should see the morning; (i.e. the candle was burnt out before the morning).

One of the incidents that happened was that on the day when this battle was fought, *i.e.*, on the 17th Rabī' I, there was no leisure even for burying the dead. On the 18th they were carried from the battlefield, and buried in the wild jungle inhabited by wild animals. The bier of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah on the same day, the 18th,

1 The fight took place at Lakkarēdi Pallī, thirty five miles south of Cuddapalli city on 13th February, 1751, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, 387.

reached the sacred mausoleum and after the evening was interred near the Saint of God. God be praised! Nawāb's murderers were first buried, and then he also found peace in his grave. *"Therefore take a lesson O you who have eyes"*[1]. And all along the way where they had rested his bier, buildings have been erected; and people make pilgrimages to these places and offer prayers[2].

Of the Afghān leaders, who behaved treacherously to Nawāb the Martyr, one was 'Abdul Majīd Khān, whose grandfather, 'Abdul Karīm Miyāna, was one of the leading nobles of Bījāpūr. His descendants are still in possession of Bankāpūr etc. in the province of Carnātic. 'Abdul Majīd Khān sent his son Bahlūl Khān under the guardianship of Naṣīb Yāwar Khān as an auxiliary of the Nawāb, but had secretly instructed his son and the other Afghāns to revolt against him. He was in absence evolving treacherous chess designs. Himmat Khān, who murdered the Nawāb, was the son of Alif Khān, son of Ibrāhīm Khān, son of Khiḍr Khān Pannī. Khiḍr Khān was the chief agent of the above noted 'Abdul Karīm Khān Miyāna. Dā'ūd Khān Pannī, who was unfaithful to the Amīr-ul-Umara Ḥusain 'Ali Khān and was killed in battle, was the son of Khiḍr Khān.

When in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam the viceroyalty of the Deccan was transferred to Dhulfiqār Khān son of Asad Khān *Vazīr*, and the *Niyābat* was conferred on Dā'ūd Khān Pannī, the latter appointed his brother Ibrāhīm Khān as his deputy for Ḥaidarābād. When Ḥaidar Qulī Khān was appointed *Dīvān* of the Deccan in the early days of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed *Kōtwāl* of Kurnool. Since that date Kurnool has been in the possession of the descendants of Ibrāhīm Khān. In the war of revenge Himmat Khān, and his *Dīvān* Amānat Ullāh Khān—who was the seed of all the mischief—Bahlūl Khān, Naṣīb Yāwar Khān and other ill-disposed personalities of the side were duly punished. When the army after reaching

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 1058, *Sūra* Al-Ḥashir, verse 2 (in pt)

2 More detailed accounts of Nāṣir Jang are to be found in Ghulām 'Alī Āzād's *Khazāna' Āmira* and *Sarv-i-Āzād*.

Kurnool plundered the city, all the family and children of Himmat Khān were taken prisoner, and as a punishment for what this wretch had done, his life, property and honour were all lost. When this was the state of the living, what would they have to face on the Day of Judgment. "*And they who act unjustly shall know to what place of turning they shall turn back*"[1]. Ḥusain Dōst Khān, known as Chandā, was also killed by the sword of revenge, and his head was fixed on the point of a lance.

The details of the affair are: Muḥammad 'Alī Khān son of Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Gopāmuī' after the death of his father took possession of the fort of Trichnopoly. When the tassels of the banners of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah perfumed the plains of Arcot, Muḥammad Alī Khān presented himself and was enlisted in service, and granted the title of his father. After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, he took shelter in the fort of Trichnopoly. During this time the province of Arcot was assigned to Chandā who was waiting at Pondicherry. Taking the same force of the French which had carried out the night assault on Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, and with other forces he advanced to Trichnopoly. Anwar-ud-Dīn with his own force, and with the English—who were in possession of Devānon Pattan? and with whom he had made an alliance—came to oppose him. For some time the fire of battle kept ablaze, but at the end Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān was victorious, and Chandā was taken alive. On the 1st of Sha'bān, 1165 A.H. (3rd June, 1752 A.D.) Chandā was beheaded, and his head fixed on the point of a lance was taken round. Similarly French leaders with 1,100 white-skinned Europeans were captured alive. After the martyrdom of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, none of the people, who had carried out the night assault, had an easy time, and this was the end of the affair.

"*Most surely there is a reminder in this for him who has a heart or he gives ear and is a witness*[2]."

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 742, *Sūra* Ash-Shu' arā, verse 227 (in pt.)

2 *Ibid.*, p. 999, *Sūra Qāf*, verse 37 (in pt.)

NIẒĀM-UL-MULK ĀṢAF JĀH[1],

May his dust be illuminated !

(Vol. III, pp. 837-848)

His maternal grandfather was Sa'ad Ullāh Khān[2], the Prime Minister of Ṣāḥib Qirān II, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, and his paternal grandfather was 'Ābid Khān[3], son of 'Ālam Shaikh, who was one of the great men of Samarqand, and a descendant of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn Suhrawardy. 'Ābid Khān came to India during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and rose to high office because of his acquaintance with the King and the services rendered to Prince Aurangzīb. He was in attendance on the prince during the latter's battles with his brothers, and after his accession to the throne was exalted to the rank of 4,000. In the 4th year of the reign he was appointed Chief *Ṣadr* (Head Eccle-

1 Two biographies of Āṣaf Jāh are included in the *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, one on pp. 837-848, and the second on pp. 875-927. Both are similar, but the second one is more complete, and as its subtitle indicates, deals with the history from the time of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān to Niẓām 'Alī Khān in 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.). Ghulām 'Alī states in the preface (Beveridge's translation, I, p. 11) that Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah had not written the life of Āṣaf Jāh, and he has, therefore, supplied it from *Khazāna' 'Āmira*. But it apparently turned up afterwards, for the account translated above appears to be by Shāh Nawaz; it does not bear the letter Q which is a distinguishing mark of the supplementary biographies prepared by 'Abdul Ḥayy. It is signally wanting in panegyric. The author of the work could not have had altogether pleasing recollection of Āṣaf Jāh, and if the son wrote it, he may also have shared his father's feelings. A detailed monograph on Āṣaf Jāh—*Nizamu'l-Mulk Asaf Jah I* (1936) has been published by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan.

The translation of the second biography is published immediately after this account.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 441-449. Sa'ad Ullāh Khān is described in the *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 208, as "the capable and learned minister of Shāh Jahān".

3 For 'Abid Khan, see Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-9; also Irvine. *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 268, 269.

siastical Officer) and later promoted to the rank of 5,000, and granted the title of Qulīj Khān. After being removed from the office of the *Ṣadr*, he was reappointed to the same post on 16th Jummāda II, 1092 A.H. (24th June, 1681 A.D.) and in the siege of the fort of Gōlconda, Ḥaidarābād, 24th Rabī' I, 1098 A.H. (29th January, 1687 A.D.), he sacrificed his life as a result of a cannon shot[1].

Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī-ud-Dīn son of 'Ābid Khān rose to high rank, and his biography has been included under the letter Ghain. The real name of Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, son and heir of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān, was Mīr Qamr-ud-Dīn. He was born in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.)[2]. He became a favourite of Aurangzīb at an early age, and was raised to the rank of 4,000 and given the title of Chin Qulīch Khān[3]. He rendered valuable services in the successful reduction of the fort of Wākinkhēra, and was given a 1,000 increase in his rank, which resulted in his promotion to the rank of 5,000. After the death of Aurangzīb, he behaved cautiously in regard to the disputes between the princes, and did not become a partisan of any of them. When Shāh 'Ālam ascended the throne, he received the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur, and was appointed as Governor of Oudh and *Faujdār* of Lucknow; in those days the *Faujdār* of that city was appointed separately from the Court. The late learned Mīr 'Abdul Jalīl Bilgrāmī found the date of his appointment in the same words: Khān Daurān Bahādur (1124 A.H., 1712 A.D.). Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk soon resigned the appointment owing to the interference of the new officials and the obsolescence of the older ones, and went to Delhī. He put on the dress of a dervish, and confined himself to his quarters. After the

1 In a note by the editors is given an abridged account of his wound and death, and there is cross reference to *Maāthir*, Text, II, p. 123. where the year of death is wrongly given as 1097 instead of 1098 A.H. See also *Siyar-ul-Muta'ākhkhirīn* (Calcutta reprint), IV, p. 198.

2 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 270, and also the note regarding his age. The date is 14 Rabī' II, 1082 A.H. (20th August, 1671 A.D.).

3 Chin Qulīj in the text. The rank to which he was promoted is given as 5,000 in the second biography, see *Maāthir*, Text III, p. 876.

demise of Shāh 'Ālam, when the throne was occupied for a few days by Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn (Jahāndār Shāh), he again received his former rank and title. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar ascended the throne, he was exalted with the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang, and the rank of 7,000, and appointed as the Governor of the Deccan[1]. When the governorship of the Deccan was transferred to the Amīr-ul-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, and the Nawāb hastened to the Capital, he was appointed Governor of Murādābād. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā returned from the Deccan, and Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar was deposed, and a new King was set on the throne, the Nawāb was appointed Governor of Mālwa. Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk went to Mālwa, but finding that the officials at the Capital were acting treacherously, he, in the second year of Muḥammad Shāh corresponding to 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.) proceeded to the Deccan. On the 1st of Rajab (28th April, 1720 A.D.) he crossed the Narbadā (Nerbudda) river, and peacefully took possession of the fort of Asīr[2] from Ṭālib Khān, and the city of Burhānpūr from Muḥammad Anwar Khān Burhānpūrī. The Amīr-ul-Umarā sent a large army under the command of Dilāwar Khān in his pursuit. The Nawāb under the semblance of making a shameful retreat started to encounter him. In the village of Ḥasanpūr in the *Sarkār* of Handiyạ a battle took place between the two parties on 13th Sha'bān (9th June, 1720 A.D.)[3]. Saiyid Dilāwar Khān was killed, and the Nawāb returned victorious to Burhānpūr. The wounds of the injured had not quite healed, when Saiyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, the nephew of the Amīr-ul-Umarā and his Deputy for the Deccan addressed himself to retrieving the disaster. He hastened at full speed from Aurangābād towards Burhānpūr, and on the 6th Shawwāl of the same year (31st July, 1720 A.D.) a severe battle took place near Bālāpūr in the province of Berār[4]. 'Ālam 'Alī Khān advanced impetuously, and lost his life

1 See Irvine, *Maāthir*, Text, IV, pp. 270-272.

2 Āsīrgarh, not far from Burhānpūr, was taken by him on 31st May, 1720, see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 23.

3 For full account of the battle see Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 28-34.

4 See Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 47-50 for full details.

uselessly. The Nawāb entered Aurangābād victorious and triumphant. As the pen of Destiny had decreed the downfall of the Saiyids of Bārah, I'timād-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīn Khān appointed a man, who treacherously killed the Amīr-ul-Umarā while he was riding in a palanquin. This catastrophe took place on 6th Dhu'l Ḥijjah of the year (28th September, 1720 A.D.) at the stage of Tūra[1]. Quṭb-ul-Mulk, brother of the Amīra-ul-Umarā, on receipt of this frightful news brought out of the fort at the Capital a Prince, and placed him on the throne, and having collected an army hurried to meet the enemy. After the battle he was made a prisoner. As the Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk was engaged in the government of the Deccan, Muḥammad Amīn Khān[2] was appointed as the *Vazīr*. Muḥammad Amīn Khān was the son of Khwāja Bahā'-ud-Dīn, who was the brother of Nawāb 'Ābid Khān, and the *Qāḍī* of Samarqand (Samarkand). Muḥammad Amīn Khān had been the 2nd *Bakhshī* from the time of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, and as has been remarked above, he was appointed to the high office of the *Vazīr*. But death did not leave him much time after the appointment, and he died in a few days' time. Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk came to the Capital from the Deccan, and put on the robes of the *Vazīr*[3]. He wished to re-introduce the precepts of Aurangzīb, which had been laid aside. The foolish officers considering this contrary to their personal interests perverted the mind of the King. During the same period corresponding to 1135 A.H. (1722-23 A.D.) signs of rebellion became apparent in the actions of Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, Governor of Gujarāt, and the Nawāb was deputed to chastise him[4]; and in this way the officers removed the Nawāb from the

1 Tūra in the the text should be Tōda Bhim, see Irvine, *Maāṯhir*, Text, II, p. 58 and note. See also Beveridge & Prashad's translation of *Maāṯhir*, I, p. 636, note 5.

2 For his account see *Maāṯhir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 346-350, translation *antea*, pp. 114-117. Also Irvine, *op. cit.* I, pp. 263, 264, and II, pp. 103-105.

3 21st February, 1722, see Irvine, *op. cit.*. II, p. 106, *Maāṯhir*, Text, III, p. 877.

4 Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, p. 129.

Court. When the Nawāb arrived at the stage of Jhābū[1] near Gujarāt, Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, who had made a march to oppose him, perceived that he was not strong enough for a fight, and so feigned madness. The Nawāb turned his reins to the Capital, and as a reward for his services was appointed Governor of Mālwa and Gujarāt, in addition to the government of the Deccan and the office of the *Vazīr* (which he held already). But the hypocrisy of the officers disgusted him. In the year 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) the government of the whole of the Deccan was transferred from the Nawāb to Mubāriz Khān, who for many years had been the *Nāẓim* of Ḥaidarābād. His annoyance at this injustice became apparent, and making the uncongeniality of the climate of Capital and the congeniality of that of Murādābād, where he had served as Governor earlier, as his excuse, he took leave from the King for going to Murādābād. After he had gone some stages, he turned off to the Deccan, and hurriedly reached there[2]. Mubāriz Khān came forward to oppose him. In the vicinity of Shakarkhēra[3], sixty *kos* from Aurangābād, the two armies met. On the 23rd of Muḥarram, 1137 A.H. (1st October, 1724 A.D.) a severe battle[4] took place. Mubāriz Khān was killed, and all the

1 Jhālūh in the *Tarikh-i-Muẓaffarī* (*vide* note on p. 750 of text of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III. It is probably Jhālwārah or Jhālabārah of Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, pp. 249, 253.

2 The sequence of events in the above account is not correct. Niẓām-ul-Mulk took leave to proceed on a hunting excursion to his *jāgīrs* in Murādābād in December, 1923, while Mubāriz Khān, Governor of Ḥaidarābād was appointed as the Deputy for Prince Shahryār Shāh, for the whole of the Deccan, on 14th February, 1724. Niẓām-ul-Mulk started on his journey towards Murādābād in January, 1724, but soon turned towards Āgra and making a detour through Mālwa made all haste for the Deccan where he reached in August, 1724, Irvine, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 136, 137.

3 Shakrkhēra in text, Irvine, and in Yusuf Husain Khan's work cited above, Shakar Khelda in *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, p. 86, and Shakarkhelda in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 350.

4 In reference to the date of this battle see note 2 under Mubāriz Khān, *ante*, p. 98.

territories of the Deccan came into the Nawāb's possession. Later the King tried to conciliate the Nawāb, and always sent him gracious *farmāns*, and choice presents; and at this time he was granted the title of Āṣaf Jāh[1]. In the year 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.) the King earnestly desired his presence at the Court. The Nawāb appointed his son Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang as his Deputy for the Deccan, and hastened to the Capital where he was honoured by the King. Faḍl 'Alī Khān versified the date of his arrival as follows:—

Quatrain

A thousand thanks! the protector of faith has arrived.
The ornament of ten kingdoms has arrived.
A spirit whispered in my ear the date of his arrival:
It said: The mark of God's mercy has arrived
(*Āyat raḥmat-Ilāhī āmad*: 1150 A.H., 1737-38 A.D.).

The Nawāb gave him as a reward Rs. 1,000 and a horse with silver trappings. Two months after the Nawāb's arrival at Delhī, the King allowed him to return to the Deccan for chastising the Marathas. The Nawāb after reaching Āgra left the normal southward route to the Deccan, and proceeded towards the east. He passed by Etāwah and Makanpūr, and crossed the Jumnā below Kālpī, and from there turned southwards. He came to Mālwa, and after traversing some stages, he reached the city of Bhōpāl, which was a dependency of Mālwa. The Maratha armies from the Deccan met him at this place, and in the month of Ramaḍān of this year there were several severe engagements in the Bhōpāl territory. As the coming of Nādir Shāh was imminent, the Nawāb considering it most opportune to make a peace, returned to the Capital[2]. When Nādir Shāh was victorious, and

1 The title was conferred on him after he reached Delhī in compliance with the King's orders on 12th July, 1737, see Irvine, II, pp. 300, 301. In his other biography, however, it is stated that the title was granted in 1138 A.H. See *Maāthir*, Text. III, p. 879.

2 For the Bhōpāl campaign and the peace with Bājī Rāō, see Irvine, II, pp. 302-306. Āṣaf Jāh returned to Delhī in April, 1738.

there happened what was to happen, the Nawāb was treated (by Nādir Shāh) with, what was in comparison to the treatment of other officers, great respect and consideration. As the Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Dauran[1] had sacrificed his life in the battle against Nādir Shāh, the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā together with other dignities had been conferred on the Nawāb before[2] the domination of Nādir Shāh, and this was confirmed after the latter left (India). In the year 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.) the Nawāb took leave from the King to go back to the Deccan, and after completing the journey arrived at Burhānpūr. Instigators induced Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang to oppose[3] his father. Several of the leaders and the army of the Deccan at first sided him, but later, out of their loyalty (to Āṣaf Jāh), delayed to take up arms. When Niẓām-ud-Daulah saw the change in the behaviour of the army, he retired to the shrine of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. When after making arrangements for the country and appointing new officers, Āṣaf Jāh, in the beginning of the rainy season, reached near Aurangābād, Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, fearing that he might be attacked, went off from the shrine to the fort of Malhēr. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh following the long standing practice allowed the troops to go to their homes and pasturages for the rainy season, and settled himself alone (*i.e.* unprotected by an army) in Aurangābād.

As the cursed Satan is the robber of man, in that he even perverts the thoughts of the prophets and makes them presumptuous and contradictory in accordance with the saying "*By Allah, you are most*

1 Khwāja Āṣam, Amīr-ul-Umārā Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, for his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 819-825, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 775-778.

2 پیش (pēsh) is probably a *lapsus calami* for پس (pas), or the clause پیش از استیلا نادر شاه has been misplaced in printing. The idea seems to be that when Khān Daurān sacrificed his life before Nādir Shāh won the battle of Karnāl and became the overlord, Āṣaf Jāh succeeded Khān Daurān in the office of the Amīr-ul-Umarā.

3 For the rebellion of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Nāṣir Jang see Yusuf Husain, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-244.

surely in your old error[1]", so Niẓām-ud-Daulah, at the instigation of opportunists, made up his mind to attack Aurangābād. He collected nearly 7,000 horsemen and rapidly marched to near Aurangābād. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh with such men as he had, and his artillery took up his position in the neighbourhood of the city near the *'Idgāh*. On 20th Jummāda I, 1154 A.H. (24th July, 1741 A.D.) towards the evening a battle took place. On account of the artillery of Āṣaf Jāh, the darkness of the evening, and the shortness of the time, the opposing army (of Niẓām-ud-Daulah) dispersed. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah pushed on his elephant, and got near Āṣaf Jāh's, but he was wounded and fell into the hands of his exalted father. In 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.) Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh determined to conquer Karnātik (Carnatic), and after reaching there he began by besieging and taking the fort of Trichinopoly[2], which was in the hands of the Marathas. After that he took Arkāt (Arcot) from the Newayatī tribe—who had long held it—and appointed to its charge Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Shahāmat Jang of Gōpāmau. In 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.) he returned to Aurangābād. In 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) he took Bālkonda—a dependency of Ḥaidarābād which was in the hands of some officers—after a short siege. In 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) news was received of the advance of Aḥmad Khān Abdālī from Kābul to Delhī. The Nawāb, as a matter of policy, started from Aurangābād towards Burhānpūr. At Burhānpūr he received the news that Aḥmad Shāh had been victorious, and that Aḥmad Khān Abdālī had after defeat turned back to Kābul.

At this time Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh became seriously indisposed. In the same condition, on 27th Jummāda I (14th May, 1748 A.D.) he marched towards Aurangābād. Owing to the complaint getting worse, he put up in tents near the city of Burhānpūr. The disease became worse and worse from day to day, and at last on 4th Jum-

1 *Vide Qur-ān*, p. 493, *Sūra* Yūsuf, verse 95 (in pt.).

2 29th August, 1743, according to Yusuf Husain Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 253, but see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 384, where it is stated that Murāri evacuated the fort on 25th August.

māda II, 1161 A.H. (21st May, 1748 A.D.[1]) he died at the time of afternoon prayers. At the time of the lifting of his dead body, the cry that arose from the people shook the whole world. The great officers carried his bier on their shoulders into the plain, and after prayers it was conveyed to the shrine of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. May his tomb be purified! It was committed to the earth at the foot of the Shaikh's tomb in the direction of the *Qibla*. *Muttwaja Bibisht*: (Towards the Paradise; 1161) was the chronogram of his death found by Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād.

An account of the Period beginning with the time of Nawāb Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, the Prime Minister of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh to the time of Niẓām 'Alī Khān in the year 1176 A.H. (1762 A.D.).

NAWĀB ĀṢAF JĀH, the Asylum of Pardons

(whose poetical name was ĀṢAF)

(Vol. III, pp. 875-927).

Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, his maternal grandfather was the Prime Minister of the Emperor Shāh Jahān, and 'Ābid Khān, one of the nobles of Samarqand, and a descendant of Shaikh Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Suhrawardy was his paternal grandfather. 'Ābid Khān arrived in Hindūstān during the reign of Shāh Jahān, and entered the service of Prince Aurangzīb, who, after his accession to the throne, increased his rank gradually to 5,000, and twice appointed him to the office of the *Ṣadārat-i-Kul*. He was killed at the siege of Gōlkonda by a cannon shot on the 24th Rabī' I, 1098 A.H. (28th January, 1687 A.D.). His son, Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn, was one of the principal nobles of Aurangzīb, and in time attained the rank of 7,000, with the title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Badādur Fīrūz Jang, and as a reward for his eminent services at the battle of Bījāpūr received from the appreciative Sovereign in addition to his former titles the appellation of *Farzand-i-*

1 116· in Yusuf Husain Khan, p. 284, is a printer's error for 1161.

Arjumand. During the reign of Shāh 'Ālam, he was appointed Governor of Gujarāt where he died in 1122 A.H. (1710 A.D.). His son, Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, whose real name was Mīr Qamar-ud-Dīn, and who was born in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.), was raised by Emperor Aurangzīb to the high rank of 5,000, with the title of Chin Qulīch (Qulīj in text) Khān, and about the close of that reign was appointed Governor of Bījāpūr. Shāh 'Ālam after his accession to the throne conferred on him the title of Khān Daurān Bahādur together with the office of the Governor of Oudh. Shortly afterwards, however, he, in consequence of some disagreement with the nobles of the Court, resigned his office, and having dressed himself as a *faqīr* went into retirement at Delhī. In the reign of Jahāndār Shāh, on taking up his normal life, he was reinstated in his former office with all his titles. In the first year of the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar he received the title of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Bahādur Fatḥ Jang with the rank of 7,000, and was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan. But when Amīr-ul-Umarā Saiyid Ḥussain 'Alī Khān was appointed to the viceroyalty of the Deccan, the Nawāb returned to the Court, and instead of remaining retired like the King, accepted from the Court his appointment to the government of Murādābād. In the reign of Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, he was promoted to the governorship of Mālwa; and he having discovered the jealousy of the nobles made up his mind to conquer the Deccan. With this end in view he left Mālwa in 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.) and turned to the Deccan. He peacefully obtained possession of the fort of Asīr from Ṭālib Khān, and the city of Burhānpūr from Muḥammad Anwar Khan, who during the reign of Rafī'-ud-Darajat had been appointed to the government of that place. On 13th of Sha'bān of the said year (9th June, 1720 A.D.) he defeated Saiyid Dilwar Khān, who had been deputed by the Emperor against the Nawāb at Ḥasanpūr in the district of Handiya. He then returned to Burhānpūr, and on 6th of Shawwāl of the same year (31st July, 1720 A.D.) gained a victory over Saiyid 'Ālam 'Ali Khān, nephew of Amīr-ul-Umarā Saiyid Ḥusain 'Alī Khān, Viceroy of the Deccan, in the neighbourhood of Bālāpūr.

And when the Saiyids of Bārah were liquidated, and I'timād-ud-Daulah, Muḥammad Amīn Khān—who succeeded them in the administration (of the country) under the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh—also died, Niẓām-ul-Mulk returned from the Deccan to the Court and was appointed Prime Minister on 5th Jummāda I, 1134 A.H. (10th February, 1722 A.D.). This *faqīr* (*i.e.*, the author) was living in the Capital in those days. During this time Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ḥaidar Qulī Khān Isfrāyīnī *Nāẓim* of Gujarāt rebelled (against the Central government), and Muḥammad Shāh appointed the Nawāb to the governorship of Gujarāt and Mālwa, in addition to his offices of the Prime Minister and the viceroyalty of the Deccan, and placed him in charge of the expedition against Ḥaidar Qulī Khān. The Nawāb very soon reached Jhābu near Gujarāt, and Ḥaidar Qulī Khān, finding himself unable to oppose (him), feigned madness, and retired. Niẓām-ul-Mulk appointed his uncle Ḥāmid Khān his deputy for the government of Gujarāt and Oudh, and returned to Mālwa, the deputyship of which he entrusted to his cousin 'Aẓīm Ullāh Khān. He reached Delhī in the beginning of the Jummāda I of that year (January, 1724 A.D.). The nobles were particularly anxious to prevent the Nawāb from becoming firmly established at the Court, and they, therefore, turned the Emperor's mind against him, and accordingly in 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.), Mubāriz Khān, *Nāẓim* of Ḥaidarābād, was appointed to supersede the Nawāb in the government of the Deccan. Niẓām-ul-Mulk in consequence of this pretended that the climate of Delhī did not suit him as much as that of Murādābād, to the government of which place he had previously been appointed, and accordingly took leave of the Emperor for proceeding to that place. After travelling a short distance he altered his course to the Deccan, where he arrived with all possible expedition. Mubāriz Khān advanced to engage him, and on the 23rd of Muḥarram, 1137 A.H. (1st October, 1724 A.D.), a severe action took place at Shakar Khēra in which Mubāriz Khān was killed, and all the dependencies of the Deccan accepted the authority of the Nawāb. The Emperor on obtaining intelligence of this conduct of the Nawāb appointed Mubāriz-ul-Mulk

Sarbuland Khān Tūnī to supersede him in the governorship of Gujarāt, and Mālwa was assigned to Girdhar[1]. The Emperor later tried to conciliate Niẓām-ul-Mulk, and bestowed on him in 1138 A.H. (1725-26 A.D.) the title of Āṣaf Jāh, and in 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) earnestly importuned him to return to Delhī. Niẓām-ul-Mulk having appointed his son Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang his deputy for the government of the Deccan, proceeded to the Court which he reached about the end of Rabī' I, of the same year (July, 1737 A.D.). After two months the Emperor deputed the Nawāb for the chastisement of the Marathas, and appointed him Governor of Akbarābād (Āgra) in place of Rāja Jai Singh, and also Governor of Mālwa in place of Bājī Rāo, and he himself went to Akbarābād. Āṣaf Jāh appointed Muḥyī-ud-Dīn Qulī Khān, who was his *Vazīr* and a relation, as his deputy for Āgra and himself started towards Mālwa. He had found that the roads along the banks of the river Chambal were very treacherous due to numerous deep pits and tunnels; the army of the Nawāb had at the same place been greatly harassed by thieves inhabiting the area on his ruturn journey from the Deccan. So he crossed the Jumnā below Āgra, keeping his course directed eastwards, and having passed Mukanpūr, again crossed the Jumnā below Kālpī, and entered the country of the Bundēlas; the Rāja of the Bundēlas joined him with some troops. He then proceeded to Bhōpāl, which was a dependency of the *Ṣūba* of Mālwa. Bājī Rāo marched from the Deccan with a large army against him and in the month of Ramaḍān of the above mentioned year a bloody battle commenced in the neighbourhood of Bhōpāl. As the news of the invasion of Nādir Shāh had spread, (the King) treated the Nawāb much more graciously than the other courtiers[1]. As Amīr-ul-Umarā Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Khān Daurān had been killed in the battle with Nādir Shāh, the Nawāb (Āṣaf Jāh) was appointed in addition to his other offices to that of the Amīr-ul-Umarā.

About this period Niẓām-ud-Daulah Nāṣir Jang, the deputy of Āṣaf Jāh in the viceroyalty of the Deccan, instigated by evil councillors

1 See, however, *Maāthir*, Text, III, p. 845, for an entirely different version.

declared himself independent. The Nawāb in the year 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.) made up his mind to settle this disturbance, and to conquer the Karnātik (Carnatic). He took leave of the Emperor and came to the Deccan. An action took place between the father and the son on 20th Jummāda I, 1154 A.H. (23rd July, 1741 A.D.) in the vicinity of Aurangābād at a place a little to its west. Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, who was wounded, was taken prisoner by his august father. In the year 1156 A.H. (1743 A.D.) the Nawāb engaged earnestly in an invasion of the Karnātic, and at first surrounded and took the fort of Trichinopoly, and later snatched Arkāt (Arcot) from the enemy. In 1157 A.H. (1744 A.D.) he besieged and took the fort of Bālkonda[1] which was a dependency of Ḥaidarābād from Muqarrib Khān Deccanī. On the 4th of Jummāda II, 1161 A.H. (21st May, 1748 A.D.) he departed from this life near Burhānpūr. His body was carried to the illuminated *Rauḍah* near Daulatābād, and interred at the foot of the grave of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. The Emperor Muḥammād Shāh and his *Vazīr* I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān also died in the same year. The author said:

Quatrain

Three great pillars (courtiers) of the government of *Hind* departed from this world.
Alas! Three matchless pearls fell from the palm of the world.
I computed the date of death of the three as:
The Shāh of the world, the *Vazīr* and the distinguished Āṣaf are no more.

The Nawāb was one of the principal nobles at the Court of the Emperors of the house of Tīmūr. From the reign of Khuld-i-Makān (Aurangzīb) to the death of Firdūs Ārāmgāh (Muḥammad Shāh) he ruled over the four elements and governed for nearly thirty years the six *Ṣūbas* of the Deccan which formerly had been under several exalted kings. A large number of the *Amīrs* of Muḥammad Shāh belonged

1 About 100 miles north of Ḥaidarābād, lat. 18° 51′, long. 78° 20′.

to his family, and they performed their duties, faithfully. He was a remarkable personality, endowed with angelic qualities and in his government the *faqīrs*, the learned, and deserving people received their share according to their deserts. And the learned and the holy persons of Arabia and Transoxania and Khurāsān and 'Irāq and of all parts of Hindūstān having heard of his appreciative qualities came over to the Deccan, and received due favours from him. In the year 1141 A.H. (1728 A.D.) he laid the foundations of a rampart round the city of Burhānpūr which was completed after some time. He founded Niẓāmābād near the hillock of Fardāpūr in what was an altogether a wild desert, and built a mosque, a caravansarai, a palace and a bridge. He also constructed a wall round the city of Ḥaidarābād and cut a canal from the River Harsul which passed through the centre of Aurangābād. Niẓām-ul-Mulk was justly esteemed a good poet as appears from a copious *Dīwān* which he left behind. The following verses were composed by him:—

Verse

When he saw reflected in the mirror the beauty of his beloved,
The face of the mirror became clouded with fresh moisture.
My mad heart was scorched by the fire of love,
The light hovered round the head of my moth[1].

At the time of his death Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, had six noble sons: Mīr Muḥammad and Mīr Aḥmad both by one mother; Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad, Mīr Niẓām 'Alī, Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf and Mīr Mughal all by different mothers. He bestowed on each of them high distinctive titles. The author for distinguishing them designates the first Amīr-ul-Umarā, the second Niẓām-ud-Daulah, the third Mīr-ul-Mummālik, the fourth Āṣaf Jāh II, the fifth Burhān-ul-Mulk and the sixth Naṣīr-ul-Mulk. Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur, son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, increased his fame by receiving the titles of his grandfather

1 Taken verbatum from *Khazāna 'Āmira*, (Cawnpore Litho. edn. 1900), pp. 35-39.

from the Delhī Court, after Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh went to Delhī from the Deccan, and was favoured with high honours at the Capital. Later when in the year 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.) the Nawāb was permitted by Muḥammad Shāh to leave for the Deccan, the Nawāb transferred to his son Fīrūz Jang the office of Amīr-ul-Umarā which had been bestowed on him after the death of Khwāja 'Āṣam, Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Khān Daurān in the battle with Nādir Shāh. On the death of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh in the reign of Aḥmad Shāh the title and office of Amīr-ul-Umarā were bestowed on Bashārat Khān, but after a short time the robe of Amīr-ul-Umarā was again bestowed on Shahādat Khān Fīrūz Jang. After the death of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, Nāṣir Jang, Amīr-ul-Umarā became anxious to succeed him as the Viceroy of the Deccan. The nobles, however, did not at first for various reasons agree, but after some time they consented, as will be narrated in the account of Ṣafdar Jang. Amīr-ul-Umarā was accordingly adorned with *Khil'at* of the viceroyalty of the Deccan by the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh, on the 3rd of Rajab 1165 A.H. (6th May, 1752 A.D.). He set off for the Deccan in the midst of the rainy season, and as his third brother Amīr-ul-Mummālik (Ṣalābat Jang) was in power at the time, he prevailed on Hōlkar, the Maratha chief who was near Delhī with a strong force, to join him. After completing the journey he arrived at Aurangābād on 20th Dhūl Qa'da (18th September) of the same year. Amīr-ul-Mummālik, who was at that time at Ḥaidarābād advanced to meet him, and the enemy (Hōlkar) seizing the opportunity demanded of Amīr-ul-Umarā the entire country of Khāndēsh, and Sangamnīr and Jālna from the dependency of Aurangābād, etc. Amīr-ul-Umarā, being inexperienced and a stranger in the country, and having before him the major issue of facing the Amīr-ul-Mummālik, handed over a grant for the territory of Khāndēsh etc. under his own seal to the Marathas; and so those extensive territories passed over for nothing to the Marathas.

As it had, however, been so decreed by the pen of Fate that the Deccan State should be restored to Amīr-ul-Mummālik, Amīr-ul-Umarā died suddenly on the evening of the 7th of Dhūl Ḥijja the last

day of the year (16th October, 1752 A.D.), only 17 days after his entry into Aurangābād, and all who had accompanied him on the expedition hoping for favours, fell into the well of despair. It was decided, that, after being satisfied about a safe passage, his bier should be taken to Delhī from Aurangābād with proper escort. At last they adopted this course and as a scattered group in attendance on the corpse they accomplished the journey, and on their arrival there burried it[1].

'Imād-ul-Mulk[2]—son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang, son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, and daughter's son of the late Vazīr-ul-Mummālik I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān—whose real name was Mīr Shihāb-ud-Dīn, and who is also known by his hereditary title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, on receipt of the grave news of the death of his father in the Deccan immediately went to the house of Vazīr-ul-Mummālik Ṣafdar Jang at Delhī. He remained there for some time, and so recounted his tale of woe that Ṣafdar Jang, taking pity on him, had the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā granted to him by Aḥmad Shāh[3]. Later this true engraving proved ill suited to the stone of kindness, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk plotted to remove Ṣafdar Jang, as will be detailed in the account of Ṣafdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk during the progress of the conflict invited Hōlkar from Mālwa and Jayappā[4] from Nāgōr to help him, but before their arrival peace was concluded with Ṣafdar Jang. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, Hōlkar and Jayappā all together marched against Sūraj Mal Jāt, and surrounded Bhratpūr, Kumhēr and Dēg, which were the three main fortifications of the Jāt country. As artillery is an indispensable requisite for the reduction of forts, 'Imād-ul-Mulk on the advice of the Maratha chiefs appealed to the Emperor Aḥmad Shāh for providing the necessary guns, and sent the petition

1 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 48, 49.

2 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 50-54. For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 847-856 and Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 674-678. For a detailed account of 'Imād-ul-Mulk and his times reference may be made to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, II.

3 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 454, 455.

4 Jayappā Sindhia or Jayajī Sindhia.

rough 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān Kashmīrī, his principal officer[1]. ıe *Vazīr*, Intiẓām-ud-Daulah, son of the late 'Imād-ud-Daulah ımr-ud-Dīn Khān, owing to his differences with the 'Imād-ul-Mulk ;suaded the Emperor from sending the necessary guns. 'Āqibat aḥmud Khān, however, prevailed on several of the imperial officers d the artillery contingent to join him by promising that on the ter- ination of the power of the Intiẓām-ud-Daulah they would receive gh favours (from his master), and attempted to remove Intiẓām-ud- ıulah. Accordingly on the day fixed for the purpose they went and rrounded Intiẓām-ud-Daulah's house, and raised a great tumult. ıt not succeeding in accomplishing his purpose, he fled towards īsna. On the way leaving the path of rectitude he pillaged the perial *Khālṣa* domains and the fiefs of officers which were in the virons of Delhī. Meanwhile Sūraj Mal Jāt, who had been reduced the last extremity by the besiegers, petitioned Aḥmad Shāh foı lp. Aḥmad Shāh on the ostensible pretence of hunting and inspec- n of administration of the area, but really to help the Jāt, started ›m Delhī, and encamped at Sikandara. He sent orders to 'Āqibat aḥmūd Khān, who was carrying on his depredations in the area, to esent himself before him. 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān came alone from ıūrja, and after paying his respects to the Emperor returned to ıūrja. As decreed by Fate, the idea developed in Hōlkar's mind, at as Aḥmad Shāh had delayed providing the guns, and now that he d marched out (of Delhī) attempts should be made to stop the cessary food supplies and fodder for the imperial army, and thus ess him hard to force him to provide the guns; and he wished to ry out his scheme without the knowledge or help of his allies. ithout intimating his intentions either to Ghāzī-ud-Dīn or Jayappā, ōlkar started at night, and having crossed the Jumnā river near athrā (Muttra) on the night on which 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān after ying his respects had returned to Khūrja, and arrived near the impe- l army in the early part of the night; he discharged several flights

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 526-530.

of rockets. The royal troops supposed that 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān had returned for mischief, and was committing depredations. Regarding the matter as of no consequence they neither got ready to fight nor did they attempt to retreat; thereby they would have averted the fate that awaited them. Later in the night, however, it became clear that Hōlkar was there, and as a result they were so much disturbed as to be unable either to make ready for fighting or to retreat. Consequently Aḥmad Shāh, Bihār Rāo and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Mīr Ātish, son of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Khān Daurān, and a few retainers fled towards the Capital leaving behind their families and all the baggage. This hard blow to the dignity of the Tīmūr dynasty was the result of inexperience, and want of judgment on the part of the Emperor. Hōlkar entered the camp without opposition, and plundered all the baggage of the Emperor. Zamāniya, the daughter of Emperor Farrukh Siyar and widow of the late Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and other wives of the Emperor were taken prisoners[1]. Although Hōlkar showed them all due respect, but the situation was extremely humiliating. 'Imād-ul-Mulk on hearing the news gave up the siege and hurried towards the Capital. Jayappā finding that his two allies had deserted him, and feeling that he alone would not be able to carry on the siege, withdrew towards Nārnaul. Sūraj Mal Jāt was thus relieved without any exertion. 'Imād-ul-Mulk with Hōlkar's influence and the machinations of the royal officers, particularly Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Mīr Ātish, assumed the office of the Premier in place of Intiẓām-ud-Daulah, and the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā was assigned to Mīr Ātish. On the day of his assuming the charge of the premiership, he placed Aḥmad Shāh and his mother under confinement, and on Sunday, the 10th of Sha'bān, 1167 A.H. (2nd June, 1754 A.D.) he placed 'Azīz-ud-Daulah[2], son of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 534-541. According to this account the Emperor marched to Sikandarābād not Sikandara. The account in Grant Duff, *History of Mahrattas* (Edwardes' Edn.), I, p. 474, appears to be based entirely on the description above.

2 'Izz-ud-Dīn in the text is incorrect. His name is 'Azīz-ud-Dīn or

Jahāndār Shāh on the throne with the title of 'Ālamgīr II. A week after they had been confined, he blinded Aḥmad Shāh and his mother —who had been the real cause of all trouble. After a few days he started for Lāhōre with a view to regulating the affairs in the Punjāb *Ṣūba*[1].

It should not be forgotten that in the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) Mu'īn-ul-Mulk was appointed Governor of Lāhōre, and after his death his widow succeeded him in this office, as is detailed in the account of Shāh Durrānī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk left 'Ālamgīr II in Delhī, and making Prince 'Alī Gauhar as the leader of his expedition, started for Lāhōre via Hānsī and Ḥiṣṣār. On reaching Ludhiāna[2], he, in compliance with Ādīna Bēg's request sent in the night a force, under the leadership of Saiyid Jamīl-ud-Dīn, the Commander-in-Chief and 'Abdullāh Khān Kashmīrī, his minister, to Lāhōre which was at a distance of 40 *kos* from that place. They reached Lāhōre within twenty four hours, and sending a party of eunuchs into the harem, woke up the Bēgam, who was sleeping quite unconcerned, and making her a prisoner removed her from her house and confined her in a tent. The Bēgam was 'Imād-ul-Mulk's mother's brother's wife, and her daughter also had been betrothed to 'Imād-ul-Mulk. 'Imād-ul-Mulk bestowed the government of Lāhōre on Adīna Bēg in return for a tribute of 30 lakhs of rupees, and returned to Delhī. Shāh Durrānī, on hearing of these proceedings, was greatly incensed, and marched with all haste from Qandahār to Lāhōre. Adīna Bēg Khān—like a school boy who is scared of books—fled from Lāhōre to the wilderness of Hānsī and Ḥiṣṣār. Shāh Durrānī marched without delay to within 20 *kos* of Delhī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, being without army and

'Azīz-ud-Daulah, See *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 436. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 543, 544.

1 For the Panjāb affairs during this period, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 50-81.

2 بودانه Būdāna in the text has been correctly identified as Ludhiāna by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

materials, and seeing no remedy except submission, waited on Shāh Durrānī. At first he was very annoyed, but later at the intercession of the Bēgam, referred to above, and Ashraf Anwar (Shāh Valī Khān, the Chief Minister) of Shāh Durrānī, he became reconciled with the Khān ('Imād-ul-Mulk), and the office of the *Vazīr* was also conferred on him without his having to pay any tribute for it. When Khān Jahān was deputed by Shāh Durrānī to reduce the forts of Sūraj Mal Jāt, 'Imād-ul-Mulk in concert with Khān Jahān performed valuable services, and earned encomiums from the Shāh. When the demand for tribute for the premiership was set forth (by Shāh Durrānī), 'Imād-ul-Mulk importuned the Shāh to allow him to take with him a prince of Tīmūrid descent and a detachment of Durrānī soldiers, to enable him to collect large sums of money as tributes from the Unterbaid districts[1] and present it to the Shāh. Shāh Durrānī, accordingly, sent for from Delhī two princes, Hidayāt Bakhsh son of 'Ālamgīr II, and Mīrzā Bābur son of 'Azīz-ud-Dīn brother of 'Ālamgīr II, and sent them with 'Imād-ul-Mulk and a force under Jānbāz Khān, who was one of his officers in attendance. 'Imād-ul-Mulk with the two princes and Jānbāz Khān, but without much bag and baggage crossed the Jumnā, and started for Farrukhābād, the seat of Aḥmad Khān son of Muḥammad Khān Bangash. Aḥmad Khān welcomed them, and presented tents, pavilions, elephants, horses etc. as tributes to the princes, 'Imād-ul-Mulk after crossing the Ganges then proceeded towards the Oudh *ṣūba*. Shujāh-ud-Daulah, the Governor of Oudh advanced against him from Lucknow, and marched to the plains of Sāndī and Pālī on the borders of Oudh. Two small skirmishes took place between the vanguards of the two forces. Later, through the intermediation of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān Rōhilla, peace was concluded at the expense of 5 lakhs of rupees, partly to be paid in cash, and a vague promise for the balance. Accordingly 'Imād-ul-Mulk in company with the princes marched from the field of battle

1 The area of Dūāb Oudh.

›n the 7th of Shawwāl, 1160 A.H. (Ist October 1747 A.D.) and fter re-crossing the Ganges returned to Farrukhābād[1].

After Shāh Durrānī, owing to the terrible ravages of cholera[2] in is army, rapidly started from the neighbourhood of Āgra on his return ›urney to his own kingdom (Kābul). On the day of his arrival opposite › the Capital (Delhī) the Durrānī was met by the Emperor 'Ālamīr II and Najīb-ud-Daulah on the banks of the tank of Maqsūdābād. :uring his interview with the Emperor, the latter made bitter comlaints against 'Imād-ul-Mulk. The Shāh, therefore, conferred the title f Amīr-ul-Umarā on Najīb-ud-Daulah, and started for Lāhōre. Najībd-Daulah[3] was of Afghān extraction, and as signs of greatness were pparent on his countenance, 'Imād-ul-Mulk had taken him into his wn service. When Shāh Durrānī came to India, he gained favour 'ith the Shāh through his outstanding qualities and because of the egard for his being of the same tribe (Afghān), until he was elevated › the office of the Amīr-ul-Umarā by running down 'Imād-ul-Mulk. short, 'Imād-ul-Mulk with a view to removing Najīb-ud-Daulah tarted for Delhī from Farrukhābād. And having invited Raghūnāth :āō a uterine brother of Bālājī Rāō, by exaggerated accounts from the)eccan, they together besieged Delhī. 'Ālamgīr II and Najīb-ud-:aulah were besieged. For forty five days an artillery duel was arried on, till Hōlkar accepting a heavy bribe from Najīb-ud-Daulah rranged for a truce. And bringing Najīb-ud-Daulah with his family nd property, honourably out of Delhī allowed him to encamp near is own camp. He took possession of his fief on the other side of the umnā river consisting of Mahārpūr, Chāndōr and all districts of 'ārah. When the leader of the Marathas besieged Najīb-ud-Daulah at

1 For the expedition see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-136, here it is described as an expedition sent for recovering the Dūāb and Oudh.

2 وبا has rightly been interpreted as Cholera by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, ›. *cit.*, p. 125.

3 For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 865-868, and nslation with notes *antea*, pp.

Shukartāl, as is detailed in the account of Shujāh-ud-Daulah, Najīb-ud-Daulah importuned 'Imād-ul-Mulk to come from Delhī to help him. 'Imād-ul-Mulk—who was annoyed with Khān Khānān Intiẓām-ud-Daulah, and was also not on good terms with the Emperor 'Ālamgīr II, in view of his belief that they were keeping up secret communications with Shāh Durrānī, and that they wished for Najīb-ud-Daulah's superiority over him ('Imād), he first killed Khān Khānān, and after three days on Thursday, the 8th Rabī' II, 1163 A.H. (6th March, 1750 A.D.) made 'Ālamgīr II drink the dregs of martyrdom. He placed on the throne the same day Muḥīy-ul-Millat son of Muḥīy-us-Sunnat, son of Kām Bakhsh son of Aurangzīb, with the title of Shāh Jahān III[1]. After the murder of the Emperor and Khān Khānān, he complied with the request of Dattājī, and hurried to his assistance. About this time the news of the return of the Shāh Durrānī caused a consternation in that neighbourhood. Dattājī giving up his camp at Shukartāl started towards Siṛhind with a view to fighting with Shāh Durrānī, and 'Imād-ul-Mulk returned to Delhī. When he heard of the fight between Dattā and the vanguards of Shāh Durrānī, he became certain of the victory of the Durrānīs and the defeat of his uncle (Dattājī); he could judge that of the two wrestlers who were having a bout, the stronger through the strength of his arms was sure to defeat the weaker. The Durrānīs by the force of their hard riding[2] had driven back his uncle (Dattājī) towards Delhī. 'Imād-ul-Mulk realized that Shāh Durrānī, after defeating his uncle (Dattājī) would soon arrive in Delhī. Out of fright he left the new Emperor at Delhī and himself proceeded to the domain of Sūraj Mal Jāt.

But Niẓām-ud-Daulah[3], the second son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Asylum of Pardons! is the central gem of the collar of nobles and the

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 213, 214; Shāh Jahān II in the work should, however, be Shāh Jahān III.

2 ترک تازی *Turk-tāzi* is explained by Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 241, as "hard or expeditious riding".

3 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 54, 55. For his biography see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 848-862, and translation *antea*, pp. 398-408.

ıtral theme of the compositions of poets; a detailed account of ıom has been included in his biography; here only a short account his doings adorns these pages. When Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh proceeded to :lhī in the year 1150 A.H. (1737 A.D.) he appointed his august as his Deputy for the Deccan. And during the period of his deputy-ɔ, he defeated Bājī Rāō[1], whose head was full of vanity, as has :n detailed in the account of the Marathas. After the death of af Jāh he sat on the *Masnad* of the Deccan. The Maratha chiefs :e so afraid of him that till the end of his reign none of them ever itted their own territories. Aḥmad Shāh, the Emperor of Hindū-n, sent a royal script in his own handwriting ro Nawāb Niẓām-ud-ıulah (inviting him to Delhī) for regulating the state affairs. The ·wāb proceeded post-haste as far as the Narbadā, when he received ıther letter revoking the earlier one. Further, Muẓaffar Jang, as is :ailed in his account, had turned his head from the path of loyalty. ıe Nawāb, therefore, retraced his steps from the Narbadā, and with ,000 cavalry and 1,00,000 infantry started to chastise Muẓaffar ıg. He proceeded with all possible expedition to Pondicherry which s at a distance of 500 Jarībī *kos* from Aurangābād. And on 26th ɔī' II, 1163 A.H. (24th March, 1750 A.D.) there was a severe :tle[2]. The breeze of victory waved the plumes of the standards Niẓām-ud-Daulah and Muẓaffar Jang was taken prisoner. Niẓām--Daulah spent the rainy season at Arkāt. The Karnātik Afghāns, ımmat Khān and others, who had been employed by him ring the last war, forgetting the claims of discipline and loyalty and ing carried away by the greed of acquiring territory and treasure, ıspired to turn against him. And in concert with the French at ındicherry they on the night of 17th (5th December, 1750 A.D.), :ording to the astronomical calculations and 16th Muḥarram of

1 Rājā Rāō in the text. The reference is apparently to Bājī Rāō's ɔredations carried out during 1739-40, as a result of which the districts of argāōn and Hāndiya were ceded to the Pēshwa, see *Cambridge History of lia*, IV, p. 383.

2 At Valūdavūr, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

1164 A.H. according to the current calendar, carried out a night assault, and Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah was sent to the red fields of martyrdom (*i.e.* killed). Some of his trusted attendants carried his corpse to the shrine of Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb, and he was burried close to Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. After Niẓām-ud-Daulah's martyrdom, Muẓaffar Jang[1] who was in captivity, was raised to the dignity of the Governor of the Deccan, and from Pondicherry they started for Ḥaidarābād. Fate and the Divine decree, however, made arrangements for the revenge of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah, and misunderstandings developed between Muẓaffar and the Afghāns. On the day when they were camping in the field of Lakkarēdī Pallī[2] their enmity burst forth, and the two parties coming out of their respective tents started fighting on 17th Rabī' I of the said year. The leaders of the two parties including Muẓaffar Jang, Himmat Khān and others were killed; the innocent murder of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah was revenged by the ignominious end of all its perpetrators at one stroke. The real name of Muẓaffar Jang was Hidāyat Muḥiy-ud-Dīn Khān. He was the great grandson of Sa'ad Ullah, the *Vazīr* of Ṣāḥib Qirān II, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, and was the daughter's son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons! He was the Governor of Bījāpūr during the time of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. In the time of Nawāb Niẓām-ud-Daulah Martyr, he rebelled. Nawāb Ḥusain Dōst Khān, also known as Nawāb Chandā Ṣāḥib, who was one of the nobles of Arkāt, joined him and instigated him to capture Arkāt. Muẓaffar Jang turned towards Arkāt. In the expedition he was able to arrange for the alliance of a large force of the French from Pondicherry through the intermediation of Nawāb Chandā Ṣāḥib. They advanced to attack Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān of Gōpāmau—who had been the *Nāẓim* of Arkāt since Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh's time—and on 16th Sha'bān, 1162 A.H. (21st July, 1749 A.D.) a bloody

1 *Khāzana 'Āmira*, pp. 59-61. There is a certain amount of unnecessary repetition in this account.

2 Lakrēt Pallī in the text is Lakkrēdi Palli, 35 miles south of Kuddapah city, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

battle took place. Shahāmat Jang fighting bravely drank the cup of death.

After the martyrdom of Nawāb Nīẓam-ul-Mulk the Afghāns and the French placed Muẓaffar Jang on the *Masnad* of the State. Muẓaffar Jang appointed Rām Dās as his *Dīvān* with the title of Rāja Raghūnāth Dās. This Rām Dās was a Brahmin soldier, native of Chicācōle, and was an assistant (*Mutṣaddi*) in the government of Niẓām-ud-Daulah. He did not hold any high office, but having taken a very active part in the murder of Niẓām-ud-Daulah became a great favourite with Muẓaffar Jang. Consequently the latter raised him to this high office, and he left with the Afghāns for Pondicherry. There he saw the Captain or the Governor of the place, and taking a force of French soldiers started for Ḥaidarābād. After passing Arkāt he arrived in the Afghān territory. Through the vagaries of Fate differences sprang up between Muẓaffar Jang and the Afghāns. On the day when they were encamped at Lakkarēdī Pallī the secret differences became apparent, and led to a fight. Muẓaffar Jang and the French on one side and the Afghāns on the other arranged their ranks for fighting. Himmat Khān and other Afghān leaders were killed. Muẓaffar Jang also died of an arrow wound in the pupil of the eye. This incident took place on 13th Rabī' I, 1164 A.H. (2nd February, 1751 A.D.).

Muẓaffar Jang had a scholarly mind and was a good logician. He was not at all interested in poets. During his reign—which did not extend more than a couple of months—the author had an opportunity of being in his company for eight days. Nights were spent in literary discussions. He was not at all averse to boasting and flattery. As soon as he started praising himself, the company would begin to use expressions affirming and testifying to his assertions. During the reign of Muẓaffar Jang Bālājī from Poona invaded Aurangābād with a large army. Rukn-ud-Daulah, the Governor of the place, got rid of him by paying him 15 lakhs of rupees. This Rukn-ud-Daulah was one of the chief nobles of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. He died on 11th Rajab, 1170 A.H. (1st April, 1757 A.D.). Muẓaffar Jang was the first to

employ Europeans and thus to introduce them in the Muḥammadan States. Prior to this Europeans lived in their ports, and never encroached beyond their boundaries. After the martyrdom of Niẓām-ud-Daulah he took the French into his employment and owed to their assistance the increase in his power. After Muẓaffar Jang's murder, the Europeans (French) enlisted in the armies of Amīr-ul-Mummālik, and took possession of Chicācōle, Rājamundry and other places as parts of their fiefs. And so increased their influence that the government of the Deccan passed into their hands. Monsieur Bussy, the leader of the French was granted the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk. As a considerable amount of rivalry has always existed between the English and the French, and their native countries are also adjacent, so the English also became desirous of gaining a foothold in the affairs of the country—just as one owl becomes jealous of another—and they took possession of Arcot. They already held Bengāl, and had taken possession of the fort of the Sūrat port. In 1174 A.H. (1760-61 A.D.) they besieged Trichnopoly, and taking it from the French, razed all its fortifications to the ground. Chicācōle, Rājamundry and other towns, which formed part of the French possession, and no one could even surmise how these territories would ever be freed from their yoke, were now recovered without any effort.

Amīr-i-Mummālik[1] was the third son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Asylum of Pardons! His real name was Saiyid Muḥammad Khān, and at first had the title of Ṣalābat Jang, but later during the reign of 'Ālamgīr II, he received the title of Amīr-ul-Mummālik. After the murder of Muẓaffar Jang, Rāja Raghūnāth Dās and other grandees made him their leader, and Rāja Raghūnāth Dās became the Prime Minister. The Rāja prevailed upon the French troops which Muẓaffar Jang after enlistment had brought over with him from Pondicherry, to take up employment with the Amīr-ul-Mummālik. After traversing the intervening stages Amīr-ul-Mummālik reached

1 *Khazāna 'Āmira*, pp. 61-66. He is referred to as Ṣalābat Jang in *Cambridge History of India*.

Aurangābād. Having spent the rainy season there, he, on 11th Dhū'l Ḥijjah, 1164 A.H. (20th October, 1751 A.D.), started with 50,000 cavalry men for punishing Bālājī. Fighting began on 12th Muḥarram, 1165 A. H. (20th November, 1751 A.D.). The brave warriors of Islām fighting all the way drove away the Marathas as far as Pōōna. The inhabited localities of the enemy, which they passed enroute, were burnt down and completely destroyed. The French artillery killed very large numbers of the enemy. Particularly on the night of 14th Muḥarram (22nd November) there was a total eclipse of the moon. The French carried out a night assault on the army of the Marathas[1], and consigned to the eternal fire-temple (*i.e.* massacred) a very large number of the opposing force. Bālājī, who was busy with devotional exercises customary among the Hindūs during the eclipse of the moon, naked as he was, got on to the back of an unsaddled horse, and sought safety in flight. The idols and golden utensils used by the Hindūs during worship fell into the hands of the Muḥammadans. But as a result of discord, the results of this expedition and the peace that followed were almost nil. After the termination of hostilities Amīr-ul-Mummālik returned to Ḥaidarābād. On 13th Jummāda II, 1165 A.H. (17th April, 1752 A.D.) the French levies killed Rāja Raghūnāth Dās on the plains of Bhālkī[2]. Nawāb Amīr-ul-Mummālik hastened

1 The surprise attack was between Ārangāōn and Sarola. The counter attack by Pēshwā Bālājī only five days later is not mentioned in this account; see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 387.

2 Thālkī تهالکی of the text should be Bhālkī. See Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, p. 456. Rāja Raghūnāth Dās was murdered "in a tumult apparently created by the soldiery on account of their arrears", but the date of murder is given as 7th April in Grant Duff. The appointments of Rukn-ud-Daulah and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah were made in accordance with Bussy's advice, *op. cit.*, p. 460. Rukn-ud-Daulah's real name was Mīr Ismā'il; for his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 359-361, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 835,836.

to Ḥaidarābād, and in compliance with his orders Rukn-ud-Daulah and Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah reached Ḥaidarābād from Aurangābād. Rukn-ud-Daulh was appointed the Prime Minister. Suddenly the news was received that Amīr-ul-Umarā Fīrūz Jang, son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, having received a grant for the viceroyalty of the Deccan from Aḥmad Shāh had started for the Deccan. Rukn-ud-Daulah neglecting his duties as the Premier went to Murmullā[1] to Jānūjī Nimbālkar[2]. His intention was that as the Amīr-ul-Umarā was coming with Hōlkar's forces to the Deccan, he (Rukn-ud-Daulah) might through the intermediation of Jānūjī Nimbālkar and also of Bālājī—with whom he was on terms of intimacy since the days of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons!—be introduced to and gain a footing with the Amīr-ul-Umarā. While Rukn-ud-Daulah left Ḥaidarābād, Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah remained there, and in the government of Ḥaidarābād replaced the Amīr-ul-Umarā. The Amīr-ul-Umarā after reaching Aurangābād died after a short spell of seventeen days[3]—during these seventeen days, however, he was responsible for several unfortunate affairs. The Marathas, who were supreme in the government of Amīr-ul-Umarā, made him cede to them by a written agreement the country of Khāndesh and the *Sarkārs* of Sangamnīr, Jālna etc.; as a result the control of the Muhammadan government over these territories disappeared altogether. After the death of Amīr-ul-Umarā, the Marathas allied themselves with the Amīr-ul-Mummālik who had come from Haidarābād to oppose the Amīr-ul-Umarā, and made him confirm the cessation of the territories which they had obtained from the Amīr-ul-Umarā. Later Rukn-ud-Daulah also arriving from Murmallā, joined Amīr-ul-Mummālik, and was reappointed Premier. Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah

1 مرملہ of text is Murmullā, see Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 461, and Thornton's *Gazetteer of India*. p. 502, it is a town in Shōlāpūr District, Bombay.

2 بنالکر Banālkar of the text should be Nimbālkar.

3 See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 461,462, and note 4, where the poisoning of Amīr-ul-Umarā Ghāzī-ud-Dīn is discussed at length.

was discharged and sent to Aurangābād. When the rainy season approached, Amīr-ul-Mummālik with Rukn-ud-Daulah come to Aurangābād. 'Umdat-ul-Mulk and Monsieur Bussy arrived and met Rukn-ud-Daulah. On 14th Ṣafr, 1167 A H. (11th December, 1753 A.D.) Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah Shāh Nawāz Aurangābādī was reappointed Premier displacing Rukn-ud-Daulah Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah exerted himself for four years to carry out the duties of the exalted office, and in the days of his premiership, he, by carefully arranged plans, was able to keep the Marathas in their place, and there were no disturbances whatsoever. Details of his regime have been given in the preface of the work *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*[1].

Mīr Nizām 'Alī and Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf, who were unemployed, were living during this time with Amīr-ul-Mummālik. Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah in the year 1169 A.H. (1755-56 A.D.) made Amīr-ul-Mummālik appoint the first as Governor of Berār and the second as Governor of Bījāpūr, and sent them to their respective charges. Mīr Nizām 'Alī later became known as Āṣaf Jāh II, and Muḥammad Sharif at first received the title of Shujāh-ul-Mulk and subsequently that of Burhān-ul-Mulk. On 6th Dhu'l Qa'da, 1170 A.H. (23rd July, 1757 A.D.) Burhān-ul-Mulk—who had come to the court at Aurangābād from Bījāpūr—was appointed Prime Minister in succession to Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah. During these days Āṣaf Jāh II came from Berār to Aurangābād with a large army, and dismissing Burhān-ul-Mulk, took the entire charge of the State into his own hands.

While Burhān-ul-Mulk was working as the Premier, he was also designated as the heir-apparent. In the same year Bālājī Rāō came to the environs of Aurangābād for creating trouble. Āṣaf Jāh II left Amīr-ul-Mummālik in charge of Aurangābād, and himself with Burhān-ul-Mulk advanced fighting to Sind Khēra (Sindkhēd), which was

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 24-33, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 18-25. Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah was dismissed on 27th July, 1757, but was induced to take up office again on 13th November. All power, however, later passed into the hands of Nizām 'Ali, later Āṣaf Jāh II, who became the heir-apparent and regent.

about 30 *kos* from Auraṅgābād. Finally truce was effected by granting[1] a fief to the Marathas; territory of the Deccan yielding a revenue of 27 lakhs of rupees was assigned to them; and rule of the Muḥammadans over these areas came to an end. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II, after concluding the peace returned from Sindkhēd to Auraṅgābād. Ḥaidar Jang, the Minister (*Dīvān*) of Monsieur Bussy, became the Commander of the French. As he saw that the presence of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh was a great impediment in the successful prosecution of his plans, he intrigued to remove the latter. By a variety of stratagems he alienated Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī[2] and the entire soldiery of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh from the latter, and enlisted them in the service of Monsieur Bussy. He agreed to pay the arrears of the salary of the army to the extent of eight lakhs of rupees; and so the Nawāb was left without any supporters. Later he imprisoned Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah, and so his fears in regard to both these rivals were set at rest. He further made plans for sending away Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to Ḥaidarābād on the pretence of appointing him as the Governor of Ḥaidarābād, but really with a view to imprisoning him in the fort of Gōlkanda (Gōlconda). In this way he hoped to have a clear field for the execution of his plans, but he could not anticipate that all his designs were to be upset by Fate. About noon on 3rd Ramaḍān, 1171 A.H. (11th May, 1758 A.D.), Ḥaidar Jang went to the tent of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh. The latter had already conspired with his advisers to murder Ḥaidar Jang. Āṣaf Jāh's officers, who were present in the assembly, and his trusted servants took hold of Ḥaidar Jang, and cut off his head. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh mounted a horse, and left the camp unattended. The French artillery were confounded, and this deed (of Āṣaf Jāh) surpassed any achievements of Rustam and Afrāsiyāb. The murder of Ḥaidar Jang resulted in Monsieur Bussy and other leaders of the army losing control, and in the resulting disturbances opportunists made martyrs of Nawāb Ṣamṣām-

1 In January, 1758, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV. p. 389.

2 کپردی Kapurdī in the text in place of Gardī, see *Cambridge History of India*, IV. p. 389. and Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

ud-Daulah and Yamīn-ud-Daulah, and Mīr ‘Abdul Nabī Khān son of Nawāb Ṣamṣām-ud-Daulah. After this incident, Amīr-ul-Mummālik, Burhān-ul-Mulk and Monsieur Bussy hastened to Ḥaidarābād, while Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II after the murder of Ḥaidar Jang took the road to Burhānpūr. Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī, who had forcibly been alienated by Ḥaidar Jang from Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, during this period[1] again joined the latter. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh on 13th Ramaḍān of the same year (21st May, 1758 A.D.) reached the outskirts of Burhānpūr, and confined to prison the wealthy men of the city and Muḥammad Anwar Khān Burhānpūrī and others. Muḥammad Anwar Khān as a result of the persecutions and grief at his confinement died on 17th Dhu'l Qa'da (23rd July, 1758 A.D.), and was buried in the shrine of Shāh Burhān-ud-Dīn Gharīb. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh left Burhānpūr and went to Berār. He encamped at Basīn[2], which was one of the main towns of Berār. After his encampment he started hostilities against Jānūjī son of Raghū Bhōnsle who was the Chief of Berār, but a peace was soon concluded between them. After that he joined Amīr-ul-Mummālik, who was at the time in the neighbourhood of Ḥaidarābād. After meeting, there were many disputes and altercations amongst the three brothers. Finally, however, it was settled that Nawāb Amīr-ul-Mummālik and Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II should unite, while Nawāb Burhān-ul-Mulk should retire to his government at Bījāpūr. On 18th Rabi‘ I, 1173 A.H. (9th November 1759 A.D.) a new development took place, when Sadāshiv (Rāō) with his two brothers, the cousins of Bālājī took possession of the fort of Aḥmadnagar (Bēdar), the Capital of the Niẓām-Shāhīs, through a treacherous collusion with the Commandant; on that day his forces entered the fort and took possession. The city of Aḥmadnagar was founded by Aḥmad Niẓām Shāh in 900 A.H. (1494-95 A.D.), and was named after him. In two to three years the city became well populated, and after a short respite, Aḥmad

1 See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 499,500 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 390.

2 پاتم Pātim in the text.

Niẓām Shāh built a rampart of stone and mortar, and inside it built handsome buildings and decorated dwellings for his own use. After his death the fort remained in the possession of his descendants till in the early part of the year 1009 A.H. (1600 A.D.) Prince Daniyāl son of the Emperor Akbar and Khān Khānān the Commander-in-Chief, took possession of it from the Niẓāmshāhīs. After that commandants of the Timurid Kings of India held this fort on their behalf, till after 270 years it passed from the hands of Muḥammadan rulers to idol worshippers. In this year Jādav Rāō formed the extravagant idea of the wholesale elimination of Muḥammadan rulers from the Deccan, and to make the rule of idolators flourish there he enlisted in his service Ibrāhīm Khān Gardī, who was a worse idol-maker than Ādhur. This Ibrāhīm Khān was of low origin, but having attained a considerable amount of military experience with the European (French) forces followed their maxims in battles. He had a considerable quantity of military stores and several guns with him. Originally he was in the service of Āṣaf Jāh II, but left the Nawāb owing to the latter's indifference and disregard, and joined the Marathas. The Marathas starting from Pōōna, came face to face with the Niẓām's forces on 22nd Jummāda I, 1173 A.H. (11th January, 1760 A.D.) at Ūdgīr. At this the Marathas had 60,000 cavalry men. Amīr-ul-Mummālik and Āṣaf Jāh II planned to force their way from Ūdgīr to Dharūr, and having joined with the forces stationed there to push on to the enemy's stronghold at Pōōna.

It should not be forgotten that previously the Marathas used to employ predatory Cossack tactics, in so far as they used to cause worry by stopping the supplies of grain and fodder for the armies of the Muḥammadans, and only engaged themselves if a suitable opportunity presented itself. The mainstay of the Muḥammadan forces was artillery, with which they surrounded their troops, and tried to repulse the enemy. On this occasion owing to the alliance of Ibrāhīm Khān with the Marathas the Cossak tactics were combined with the European mode of warfare, *viz.*, bombardment by the

artillery. They also had some light guns with them. The Muḥammadan army moved all together in a mass surrounded by their guns, and as they were very crowded, they offered excellent targets for the Maratha artillery, while the Marathas seldom suffered from the bombardment by the Muḥammadan guns. Ibrāhīm Khān in spite of the fact that he was a Muḥammadan, had determined on defeating Islām. Whether on march or in camp, and by day and night he kept up constant fire from the guns which he cleverly manoeuvred into position, and whether marching or halting, by day or by night never allowed his opponents a chance. As a result the soldiery in the Muḥammadan army became disheartened, and large numbers were killed. On 6th Jummāda II of the same year (25th January, 1760 A.D.), however, the brave warriors of Islām sallied forth from their entrenched positions behind the guns, and attacked Ibrāhīm Khān and the rest of the Maratha forces. They wounded and killed large numbers of them, and capturing eleven standards of Ibrāhīm Khān's forces retired to their positions. The fighting was continued in this way till they reached the fort of Āusa[1] some three *kos* from Dharūr. The Marathas realizing that if the Muḥammadan army was allowed to join with the troops at Dharūr, it would become difficult to overcome it, and so on 15th Jummāda II (3rd February) with nearly 40,000 horsemen they attacked the rearguard of the Muḥammadan army. As the enemy force was very large, and that of the Muḥammadan army not more than two to three thousand men, after a terrible fighting, their rearguard was routed, and the Muḥammadans were signally defeated. On the following day finding themselves quite incapable of opposing (the Maratha forces), a peace—which involved a thousand complications—was arranged. The Marathas took over territory yielding an annual revenue of sixty lakhs of rupees, consisting of the entire province of Aurangābād except for the city, the parganah, and the two districts of Harsūl and Sittāra, half of the provinces of

1 اودیسه Audēsa in the text. For details of the territory ceded including Daulatābād, see Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 505-507.

Bēdar and Bījāpūr, the forts of Daulatābād, Āsīr and Bījāpūr, which had been the capitals of the rulers of Islām. The Crown-lands and the fiefs of many of the nobles and *Manṣabdārs* were lost in the ceded territory. As a result of the dictates of Fate there was a strange type of general massacre. Except for the province of Ḥaidarābād, and some of the territories of the provinces of Berār and Bījāpūr, and the fort of Bēdar nothing was left in the possession of the descendants of Āṣaf Jāh; and in that also they had a share of about one-fourth. The diseased blood was circulating in the vessels of the country. Although there was a great weakening of the foundations of Islām, but it did not happen according to the project of Jādav Rāō who wanted to eradicate totally the rule of Islām from the Deccan territories. As the beginning of this weakening was the loss of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, a poet found the date of the loss of country with a revenue of 60 lakhs as follows:—

Quatrain

The infidels, the enemies of Islām, captured
Several forts, (which were) skilfully fortified.
Wisdom wrote the date of the event:
Aḥmadnagar was lost and also the territory of the Deccan!

(*Raft Aḥmadnagar wa mulk Dakkan.* 1173 A.H.; 1759-60 A.D.). After peace had been concluded, the Marathas sent an army for taking over the fort of Dautatābād. The commandant of the fort, Shujā'at Jang, a descendant of Saiyid Muḥammad Qanaujī, at first opposed the demand. The Marathas called his emissaries, and showed them the written orders of Amīr-ul-Mummālik to Shujā'at Jang, and added that the fort, in accordance with the terms agreed upon, must be surrendered. Having no other alternative, Shujā'at Jang on 19th Sha'ban, 1173 A.H. (6th April, 1760 A.D.) surrendered the fort to the Marathas. A poet composed a poem:—

Quatrain

The infidels captured Aḥmadnagar;
Daulatābād, the famous fort, was also lost.

Wisdom, the date of the event on the panel of the world
So inscribed : Daulatābād was also lost
(*Daulatābād ham raft* : 1173 A.H., 1759-60 A.D.)

(Here is included) an account of the time and means by which Daulatābād came into the possession of the Muḥammadans[1].

Historians have recorded that Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn nephew and son-in-law of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, King of Delhī, having heard, before his accession to the throne, that Rām Dēo Rāja of the Deccan had immense treasures which had continued unmolested in the family, started for the Deccan from Hindūstān with 7,000 to 8,000 horsemen, for taking possession of Dēogīr, now known as Daulatābād in the year 704 A.H. (1304-05 A.D.). And after a long journey reached Ellichpūr, and from there by rapid marches hurried to Dēogīr. Rām Dēo who had been deceived by the state of security resulting from the profound peace that had prevailed, was unprepared and sent the small force of men, which was available at the time, to oppose him. These faced the vanguard of the Sulṭān at a distance of two *kos* from Dēogīr. As the Hindūs of the Deccan had never seen the Muḥammadans, and not witnessed the skilled archery and skirmishing of the brave warriors of Islām, they could not withstand even the first onslaught, and were not able to stop them anywhere up to Dēogīr. Rām Dēo seeing this debacle withdrew himself into the fort of Dēogīr. Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn came victorious to the city, and having made the brave and rich inhabitants of the place prisoners collected an indemnity of 150 maunds of gold, several maunds of pearls, and valuables of all kinds. He also took 200 elephants and several thousand horses from the royal stables of Rām Dēo. Being cut off from his supplies Rām Dēo sent his emissaries, and in all humility implored for peace. The Sulṭān in consideration of the peace accepted 1,000 maunds of gold, according to the Deccan measure, seven maunds of pearls, two maunds of different precious stones, one thousand maunds of silver, 4,000 pieces of silk stuffs, silver and gold brocades, and other articles

1 This appendix is taken verbatim from *Khazāna 'Amira*, pp. 66-74.

which were beyond description. The Sulṭān having taken the indemnity, fixed an annual tribute to be paid by Rām Dēo, released all the captives, and lifting the siege after twenty five days started back, and reached Hindūstān victorious and without having suffered any reverses. And having killed Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn succeeded him on the throne.

When Rām Dēo having become refractory did not send any tribute for three years, the Sulṭān, in the year 706 A.H. (1306-07 A.D.), deputed Malik Kāfūr, who was his most leading officer, with 100,000 cavalry for the couquest of the Deccan. When Malik Nā'ib reached near Daulatābād, Rām Dēo, realizing the futility of opposing him, left his son Sikandar Dēo in the fort, and coming out of the fort with all his sons, and numerous presents and offerings interviewed the Malik Nā'ib. The latter took them to Delhī, and presented them to the King 'Alā-ud-Dīn in the beginning of the year 707 A.H. (1307 A.D.). The King bestowed high honours on the Rāja, granted him the white umbrella and the title of Rāī Rāyān, and allowed him Dēogīr and most of his ancient possessions. He also granted him, as his fief, Navsārī, which was situated near the port of Sūrat, and having presented him one lakh gold tankas in cash, permitted him to depart with his sons and followers. Rām Dēo, after reaching Dēogīr, took possession of such territories as had been assigned to him by the Sulṭān, and did not for a long time extend his feet beyond the limits of obedience. In the year 709 A.H. (1309-10 A.D.) the Sulṭān sent Malik Nā'ib Kāfūr with a large army to proceed *via* Dēogīr for the conquest of Warangal. Rām Dēo came to welcome him on his arrival at Dēogīr, and treated him with great respect and courtesy. He also gave him much aid in carrying out the expedition. Malik Nā'ib after conquering Warangal guaranteed peace to Lakkad Dēo[1], and returned to Hindūstān with a huge tribute which he had been able to collect. In the year 710 A.H. (1310-11 A.D.) Malik Kāfūr was deputed with a large army to conquer the port of Dhōr (Dvaravati-

2 Rudar Dēo according to De, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, translation, I, p. 182. For details of Malik Kāfūr's expedition see *Cambridge History of India*, III, pp. 215,116.

pura)—one of the ports of the Deccan and which has now been devastated by floods—and some other sea ports. On reaching Dēogīr he found that Rām Dēo had died, and his son had succeeded him. Finding the son differently inclined from his father, he considered it necessary to leave some forces at Jālna, and proceeded further. He reached the ports after three months, and uprooted the whole area. He captured Balāl Dēo, the Rāja of Karnātik, and took so much cash, and jewels worth so many thousands, God only knows their full value—and returned to Jālna. There he released Balāl Dēo and other chiefs of the Karnātik, whom he had taken with him after capture, and by way of Sulṭānpūr and Na<u>dh</u>arbār (Nandurbār) he returned to Delhī in 711 A.H. (1311 A.D.). He presented to the Sulṭān 312 elephants, 96 maunds of gold, several chests of jewels and pearls, and 20,000 horses. After a few days he represented to the King, that Rām Dēo had died, and he could not trust the son. If permission was granted, he would proceed to the Deccan, recover the tribute of the past several years by force, and add the territory of Rām Dēo to the conquered area. The King approved of his plan, and permitted him to depart to the Deccan.

Malik Nā'ib after reaching Dēogīr and having captured the son of Rāo Dēo killed him. He took possession of the fort, and hoisted the standard of Islām in that territory, and in place of Rām Rām, ***Salām*** became the salutation there. From this time onwards this fort always had Muḥammadan rulers. On 19th <u>Dh</u>u'l Ḥijjah, 1042 A.H. (17th June, 1633 A. D.[1]), Mahābat <u>Kh</u>ān, one of the grandees of Ṣāḥib Qirān II, Shāh Jahān Bādshāh, captured it from its Niẓāmshāhī rulers. Since that time commandants appointed by the Tīmūrid Kings continued to be responsible for the safety of the fort. After 460 years it passed from the hands of the believers to those of the idol-worshippers. "***And we bring these days to men......by turn***[2]."

1 28th June 1633, according to Sir Wolseley Haig, ***Cambridge History of India***, IV, p. 265.

2 ***Qur-ān***, p. 189. Sura ***Āl-i-'Imrān***, verse 139 (in pt.).

During the time of the Rājas, Dēogīr did not have any fortifications, gateways, moats etc. The Muḥammadan rulers erected proper fortifications. Sulṭān Muḥammad son of Tughluq Shāh changed the name of Dēogīr to Daulatābād, and had a deep stone-lined moat encircling the fort. He also built elegant buildings and wanted to make it his Capital, and with this end in view he tried that the people should desert Delhī and migrate to the new town[1]. Finally, however, his plans did not fructify.

The commandant of the fort of Bījāpūr having no means at his disposal did not offer any resistance. As soon as he received the orders which the Marathas had forced the Amīr-ul-Mummālik to issue, he handed over the port to the Maratha officers. The inner fort of Bījāpūr was built by Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh who was the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhī Dynasty. Originally it was a mud fort, but Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh about the close of the year 900 A.H. (1495 A.D.) pulled down the mud wall, and had it rebuilt out of stone and mortar After his death it remained in possession of his descendants. Aurangzib in the beginning of Dhu'l Qa'dah, 1097 A.H. (September, 1686 A.D.) took the fort from Sikandar, who was the last of the 'Ādilshāhī Sulṭāns. Since that date commandants of the Tīmūrid Kings looked after the proper protection of the fort. After the period of two hundred and seventy odd years the fort passed from the hands of those who tell beads (Muḥammadans) to those who wear sacred threads (Hindūs).

But Mīr Najaf 'Alī, the commandant of the fort of Āsīr in his attempt to defend Islām refused to deliver the fort to the Marathas. The Marathas surrounded the fort, but the said Khān defended it for nearly a year. Finally, when the garrison was greatly distressed for want of provisions and stores, he sued for peace and surrendered the

1 See Mahdi Husain *Rise and Fall of Muḥammad bin Tughluq* (1938), pp. 121-123, and N. B. Roy, *Journ. Ind. History*, pp. 159-180 (1941).

fort of the Maratha officers on Friday, 12th Rabiʻ II, 1174 A.H.[1] (21st November, 1760 A.D.). An author composed the following verses:—

Quatrain

The fort of the Shāh of Islām was captured by the infidel.
Fate decreed the affairs in this fashion!
The clever author, the year of the happening
Found in: Strange! Āsīr fort has been taken.

(*ʻAjab Ḥaṣn Āsīr raft*: 1174 A.H., 1760-61 A.D.). The fort of Āsīr was founded by Āsā Ahīr, which by constant use had been contracted, and the three middle letters dropped. Āsā was the name of the person, and Āhīr, his denomination, means in Hindi: a cow herd. Āsā Āhīr was a well known *Zamīndār* of Khāndēsh. His ancestors had been living in that very hilly country for nearly 700 years, and having built a stone and clay wall for the protection of their cattle and other property, were able to live in peace. The cattle herds and the property had increased greatly by the time Āsā Āhīr became the head. Consequently he pulled down the old wall, and built one out of stones and mortar. The fort was henceforth known by his name.

Naṣīr Khān Fārūqī, the ruler of Burhānpūr, whose reign started in 801 A.H. (1398-99 A.D.) took the fort from Āsā Āhīr by the following stratagem. He sent word to Āsā that Rājas of Baglana and Antūr, who were not on good terms with him, had collected large forces. He therefore, requested that the family might be accommodated in the fort, so that he could, with his mind at rest, face the enemy. Āsā consented. On the first day Naṣīr Khān sent several females into the fort in palanquins (*dōlīs*). He had instructed them that if the ladies of Āsā's household came to visit them, they should receive and treat them with all courtesy. On the second day he sent valiant

1 The surrender of Asir by Mīr Najaf ʻAli in 1760 is not definitely mentioned either in Grant Duff or in the *Cambridge History of India*.

soldiers seated in a number of *dōlīs*. Immediately after the *dōlīs* had entered the fort, the soldiers all rushed simultaneously out of the *dōlīs*, and with drawn swords proceeded towards Āsā's quarters. Āsā and his children, who did not entertain any suspicions of treachery, were coming over to welcome them. The soldiers on meeting them killed all of them, and other inmates of the fort came out asking for quarter. Naṣīr Khān, on hearing the news, immediately attended to the building, and had all damage repaired. Since that date this fort remained in possession of the descendants of Naṣīr Khān till Emperor Akbar wrested it in 1009 A.H. (1600-01 A.D.) from Bahādur son of Rāja 'Alī Khān. The commandants appointed by the Tīmūrid Sulṭāns looked after the safety of the fort since this date, but after a little over 660 years this fort passed out of the hands of the followers of Islām, and came into the possession of heretics.

In short after getting possession of territories yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 60,00,000, and three forts, Jādav became highly conceited. Elated by his success he marched, with a large army, and a body of artillery trained along European lines, towards Hindūstān for retrieving the defeat of Datta. He was ignorant of the fact that Fate was scoffing at all his plans, and the Courier of Death was guiding him along to Hindūstān. Although Vishvās Rāō son of Bālājī Rāō had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces, and Jādav nominated as the *Dīvān*, but Jādav really was all in all. After reaching Hindūstān and in the battle against Shāh Durrānī Vishvās Rāō, Jādav, and various other leaders were killed; and all the army, artillery and countless stores and baggage fell into the hands of the Durrānīs, as will be detailed in the account of Shāh Durrānī. And this event took place on 6th Jummāda II, 1174 A.H. (13th January, 1761 A.D.). Bālājī Rāō also in the Deccan went to join his son and brother (died) on 19th Dhu'l Qa'da of the same year (22nd July, 1742), and was succeeded by his son Mādhū Rāō, who was a minor, and his brother Raghūnāth Rāō. In the year 1175

1 23rd June according to *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 425, and end of June according to Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāh II seizing the opportunity (after the defeat of the Marathas at Pānīpat) collected large forces, and taking Amīr-ul-Mummālik with him started from the Bēdar fort, where forces had been concentrated, towards Aurangābād. Raghūnāth Rāō and Mādhū Rāō also with a strong force and artillery started from Pōōna, and the forces of the believers and the infidels met in the plain of Shāhgarh; and there was fighting from there up to Aurangābād. Āṣaf Jāh II left his heavy baggage at Aurangābād, and on 23rd Rabī' II 1175 A. H. (21st November, 1761 A.D.) started from there for the headquarters of the enemy at Pōōna. Defeating the enemy forces he pushed them back to within seven *kos* of Pōōna. Enroute he had burnt Tōka[1] which was a town on the bank of the Gōdāvarī, where there were magnificient temples, and many beautiful buildings built by the Marathas, he broke the idols and razed the city to the ground. And a similar fate seemed to be imminent for Pōōna, when Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, on account of the differences with his brother and Rāja Rām Chandra who was a leading officer of the Muslim Army, having made up with the Marhattas, on the night of the 27th Jummāda I of the year (24th December, 1761 A.D.) quitted the Muslim Camp and joined the Maratha Army. And as a result the unforseen came to pass. After this event, the Marathas realizing the weakness of the Muslim Army, attacked it from all four directions, and bringing up their guns began shelling them hard. The brave warriors of Islām quitting their entrenched positions behind the ring of guns, fell upon the enemy, and dispersing their ranks by hand-to-hand sword attacks killed large numbers of them. The enemy being unable to hold them retired. When the Marathas saw that the victorious armies of their antagonists after traversing so much territory had reached to within seven *kos* of Pōōna, they went over to Mādhu Rāō and explained that all their attempts to stop the progress of the forces of the enemy had been in vain, and probably on the following

1 Lōukar of text is Tōka, a village on the Gōdāvarī, *vide* Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 535; also see Thornton's *Gazetteer* p. 942.

day Pōōna would be in flames. The inhabitants of Pōōna also remonstrated with Raghūnāth Rāō against throwing their families at the mercy of the Muḥammadans. Being left with no other resource, Raghūnāth Rāō and Mādhū Rāō sent their representatives and asked for peace. Territory with an annual revenue of twenty-seven lakhs of rupees consisting of the provinces of Aurangābād and Bēdar was, in consideration of peace, ceded to Āṣaf Jāh II. This peace was concluded on 6th Jummāda II, 1175 A.H. (2nd January, 1762 A.D.)[1]. It is strange that on the same date of the previous year Shāh Durrānī had defeated Jādav. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh retraced his steps from within seven *kos* of Pōōna towards the fief of Rām Chandra, and as a punishment for his misdeed had his fief plundered and laid waste by the Muslim forces. In the beginning of the rainy season, on 14th Dhū'l Ḥijja, 1175 A.H. (6th July, 1762 A.D.) he with Amīr-ul-Mummālik entered the fort of Bēdar. On the same day he imprisoned Amīr-ul-Mummālik in the said fort; he remained there in prison for one year, three months and six days. After this work was written, he died on Thursday, 8th Rabīʿ I, 1177 A.H. (15th September, 1763 A.D.), and was buried in the shrine of Shaikh Muḥammad Multānī. May his tomb be sanctified! In reference to the date of his death Mīr Aulād Muḥammad Dhakā, May he live long! composed the following:—

Quatrain

The ruler of the Deccan, his noble soul
Has flown from the net of hardships;
Dhakā wrote the date of his demise;
Amir-ul-Mummālik went to the heavens.

(*Amīr-ul-Mummālik ba Jannat shuda*: 1177 A.H. 1763-64 A.D.)

Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II, after he had made the fort of Bēdar as his headquarters, respectfully received the rescript assigning to him the viceroyalty of the Deccan in succession to Amīr-ul-Mummālik from Shāh 'Ālī Gauhar, which had been issued in his name, and added

1 For details see Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 535,536.

fresh glories to the government of the area. Having appointed Rāja Pratāpwant[1], a Brahmin of Sangamnīr as his *Dīvān*, he left to him the management of all the territories and the revenue matters. After the peace on the 6th Jummada II, 1175 A.H. (2nd January, 1762 A.D.) Raghūnāth Rāō and Madhū Rāō each tried, as will be detailed below, to become supreme at Pōōna. As a result dissensions arose among them. The partisans of Mādhū Rāō wanted to assume full power and imprison Raghūnāth Rāō. Raghūnāth Rāō, however, getting timely warning of their intentions with a small force fled from Pōōna towards Nāsik on 3rd Ṣafar 1176 A.H. (24th August, 1762 A.D.). Muḥammad Murād Khān Aurangābādī who was one of the leading officials of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh II, was appointed by the Nawāb for the conciliation of the Marathas. He was stationed at Aurangābād. On hearing of the arrival of Raghūnāth Rāō, he hurriedly left Aurangābād with a force on 14th Ṣafar of the same year (4th September, 1762 A.D.) and joined Raghūnāth Rāō at Nāsik. Raghūnāth, who was quite destitute and greatly distressed, regarded, the arrival of Muḥammad Murād Khān as most opportune, and treated him with all due respect. The Maratha leaders regarded Muḥammad Murād Khān's joining Raghūnāth Rāō as an indication of Nawab Āṣaf Jāh being a partisan of Raghūnāth Rāō, and several of them, therefore, deserted Mādhū Rāō and joined Raghūnāth Rāō. Consequently Raghūnāth Rāō was able to command a fair-sized force. On the 25th Rabi' II (13th Novembe, 1762 A.D.) he hurried from Aurangābād to Aḥmadnagar. Mādhū Rāō also came with a force from Pōōna, and on the 25th Rabi' II, he was defeated about 12 *kos* from Aḥmadnagar and fled from the field of battle. Suing for peace, he presented himself before his uncle, Raghūnāth Rāō, the next day. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh had come from Bēdar as far as Nawardgāh to support Raghūnāth Rāō, when the business was concluded. When the Āṣaf Jāhī armies reached Pajrgāōn

45 پرماسوت Parmāsūt in the text, but it is Pratāpwant in *Khazāna 'Āmira*, and Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 539, and Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 352, and note in which he is described as "one of the 32 wise men of the Deccan;" his full name was Vithal Sundar Rāja Pratāpwant.

(Baidgāōn in text), Raghūnāth Rāō also hurried to the place, and on 10th Jummāda I (27th November, 1762 A.D.) they interviewed and feted each other. Raghūnāth Rāō in lieu of the Nawāb's help ceded to him territories of an annual rental of fifty lakhs of rupees, and having completed the deeds handed these over to the Nawāb's representatives.

As the memorable affair had been arranged through the exertions of Muḥammad Murād Khān, Rāja Partāpwant, who did not like that anyone else should have greater power and influence in the affairs of the State and in the fort of Daulatābād, broke off the peace[1]. He prevailed upon Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh to remove Raghūnāth Rāō from his position, and sent for Jānūjī, son of Raghū Bhōnsle, Chief of Berār, and promising to establish him in place of Raghūnāth Rāō made him take up service with the Nawāb. Naṣīr-ul-Mulk, the sixth son of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, Asylum of Pardons, who had joined the Marathas, being dissatisfied with the treatment he had received, rejoined Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh on 14th Sha'bān of the same year (28th February, 1763). The standards of the Nawāb with a powerful army were turned towards the chastisement of Raghūnāth Rāō. The latter finding himself incapable to oppose this force, took to wandering and laying waste the dominions, which was natural to the Marathas. With 30,000 horsemen he proceeded towards Aurangābād, and encamped in the western suburbs of the city. He made heavy demands for cash from the inhabitants. Mu'taman-ul-Mulk Bahādur, the Governor of Aurangābād, notwithstanding the small number of troops and lack of military equipment, made the best possible arrangements for the defence of the fortifications and the city wall, and distributed the guarding of the fortifications between Himmat Khan Bahādur *Kōtwāl* of the city—who was the uterine brother of Muḥammad Murād Khān Bahādur—and other officials and citizens, and in the expectation of receiving assistance from Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh prolonged the negotiations with the Marathas. Raghūnāth Rāō, becoming wise to his plans, and having decided on taking the city,

1 See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

arranged for scaling ladders[1]. On the morning of 20th Sha'bān (6th March, 1763 A.D.), just as the sun had begun to rise in the east, his followers began to plunder the habitations outside the city wall. Raghūnāth Rāō with a force moved to the north of the city, and his soldiers began to arrange the scaling ladders at the foot of the fort. Bringing elephants opposite the wall several of them managed to climb up, and reaching the rampart attempted to enter the inner fort by forcing the gate which was located in the wall of the large garden. Himmat Khān Bahādur, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Bāqir Khān assisted by the citizens, however, set up such a strong opposition and resistance by showering bullets, stones and shoes in such large numbers, that most of the vain assailants were hurled down to the bottom of the wall. On the other side also large numbers of them were killed or wounded by the citizens. In the height of the action, while arrows and bullets were being showered in huge numbers, a musket shot hit the elephant of Raghūnāth Rāō, and this bullet decided the fate of the battle. Raghūnāth Rāō greatly perplexed withdrew from the attack, and, hearing the news of the approach of Āṣaf Jāh's forces, fled towards Baglāna. On 26th Sha'bān of the same year (12th March, 1763 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāhī forces entered Aurangābād. As the Marathas were moving towards the Berār territory for plundering the country, the Nawāb by making forced marches reached near Bālāpūr on 1st Ramaḍān (16th March, 1763 A.D.) and frustrated their designs. The Marathas leaving that territory marched rapidly towards Ḥaidarābād passing near the town of Aurangābād. The Nawāb also changed his course, and followed in their pursuit up to the river Gōdāvarī. There it was agreed upon that the destruction of the territories of the Marathas should have preference over pursuing their armies. Accordingly the Nawāb gave up the pursuit and started towards Pōōna, the headquarters of the Marathas. After crossing the pass at Aḥmadnagar, he deputed large parties of the army for ravaging all territories of the

1 For *Nardūbān* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 271, 281.

Marathas, and having reached to within 2 *kos* of Pōōna encamped there. The inhabitants of Pōōna had already fled to forts and fortified places in the vicinity. "*So*[1] *they became such that naught could be seen except their dwellings*". The soldiers of the Muslim army burned down and razed to the ground all the buildings of the city of Pōōna, while other forces thoroughly plündered and destroyed the environs of Pōōna and the Kōkan (Kōnkan), God be praised! During the reign of Bālājī and Jādav who would have dared to raise the hand of opposition towards their preserves extending from the borders of the Deccan to Lāhōre. Now their properties and possessions were plundered, and their buildings which had been erected at a cost of lakhs of rupees, were burnt down by the fire of the wrath of the Almighty. Mīr Aulād Muḥammad Dhakā, May he live long! said: —

Quatrain

Āṣaf Jāh II, as glorious as Solomon;
Totally burnt down the habitations of the Brahman tribe,
Hear its date from the brilliant wit of Dhakā!
Forces of Islām burnt Pōōna!

Raghūnāth Rāō after reaching Ḥaidarābād assaulted it on 1st Dhū'l Qa'da (14th May, 1763 A.D.), and made very vigorous attempts for capturing the city. Shujāh-ud-Daulah Bahādur Dil Khān Aurangābādī, the Governor of Ḥaidarābād, had collected a sufficient force and made proper arrangements for the defence of the city. He and his men repelled the assault by their determined efforts and by firing guns and matchlocks and shooting arrows, as a result of which large numbers of the invading army were despatched to hell by his brave soldiers. From there also Raghūnāth Rāō had to return without achieving his objective[2].

1 *Qur-ān*. p. 970; Sūra *Al-Aḥqāf* verse 25 (in pt.).

2 Further details regarding the conflict on the return journey and in which the *Divān* was killed, mentioned earlier on are not included here.

NIẒĀM-UL-MULK NIẒĀM-UD-DAULAH ĀṢAF JĀH
(Vol. III, pp. 868-875).

He was the fourth son of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and his real ame was Mīr Niẓām 'Alī[1]. He was educated under the direct iidance of his father, and received the titles of Khān and Asad Jang ahādur. As marks of courage were apparent on his august forehead :, at an early age, was sent with Shaikh 'Alī Khān Bahādur as his iardian to chastise the Marathas. During the government of Ṣalā-it Jang, in the year 1169 A.H. (1755-56 A.D.) he was appointed overnor of Berār. Later he went to his brother Ṣalābat Jang at urangābād, and took his place as the heir-apparent. During this me, as Rāō Bālājī was making excessive demands, he, considering e settling of this affair as of importance, left his brother in the city, id went forth with a large army to encounter him. The affair end-l peacefully.

At this time Monsieur Bussy, the leader of the French hat-wearers, io was in the employment of Ṣalābat Jang, arrived from Ḥaidarābād. s his agent Ḥaidar Jang showed signs of treachery, Niẓām 'Alī nptied his brain-pan of the wine of life (assassinated him), and irriedly went away to Burhānpūr. There he set forth collecting the aterials of war and later moved to Berār. He several times fought with nūjī son of Raghūjī Bhōnsle, who was the Maratha agent for the

1 This biography was written by 'Abdul Ḥayy, the son of Ṣamṣām-ud-iulah, while Niẓām 'Ali was still alive, and naturally, therefore, the author s careful not to include anything in the account which might lead to trouble. iulām 'Ali Āzād styles him as Āṣaf Jāh the 2nd. He deposed his elder other Ṣalābat Jang in July, 1761, and assumed the government of the Deccan. : made Ḥaidarābād the seat of his government, and ruled for over 41 years. : died on 17th August, 1802, see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* id edition), p. 300. Another account of Niẓām 'Ali and his murder of iidar Jang taken from *Khazāna-i-'Āmira* is given in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, , pp. 904 *et seq.* The same account forms the basis of Niẓām 'Ali's activities detailed in Grant Duff's *History*.

collection of *Chauth*, and again fighting with him made proper arrangements. Then he started to meet Ṣalābat Jang, who was then staying opposite Machlī Bandar (Masulipatam) in the province of Aurangābād. When Basālat Jang, his younger brother, hearing of his arrival, separated from the elder brother, and, after crossing the river Krishnā (Kistnā), left for his own province, he went there, and in his capacity as the heir-apparent took charge of the affairs there. Later, when Bālājī Rāō in the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.), after taking possession of the fort of Aḥmadnagar, began to usurp the country, he got ready to oppose him. Unfortunately the rear-guard of the army was defeated and the leaders of that force were either killed or wounded. Considering the exigencies of the time he assigned country worth 60 lakhs of rupees to the Marathas, and made peace. And leaving Ṣalābat Jang, he went towards Rājendry (Rājahmundry) for collecting the tribute. After his return from there, as more army was demanded by the government of Ṣalābat Jang, and the fulfilment of the orders was not possible, he took possession of a number of districts of Ḥaidarābād to make payment of the salaries of the forces asked for, and going over to Elgandal, in the neighbourhood of the *Ṣūba* of Haidarābād, spent the rainy season there. Next year, as Raghūnāth Rāō the brother of Bālājī created various difficulties by coming with a force, he did not give up the thread of fidelity from his hands, and fighting with his forces advanced as far as Mēdak in the Ḥaidarābād *Ṣūba*. There peace was arranged. Later he hurriedly marched to Bīdar, and took the fort from Muqtaḍa Khān, and after staying there for some days moved to near Ḥaidarābād. During this time Basālat Jang had taken Ṣalābat Jang to the other side of the Kistnā river for collecting money from the land-owners of the *Ṣūba* of Bījāpūr which was in his territory. As this did not prove very profitable, Ṣalābat Jang separated from him and went to the fort of Gulbarga. On receipt of this news he hurriedly travelled to that fort, and having comforted his brother, brought him with himself to Bīdar for spending the rainy season. As Bālājī died that year, and Raghūnāth Rāō his brother and Mādhū Rāō his son were not on good terms, he thought it was the

ıost opportune time for chastising them, and fighting along the 'ay in 1175 A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) reached within six *kos* of Pōōna ›hich was the home and centre of that class (the Marathas). After ;ace had been concluded, he returned to Bīdar. In the same year the :ters-patent of the viceroyalty of the Deccan in his name was received om Delhī, and therefore, he removed his brother from that charge, ıd himself took over the full control of the affairs of that province. the next year having decided on chastising the Marathas, he crossed ıe Bhīmra (Bhīma) river. Raghūnāth Rāō, because of the small force ıder him, was unable to oppose, and so took to flight. He followed his pursuit by rapid marches, sometimes 15 *kos*, and other times ɔ *kos* a day, up to the borders of Pāyanghāt in Berār and from there ɔ to the town of Pattan in the district of Aurangābād. When Raghū-ıth Rāō started towards Ḥaidarâbād for plundering and devastating ıe area, he advanced to Pōōna, and did not leave any stones unturned ı taking full vengeance from that tribe and in devastating that area. ater he advanced to the fort of Aūsa[1], and having collected the bag-ıge started towards Aurangābād. As the Ganges[2] river (Gōdāvarī) as in flood, he had to wait a few days before crossing. The force ıs divided into two parts, one which in company with him reached ,urangābād, and the other which was left with his *Dīvān* Bēthal Dās. 'he Maratha, who was waiting for the opportunity, suddenly attacked ıem (the second contingent). A large number were killed, and the :mainder routed. Thereafter a truce was settled between him and ıādhū Rāō, who had been able to gain authority over his uncle aghūnāth Rāō. In the year 1178 A.H. (1764-65 A.D.), he hurriedly ıarched to Qamrnagar Kurnool, the Governor of which place had ecome recalcitrant, and having subdued him peacefully and taken tribute from him, he started along the route of Kunjī Kōta and Tur-atī, aud having traversed along the river Kistnā, crossed it opposite

1 Purandhar, according to Grant Duff, see Edwardes' edition of *History of e Mahrattas*, I, p. 541.

2 Gangā or the Ganges here means the river Gōdāvarī.

Bajwāra adjoining the province of Gujarāt. In the year 1182 A.H. (1768-69 A.D.) he went to the territory of Srirangapattaṇa (Seringapatam) and having made an alliance with Ḥaidar 'Alī Khān, the Governor of the place, whose biography[1] is included separately in this work, they advanced their armies over the head of the Europeans of Karnātik Ḥaidarābād. But the results were unfavourable, and so arranging a truce he returned to Ḥaidarābād. Raghūnāth Rāo having killed his brother Nārāyan Rāō came to his country with evil intentions in the year 1187 A.H. (1773-74 A.D.). Consequently he advanced with the available forces as far as Bīdar. Artillery[2] duels went on for nearly a month, and then the matter was settled by a truce. As Raghūnāth Rāō was intoxicated with vanity in those days, he broke his faith, and on the return journey levied tributes from the Nizām's dominions. During this time, the old officials of Rāō Bālājī—who were upset on account of the fretful temperament of Raghūnāth Rāō, and were carrying the thorn of enmity in their hearts at the iniquitous murder of Nārāyan Rāō—turned to him and wanted to make an alliance. He with their help prepared for action, and from near the fort of Kalyānī to the fort of Mīraj, and from there to Burhānpūr kept in pursuit of Raghūnāth Rāō. For passing the rainy season he returned to Aurangābād, and next year again he set his horse of determination in the same direction, until Raghūnāth Rāō retired to the other side of the Narbadā (Nerbudda). Later with a view to settling the disputes of the province of Berār, which were pending between Sabājī and Mādhūjī, the sons of Raghūjī Bhōnsle, and who were behaving audaciously towards the deputy governor Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur, he proceeded in that direction, and went as far as Nāgpūr which was the native place of the peasant Raghū. Sahājī had been killed by his brother before his arrival, and Mādhūjī considering peace as a source of security gave up the struggle

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 611-613. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 597-598.

2 For *Rahkalah* see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 139-141.

at the time of his return from Nāgpūr. Meanwhile the *Dīvān* of his government, known as Rukn-ud-Daulah, who was an exceedingly humane man, was killed by a soldier, Ismā'īl Khān in 1189 A.H. (1775-76 A.D.) and the latter also after reaching the Nawāb's forces, fighting bravely gave up his life. After that he has personally attended to all official business and became accessible to all. And verily he looks minutely into official regulations. As a patron of families and dispenser of mercy he is pre-eminent. The high and low of the Deccan are in accordance with their deserts, benefitted from his charitable nature. Despite the fact that he is benevolent and dispassionate, dignity pervades in his meetings. Although his eminence and glory are those of a sovereign, he never neglects the poor. He is a master of the arts of warfare, such as archery and gunnery, and is a connoisseur of Arabian horses. As a Sunnī he is never forgetful of his religious duties and their performance. May the Almighty in His glory preserve his greatness, and grant him a long and glorious life! His elder son, Mīr Aḥmad Khān Bahādur, who is known by the title of Amīr-ul-Mummālik 'Ālījāh exhibits high degree of eminence in his countenance. His second son Mīr Akbar 'Alī Khān also known as Mīr Fūlād Khān, though very young, reflects his noble breeding in all his actions. He has other children, who are all being brought up under his paternal care.

NŪR QULĪJ

(Vol. III, pp. 811,812).

He was the son of Āltūn[1] Qulīj Khān and a relation of the Qulīj Akbarī[2]. In the reign of Akbar he attained the rank of 500, and in the 21st year[3], when the Emperor started from Ajmēr towards

1 *Āltūn*, according to Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I, (2nd edn.), p. 536, is a Turkish word meaning gold.

2 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 380-382. Also see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 69-74.

3 In 1576 A.D., see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 244 et seq.

Gōganda, which was in the Rāna's dominions, Nūr Qūlij was deputed with Qulīj Khān to Īdar[1]. In the fight with the *Zamīndār* of that place, Nūr Qulīj in spite of being wounded in the arm did not withdraw from the fight, and performed valuable service. In the 26th year[2] he was sent with Prince Sulṭān Murād on the expedition against Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. In the 30th year Qulīj Khān, the Governor of Gujarāt, sent him to assist Amīn Khān Ghōrī[3]. In the 32nd year he[4] arrived at the Court with the Khān Khānān, and paid his respects.

(TARKHĀN MAULĀNĀ) NŪR-UD-DĪN[5]

(Vol. I, pp. 478-481).

He was born in Jām, but was brought up in holy Mashhad, and was a Riḍwī. His father was Sulṭān 'Alī, generally known as Sulṭānī, and practised as a jurist of the Muḥammadan Traditions in Herāt. The Maulānā was distinguished for his learning, courage and liberality, and was fond of Astronomy, Mathematics and the use of the astrolabe. He entered the service of Bābur along with Qāḍī Burhān Khawāfī. Humāyūn became very fond of his company, and he became his most favourite counsellor and associate. He was attached to his stirrups during the journey to Īrān[6], and spent twenty years in the service

1 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II (De's translation), p. 495.

2 He is mentioned as one of the officers of the right wing under Qulīj Khān in the army which was ordered to proceed to Pēshāwar under Rāja Mān Singh in the 26th year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 353, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 518, 519.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 471, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 710.

4 *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, II (De's translation), p. 583, where it is stated that Niẓām-ud-Dīn Aḥmad sent Qulīj Khān and others to help Amin Khān.

5 The earlier part of the account is apparently based on Badā'ōnī in the *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, Text, III, pp. 197-200. A short notice of him is also included on p. 157 of the same work.

6 See *Tadhkira-i-Humāyūn wa Akbar* of Bāyāzīd Biyāt (Hidayat Hosain edn.), pp. 52, 178.

of that august Sovereign. Sometimes the King asked his opinion about scientific matters, and sometimes he consulted the King about mathematical problems, particularly about the astrolabe, in which Humāyūn was highly proficient. He was poetically minded, and composed a *Dīvān*. This verse is his[1]:—

Verse

Our hand does not reach the border of Union.
Having injured the foot of search we languish at the base.

From the similitude of name he adopted Nūrī as his *nom-de-plume*; and he was called Nūrī Safaidūnī. Safaidūn[2] is a village in the province of Delhī. As it was for long a part of his fief, he became generally known by this appellation.

Akbar[3] during his reign, in view of his past services and associations, was gracious to him, and granted him the title of Khān, and later raised it to Tarkhān, and conferred on him a drum and a standard. *Pargana* Sāmāna was in his fief, and Mīr Saiyid Muḥammad managed it on his behalf. In the 10th year, Shēr Muḥammad Dīwāna—who was originally a servant of Khwāja Mu'ẓẓam, but later became attached to Bairām Khān, and because of his good looks became the latter's favourite, and was trusted by him. He became a traveller along the path of ingratitude at the time of his master's

1 Other samples of his verses are included in Badā'ōni's notice cited above.

2 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 287, where it is noted that Safidun has a brick fort. In Badā'ōnī, however, p. 274, it is stated that Safidun is in the *Sarkār* of Sirhind; it is just likely that he has probably mixed up Sāmāna in Sarkar Sirhind—which was also in the fief of Nūr-ud-Dīn—with Safaidūn. Sir Wolseley Haig in a footnote on the same page notes that it is a town in the Jind State.

3 According to Badā'ōni, the title of Tarkhān was conferred by Humāyūn; this in view of Nūr-ud-Dīn's close associations with him appears more likely.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 263, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 392, 393. The name of the Deputy is Mīr Dōst Muḥammad in that work.

downfall, and was not regarded with favour at the royal court—had been living for some time in this town. One day he invited the Maulānā's Deputy to his house as a guest. During the entertainment he was sharpening a dart, and suddenly fixing the arrow in a bow charged it so at the breast of the innocent man that he was killed. He plundered whatever the man had possessed, and having gathered a number of hooligans extended the arm of oppression and plunder in that neighbourhood. The Maulānā courageously set about putting him down. When the forces met, the arrogant one charged the Maulānā's force. During the charge his horse ran against the trunk of a tree and he fell down. Some of the infantry made him a prisoner, and the Maulānā immediately put him to death. As Maulānā Nūr-ud-Din Muḥammad Khān had received the title of Tarkhān[1], but did not possess the privileges appertaining to it, he composed the following strophe[2]: —

Out of kindness and his generosity
The just King conferred on Tarkhān the title of Khān.
This rank made him the leader of the world,
Among peoples, in the kingdom and his peers.
Only the name of *Khān*-hood is there with him.
What does he gain from this great name?
He has a complaint against *Tarkhānate* also,
Before the King of perfect knowledge:
That besides *Khān* there is nought left but dryness,

When *Tarī* (moisture) disappears from *Tarkhān*.

In his last days he was appointed guardian of Humāyūn's tomb, and there he died.

1 For the title of Tarkhān and its privileges, see Blochmann's valuable note in the *Ā'īn*, I (2nd Edn.), pp. 393, 394.

2 The verses as quoted in Badā'ōnī are slightly different. The puns are fully dealt with by Sir Wolseley Haig in footnote 2 on p. 275.

NŪR-UD-DĪN QULĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 817, 818).

In Jahāngīr's time he was exalted by being appointed as the Kōtwāl of the Capital (Āgra). In the 12th year, his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 300 horse[1]. After Mahābat Khān's exhibition of presumption and his flight, Nūr-ud-Dīn was in the army that was sent after him. He went as far as Ajmēr and stayed there[2]. Later after Jahāngīr's death, when the standards of Shāh Jahān reached Ajmēr, he did homage, and was exalted by reinstatement in his earlier rank of 2,000 with 700 horse, and deputed with Khān Jahān Lōdī, who was sent for the first time to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 3rd year, when the Deccan was the seat of the royal camp, and three armies under the command of three officers were deputed to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī, and for devastating the territories of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī who had offered him (Khān Jahān) an asylum there, Nūr-ud-Dīn was sent with A'ẓam Khān[3]. In the 5th year[4], on the 25th Sha'bān 1041 A.H. (7th Mach, 1632 A.D). when he left the *Darbār*, and was going home, Kishan Singh son of Jaswant Rāthōr assassinated him because in Jahāngīr's time his men had killed Kishan Singh's father. The assassin escaped.

1 In *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, p. 418, it is stated that in the 12th year Nūr-ud-Dīn Qulī was "honoured with the mansab, original and increase of 3,000 personal and 600 horse."

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 82. The grant to him of a *Khil'at* and the rank of 2,000 with 700 horse by Shāh Jahān is mentioned in the same work on p. 121. It is clear from the above that he was not restored to the rank which he held under Jahāngīr.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 241, 242.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 418.

PĀDSHĀH QULĪ KHĀN[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 447-453).

He was generally known as Tahawwur Khān, and was an accomplished military officer. He was the son-in-law of 'Ināyat Khān Khawāfī[2], *Dīwān* of the *Khālṣa* (Crown-lands). He too was a Khawāfī. When in the 22nd year of the reign, Emperor Aurangzīb arrived at Ajmēr to confiscate the territories of Mahārāja Jaswant[4] (Singh) who had recently died, Tahawwur Khān at the time of his return to the Capital was appointed *Faujdār* of Ajmēr in succession to Iftikhār Khān. Later, when the confidential servants of the Mahārāja out of evil designs caused a disturbance in the royal retinue, and running away set up a rebellion at Jōdhpūr, Rāj Singh, one of the servants of the Rāja, collected an innumerable host, and attacked Tahawwur Khān. For three days they fought, and things passed from fighting with bullets and arrows to contending at close quarters. There were heaps of slain. At last Tahawwur Khān beat the drum of victory[4], and Rāj Singh with many others were sent to annihilation. The Rājpūts were so intimidated by his bravery that they did not have the courage to make any further attempt to face him. When, in the beginning

1 Shāh Qulī Khān according to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 262. Tyoer Khan in Tod. *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), p. 47.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 813-818, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 678-880.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 599-604, Beveridge & Prashad's translation I, pp. 754-756. He died on 20 December, 1678.

4 The battle in front of the temple of Boar near the sacred lake of Pushkar, according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 335, ended on 30th August, 1679. In a footnote it is added that, according to *Raj-vilas*, the battle took place on 28th August and ended in a complete rout of the Moghul army. Har Bilas Sarda in his *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive* (1941), p. 169, gives the dates as 19-21st August, apparently according to the Old Style and also says that "Tahawar Khan fled, and his army was destroyed! See also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 179, 180, on which the above account is based.

of the 23rd year, the blessed city was again visited by the Emperor[1], Tahawwur Khān received a present of two elephants, and was deputed to attack Māndal[2] and other *parganas* of the Rāna. The Emperor himself also proceeded in that direction to chastise that wicked person. When he was encamped at Māndal, he was honoured by the grant of the title of Pādshāh Qulī Khān[3]. Later, he was deputed in company with Prince Muḥammad Akbar[4] to Sōjut and Jaitāran for chastising the Rāthōr Rājpūts. When lack of food-stuffs made existence impossible for the Rājpūts, and the whole of their territory was trampled down by the imperial troops, they became certain that this infidel-smiting Emperor would not rest till he had overthrown and extirpated them. They, therefore, had recourse to deceit and feline tricks. First of all they approached Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, who had in those days been ordered to encamp at Anā Sāgar tank[5], to intercede for the pardon of their offences. They further tried to instigate him to rebel, and offered to help him with 40,000 horsemen[6].

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 181. Tahawwur Khān, according to the same work, p. 182, was granted a robe of honour, a quiver and a bow, and one elephant (not two elephants as stated in the above biography).

2 Māndal in the *Sarkār* of Chittor, vide Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 274. Māndal had a brick fort.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 188. Khāfī Khān's account (II, p. 262) is incorrect both in regard to dates and the statement that Pādshāh Qulī Khān was granted the title of Tahawwur Khān at this date.

4 Prince Muḥammad Akbar's appointment is mentioned in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri* on p. 194, but Tahawwur Khān's name is not mentioned. Sōjat and Jaitāran in *Sarkār* Jōdhpūr, both with forts on hills, vide Jarrett, *op. cit.*, p. 276; the names are spelt as Sojhat and Jetaran. In Tod's map—*Rajasthan*, I (1914 edn.) the places spelt as Sojut and Jeytayrun are shown to the east of Jodpoor.

5 Khāfī Khān (II, p. 263) wrongly has Ujjain for Ajmēr, and says that Anā Sāgar tank is 80 *kos* from Ajmēr. The mistake is repeated in Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 299. For Anā Sāgar tank see Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-65.

6 This is taken from Khāfī Khān (II, p. 264), but the offer of 40,000 horsemen, according to that account, was made to Prince Muḥammad Akbar and not to Shāh 'Ālam (p. 265). Nawāb Bāī' was the daughter of Rāja Rājū,

It is stated that as a result of the warning of his mother Nawāb Bāī', the Prince paid no heed to the foolish proposal of those babblers. Having failed with him they turned to Prince Muḥammad Akbar, and made similar proposals. The Prince, in spite of his wisdom and knowledge, through inexperience and the impulse of youth, and because of the instigations of his mischief-loving associates, girt up the loins of rebellion. Shāh 'Ālam becoming aware of this conspiracy wrote to the Emperor that the possibility of the incitement of the Prince by the infidels should not be ignored. Aurangzīb attributed this to fraternal jealousy and rivalry; previously at Ḥasan Abdāl similar slander had earned Shāh 'Ālam a bad name; and as the Emperor had no misgivings about Muḥammad Akbar, he wrote in reply[1] "This is utter folly. May the glorious God always keep you along the straight path!" Not many days had passed, when the dust was dispersed; the Rājpūts joining Prince Muḥammad Akbar under the leadership of Durgā Dās, the seating of the Prince on the throne of sovereignty, conferring of titles, bestowal of increase of ranks on his adherents among the royal servants such as Pādshāh Qulī Khān—who was his guide in straying from the right path and in iniquitous designs, and who was made Amīr-ul-Umarā and received promotion to the rank of 7,000—and the employment of traitor Muḥtasham Khān and Ma'mūr Khān, were all reported simultaneously to the Emperor by his confidential servants. It was also reported that the Prince was marching against his father with a force of 70,000 cavalry. The royal forces at this juncture were engaged in chastising the rebellious and seditious elements, and were scattered. Although it is generally stated that at this time in the royal retinue there was not more than 800 horse, including the eunuchs, the office staff etc[2]., but in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* the number of the following including personal attendants etc. is given as not

Rāja of Rājaurī in Kashmir, *vide* Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 2, and Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, II, p. 57, note 2.

1 Adapted from Khāfī Khān, II, p. 265.

2 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 266.

more than 10,000[1]. This sudden calamity caused a great commotion in the Camp, and immediately the artillery commander (*Mīr Ātish*)[2] was ordered to erect batteries round the Camp. An order was also issued to Shāh 'Ālam to come with all speed. Aurangzīb (during this time) repeatedly said, "Bahādur has got a good opportunity. Why does he delay[3]?" The Camp was pitched near Ajmēr in the village of Deorāī', and when Shāh 'Ālam approached with 10,000 horse, an order was given, out of caution and keeping in view the exigencies of the time, that the guns should be pointed against him[4]. He came unattended, with his two sons and paid his respects. When 16,000 horse had been collected, arrangements were made for marshalling them. At this time several officers, such as Kamāl-ud-Dīn[5], son of Dilēr Khān and Mujāhid Khān[6] brother of Fīrūz Jang, deserted from the hostile force, and joined the imperial army. At last on 5th Muḥarram, 1092 A.H. (15th January, 1681 A.D.) after more than one watch of the night it was reported that Pādshāh Qulī Khān had come from Akbar's camp and was at the public entrance[7]. An order was given to Luṭf Ullāh Khān[8], Superintendent of the *Ghusal Khāna*, to bring him unarmed. That doomed man, who apparently nourished evil designs, came to the door of the *Ghusal Khāna*, and strongly objected to giving up his

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 198.

2 Bahramand Khān, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 198. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 454-457, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 365-368.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 198.

4 Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 266, 267.

5 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 505. He was the son of Dilēr Khān Dā'ūdzāi whose biography is translated on pp. 495-505.

6 He was a younger son of Qulīj Khān Khwāja 'Ābid for whose account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 120-122. For his brother Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Fīrūz Jang see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 872-879, and Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 587-592.

7 See Khāfī Khān, II, p. 268, but his date 1090 A.H. is incorrect.

8 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 171-177, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 837-840.

arms. Lutf Ullāh Khān went and reported that Pādshāh Qulī Khan says "I am a house-born servant (*Khānazād*), and have never attended unarmed." The Emperor ordered that he should be admitted unarmed. Before Lutf Ullāh Khān had returned, he became alarmed and wanted to get away, but faithlessness to the salt acted as a chain on his feet. As soon as he put his foot out of the screens (*qanāts*) of *Ghusal Khāna*, the bodyguards and *chēlas* fell upon him. As he was wearing a quilted coat (*chilqad*)[1] and a cuirass underneath it, his wounds were not serious, but one of the wounds reached his throat and silenced his turbulent brain. It is stated that when he objected to unbuckle his armour, it was reported to the Emperor that he had come apparently at the instigation of Akbar with evil intentions. The Emperor on hearing this became furious, and taking a sword in his hand, said "Don't stop him, let him come armed." Meanwhile one of the armed messengers (*Yasāwals*) or guards put his hand on the breast of that doomed person and stopped him. He slapped the man on the face and turned away. By chance his foot got caught in a tent rope and he fell. A cry of "strike and kill" rose on all sides. People finished him and cut off head. It is stated that Shāh 'Ālam also gave the signal for killing him. Though the putting on of a cuirass supports people's suspicions that he was bent on evil designs, but Khāfī Khān says in his history on the basis of a verbal communication from Khwāja Mukāram Jān Nithār Khān—who was old and experienced, and at the time a trusted servant of Shāh 'Ālam, and who distinguished himself against Akbar's vanguard and was wounded—that Pādshāh Qulī Khān's return to 'Ālamgīr's Court was due solely to the written request of 'Ināyat Khān his father-in-law, and that he had no other object in coming back. It was the exaggerated notion of his loyalty or his affronted feelings that had made him object foolishly to unbuckle his arms[2]. A stone of dissension fell among the

1 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 69, and Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I, (2nd edn.), p. 114, pl. xiv, fig. 54 as *chihilqad*: a doublet worn over the armour.

2 Based on Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 268, 269. The name in the text is

adherents of Prince Akbar, who had come within 1½ *kos* of the royal camp, and at midnight leaving his wives, children and baggage behind he took to flight. A report, however, which became current among the general public was that the Emperor had devised a plot. He wrote a *farmān* to Muḥammad Akbar to the effect, "Although to tame these savage Rājpūts, you have, in accordance with instructions, taken proper measures, but you should assign them to the vanguard so that they may be exposed to fire from both sides". When this *farmān* fell into the hands of the Rājpūts, they readily (*dastkhush*) became unnerved and alarmed and dispersed[1].

Finally Shāh 'Ālam was deputed to pursue (Akbar). A number who had been his allies in straying from the right path and iniquitous designs, unwillingly and under compulsion were allotted special residences[2]. Qāḍī Khūb Ullāh, Muḥammad 'Āqil, and Mīr Ghulām Muḥammad Amrōha, who had set their seals to a manifesto of the dethronement of the Emperor, were after having boards put round their necks, and severe flogging, sent to the fort of Garh Patlī (Beetlī). Though Pādshād Qulī Khān was dubbed a rebel, but his brother and sons were trusted as house-born servants and treated with favour. Accordingly Fāḍil Bēg[3], his brother, received, in the 29th year, the title of Tahawwur Khān, and was appointed along with Himmat Khān Bahādur to the siege of Bījāpūr. His son Asad-ud-Din, who in the reign of Bahādur Shāh, received the title of Khān, was appointed Command-

wrongly given, as Khawāfī Khān. Also see Orme, *Hist. Fragments*, p. 191. For 'Ināyat Khān, father-in-law of Tahawwur Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 813-818, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp.678-680.

1 For a detailed account of Akbar's rebellion see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Life of Aurangzib*, III, pp. 353-368. Also see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 247-251, and Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

2 They were imprisoned in various fortresses, see *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 204, and Har Bilas Sarda, *op. cit.*, p. 173. Garh Patta should be Garh Beetli, the Ajmer fort on Tārāgarh hill.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 273.

ant of Aḥmadnagar in the 3rd year of Farrukh Siyar's reign. He was very arrogant, and was also suspected of having other designs[1].

(RĀJA) PAHĀR SINGH BUNDĒLA

(Vol. II, pp. 256-260).

He was the son of Rāja Bīr Singh Dēv[2]. After Shāh Jahān's accession he was confirmed in the rank of 2,000 with 1,200 horse, and later as a result of increase of 1,000 with 800 horse, his rank became 3,000 with 2,000 horse[3]. In the same year an army was deputed to chastise Jujhār Singh, who had absconded from the Capital. Pahār Singh accompanied 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur. He did good service there in the conquest of the fort of Iraj, and at the recommendation of 'Abdullāh Khān was granted a drum[4]. When Jujhār Singh reduced by extremities came to the Court, and his offences were pardoned, some of the excess lands out of the territories in his possession were assigned to Pahār Singh as his fief. In the beginning of the 3rd year, when the Emperor after reaching Khāndesh sent three armies under distinguished commands for devastating Niẓām-ul-Mulk's territories, Pahār Singh was sent with Shāista Khān. In the same year he was distinguished with the grant of the title of Rāja[5], and when A'ẓam Khān, the viceroy of the Deccan, attacked Khān Jahān Lōdī opposite Bīr, and a fierce battle took place, Pahār Singh performed great deeds. During the fight one of his followers reached Bahādur, nephew of Khān Jahān, and cutting off his head brought it to Pahār

1 The Persian phrase *ba-taur-digar muthim būd* is very obscure. It may mean that he was suspected of being disloyal.

2 He was responsible for Abūl Faḍl's murder. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 197-199, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 423-425. For his genealogy see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 546.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 205.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 248. The grant of part of Jujhār Singh's territories to him in fief is recorded on p. 255.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

Singh, who took it to Ā'ẓam Khān. After this he was for long attached to the Deccan army.

In the siege and later the conquest of Daulatābād, he, through personal bravery and performance of duty did not leave any stones unturned in the defeat and massacre of the enemy, and the signs of his loyal service became apparent. Similarly he performed outstanding deeds in the siege of the fort of Parenda. After the death of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān, he was attached to Khān Daurān who was appointed Governor of Burhānpūr[1]. In the 9th year, when the Emperor went to the Deccan, and an army was deputed to chastise Sāhū, he was appointed under the command of Khān Zamān to that mission[2]. In the 15th year, he came in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur from the Deccan, and did homage[3]. In the same year he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse, two-horse, three-horse troopers, and was sent for the castigation of Champat Bundēla[4], who was a servant of Bīr Singh Dēv and Jujhār Singh, but had at this time rebelled in the country. When he reached there, the rebellious Champat finding himself incapable of opposing him, willy-nilly presented himself before him. In the 18th year, Pahār Singh was deputed with 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā for the conquest of Badakhshān[5]. As the expedition that year was unsuccessful, he, in the 19th year, received an increase of 1,000 two-horse, three-horse troopers[6], and was sent to the Balkh and Badakhshān campaign under Prince Murād Bakhsh. He rendered valuable services in the fights against the Uzbegs and Almānān, and after the return of Prince Murād Bakhsh, he remained in the country till the arrival of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 21st year, he returned in company with Aurangzīb, and did homage. In the 22nd year, he was deputed with Prince

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 63.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 136.
3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 284.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 424.
6 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 112.

Aurangzīb for the conquest of the fort of Qandahār, which the Irānian were besieging. On return he was allowed to go to his home. In the 24th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 foot with 1,000 horse, two-horse, three-horse troopers, and in succession to Sardār Khān was made fief-holder of Chūrāgarh[1].

When he arrived there, Hirdē Rām, *Zamīndār* of the place—whose father Bhīm Narāin had been killed by Jujhār Singh to whom he had gone under an agreement—fled to Anūp Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū, who owing to the destruction of that fortress had gone to Rēwān, a place some 40 *kos* away. Rāja Pāhar Singh marched from a distance of 25 *kos* and attacked Rēwān. Anūp Singh, feeling himself not strong enough to resist him, fled with his family and Hirdē Rām to the hilly country of Nathū Nathar (?). The Rāja came to Rēwān and sacked it. As meanwhile he received an order recalling him, he in the 25th year reached the Court, and presented one male and three female elephants which had come into his hands from the effects of the *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū. He was deputed a second time to the Qandahār expedition under Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb. In the 26th year, he went a third time to the same parts in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh[1]. During the siege of the fort he had charge of the batteries. When the Prince returned without accomplishing his purpose, he also returned to the Court, and, in the 27th year, was permitted to return home. In the 28th year, corresponding to 1064 A.H. (1654 A.D.) he died. The Emperor appointed his eldest son Sujān Singh—whose account has been written separately—as his successor[2]. Indarman his other son received the rank of 500, with 400 horse. Outside the boundaries of Aurangābād and to the west of it there is a quarter named after him.

1 *'Amal Sālih*, III p. 157; his name, however, is incorrectly given as Bahār Singh.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 197; he was granted the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse the title of Rāja. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 291-295.

PĀYINDA KHĀN MUGHAL

(Vol. I, pp. 394-396).

He was the brother's son of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Kōkī[1], who was the son of Bābā Qushqa, the brother of Kōkī, one of the chief officers of Bābur. Ḥājī Muḥammad served under Humāyūn in many of his expeditions, and was treated with favour in the Bengāl campaign. After the conquest of that province, when the Emperor was stationed at Jannatābād (Gaur), and Shēr Khān Sūr after taking Benāres was stirring up strife in the environs of Jaunpūr, the said Khān deserted the Emperor and joined Nūr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad who was stationed at Qanauj. He induced Mīrzā Hindāl to have the *Khuṭba* recited in his name. When the imperial armies were twice defeated in the fights against Shēr Khān Sūr, the Emperor, being unable to achieve anything in Tatta and Bhakkar, turned towards Qandahār. There also he was unable to stay owing to the treachery of Mīrzā 'Askarī. Accordingly having determined on going to 'Irāq (Irān) he hastened in that direction. After Humāyūn reached Sīstān, Ḥājī Muḥammad deserted Mīrzā 'Askarī, and rejoined the force of Humāyūn[2]. In the journey to Irān, the expedition to Qandahār and the affair of Kābul, he was in attendance on the Emperor and rendered good service. At last when his evil designs became manifest, he and his brother Shāh Muḥammad—who was a past-master in wickedness and evil designs—were seized, and the world was cleansed of the contamination of their existence[3]. It is stated that Ḥājī Muḥammad was conspicuous for his courage, and that the Shāh (of Irān) often remarked that kings should have servants like him. On the day of

1 The earlier account of Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān appears to be based mainly on *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 153-155, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 335-339. See also Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 153-164, Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, I, pp. 215-218, and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 30-32.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 204, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 416.

3 See the detailed account of their arrest etc. in *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 310, 311, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 378, 379.

Qabaqandāzī (tilting tournament) he hit the *Qabaq*, and was awarded prize by the Emperor[1]. Pāyinda Muḥammad, in the 5th year o Akbar's reign, came from Kābul in the company of Mun'im Khān[2] and did homage. In the end of the same year he was appointed wit Adham Khān to conquer Mālwa[3]. In the 19th year, he was sen with Mun'im Khān to conquer Bengāl, and in the 22nd year, be wa deputed with Rāja Bhagwant (Bhagwān) Dās[4] to chastise Rānā Partāp In the battle between Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm and Muẓaffa Gujarātī he was in command of the vanguard. In the 32nd year h was granted a fief in Ghōrāghāt (Bengāl)[5] and departed to his fief.

1 This is taken verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 22, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 448.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 114, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 174. In compliance with Akbar's order Mun'im Khān arrived from Kābul with a number o officers and did homage at Sirhind, but according to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's translation, II, pp. 246, 247, and note 4 on p. 246, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, p. 38, at Ludhiāna.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, pp. 134, 135, translation, II, p. 208.

4 The appointment of Rāja Bhagwān Dās to chastise the Rānā, who was at Gōganda is recorded in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 196, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 277, but the name of Pāyinda Khān is not mentioned.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 528, Beveridge's translation, IV, p. 801. In the account of the 43rd year his son Walī Bēg is mentioned as having brought a *pēshkash* of 22 choice elephants, Text, III, p. 746, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1115. Pāyinda Khān in *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's translation, II, p. 669, is included among officers holding the rank of 2,000, and it is stated that he was the Governor of Ghōrāghāt. Is he the same Pāyinda Khān, who was promoted to the rank of 3,500 with 2,000 horse in the 49th year of Akbar's reign in 1605 A.D.?—see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 834, Beveridge's translation III, p. 1249. The death of a Pāyinda Khān Mughal "an old Amir of the State" is recorded by Jahāngir in his Memoirs (Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 294) in the 10th year, 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 421, identifies him with the subject of the above notice.

PĒSHRAU KHĀN[1]

(Vol. I, pp. 396-398).

His name was Mihtar Sa'ādat. He was one of the slaves of Humāyūn, and had been presented to him by Shāh Ṭahmāsp, the ruler of Irān. He was educated in Tabrīz. He was always in attendance on Humāyūn, and after the death of that pious Emperor he was in the service of Akbar. In the 19th year[2], he was deputed by the Emperor for conveying certain instructions to the officers in Bengāl. As speed was essential in this connection, he embarked on a boat, and started down the river Ganges. When he reached the territory of Gajpatī, who was a noted landholder of the provice of Bihār, he was taken prisoner by Gajpatī's men. When Jagdēspūr, the stronghold of Gajpatī was captured, and Gajpatī was seated in the nook of contempt, a wonderful fate delivered the said Khān from his deadly peril. It is stated that the inherently seditious person (Gajpatī) put most of the people, who had been captured by him, to death, and he made over the said Khān to a person to undergo the same destiny. The man's heart failed him, and he was made over to another man. Though the latter used all his strength, he could not draw his sword out of the scabbard. Consequently in accordance with Gajpatī's orders, who at the time was greatly confused, his executioner seated Pēshrau Khān on an elephant, and started. By chance the elephant was unbroken and restive. The

1 Blochmann in *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 558, 559, has included a detailed biography of Pēshrau Khān based mainly on the *Maāthir* account. He is not mentioned in Bāyazīd among the list of the officers etc. who accompanied Humāyūn on the return journey from Persia, nor is any reference of him to be found in Erskine or Banerji's monograph on Humāyūn.

2 This, according to *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 169, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 240, was in the 21st year. For Gajpatī see Beveridge's detailed note 2 on pp. 239, 240. The account of the taking of Jagdēspūr, the main stronghold of Gajpatī is given on p. 186 of the text and p. 261 of the translation, while Pēshrau Khān's escape is described in great detail on pp. 262, 263 of the translation.

executioner flung himself off, but the elephant kicked him, and t giving a terrible roar started running. This terrible noise made all other elephants also to stampede. The elephant carrying the K reached a lonely desert. The Khān tried to squeeze the throat of driver with his two hands which were bound, but the latter aft great struggle managed to fling himself and sought safety in flight. elephant stopped when it was near morning, and the Khān threw h self down on the ground. After recovering himself he turned tow the road. Just then he met a horseman, who was one of his follov and who had been searching for him, and putting him on his own h took him to the royal camp. In the 21st year, the Khān on arr presented himself at the Court. After a time he was deputed to ad Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī[1], who having withdrawn himself from soci was living in solitude. In the 24th year, he brought Āṣaf Khān, serv of Niẓām-ul-Mulk, with presents to the Court. Later, he was to tender sage counsels[2] to Bahādur Khān, son of Rajī 'Alī Khān, ruler of Āsīr. As he paid no heed to him, the Emperor ordered siege of the fort, and Pēshrau Khān[3] rendered valuable services the day of the conquest of Mālīgarh. In the 40th year, he held rank of 350. After the death of the Emperor, he was an object favour with Jahāngīr, and was exalted by promotion to the rank 2,000, and placed in charge of the Stores department (*Farrāsh Khān*

1 See *Abkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 280, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 409

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 767, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1146.

3 Mālīgarh, according to *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 777, Beveridge's tran tion, III, p. 1163, was a noted fort on the north side of Āsīr. Pēshrau Kh part in this campaign is mentioned on p. 1165, where it is stated that h company with Mīr Qāsim Badakhshi and others took Kōrhī. Beveridge note on the same page, however, has suggested that this Pēshrau Khān probably Asad Bēg, who was granted the title of Pēshrau Khān in the reig Jahāngīr.

4 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 50, wh it is stated that he was one of the men sent with Humāyūn by Shāh Ṭahmā and that he had served as the *dārōgha* and *mihtar* of the *Farrāsh Khāna* Akbar's times. On p. 149, however, Jahāngīr states that Shāh Ṭahmāsp

In the 3rd year corresponding to 1016 A.H. (1607-08 A.D.) he died. The Emperor, in consideration of the claims and services of Pēshrau Khān, placed one of the *pēsh-khānas* in the charge of his son[1].

(MULLĀ) PĪR MUḤAMMAD KHĀN SHARWĀNĪ[2] (Vol. III, pp. 182-186).

He was one of Akbar's officers of the rank of 5,000. He was a learned and talented person, and originally in Qandahār was a servant of Bairām Khān. After Akbar's accession he, through the instrumentality of Bairām Khān, was made an *Amīr* and an officer, and appointed his *Vakīl*[3] (agent). After the victory over Hēmū—in which he distinguished[4] himself—he was granted the title of Nāṣir-ul-Mulk. Gradually his influence increased so greatly that he used on his own initiative to transact all affairs, financial and administrative, as if he was the *Vakīl* of the Empire. His grandeur and hauteur increased to such an extent, that the nobles and Chaghtāī' *Amīrs* often went to his house, but could not get admission and had to return. Relying on the accuracy and probity of his own views he

presented Pēshrau Khān as a slave to Humāyūn. On p. 51 of the same work Beveridge in a note explains the title Pishrau, as "probably from his going on ahead with the advance camp."

1 Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 149, 150. Pēshrau Khān is stated to have left a large fortune amounting to Rs. 1,500,000. The son's name is given as Ri'āyat, who is described as very stupid. One of the *pēsh-khānas* is there half of the *Farrash Khāna*, probably it was the duplicate half of the tents, stores etc. which were sent on in advance of the royal camp, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 195.

2 Good accounts of the Mullā's life have been published by Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 342, 343, and Muḥammad Ḥusain Āzād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (Lahore, 1939), pp. 756, 757. His name in all English works is given as Shīrwānī or Shīrwān, the birth-place of Khāqānī. The Persian editions all have Sharwān and this has been followed in this account,

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 30, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 48.

4 His services are detailed in *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 30-42, 46, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 49,52,71,72.

ignored all others. On the contrary others were afraid of his violent and rude behaviour. As he did not behave with tact towards anyone, jealous, short-sighted people became annoyed, and by improper reports prejudiced Bairām Khān against him. It so happened that in the 4th year Nāṣir-ul-Mulk was ill for some days. Khān Khānān went to enquire after his health. A Turkish soldier, who was the porter, not recognizing him, said, "Please wait. I will inform (my master)". Khān Khānān became indignant. As soon as Mullā Pīr Muḥammad heard about it, he came out of the house, and very humbly and modestly offered his apologies and said, "This slave did not recognize the Nawāb." Khān Khānān retorted, "In what way do you recognize me that he should do so?" In spite of this, when Bairām Khān entered the house, because of the great crowd only a few of his followers were allowed to come in[1]. Khān Khānān frowned, and mischief-mongers taking advantage of the opportunity, inflamed him still further. Accordingly he sent the Mullā the following message, "We raised you from a Mullā to an *Amīr*. As your capacity was limited, you got out of hand from (drinking) one cup. The only advisable thing for you now is to retire." As the Mullā had an independent nature, he received this message with a placid countenance, and retired. After a few days Bairām Khān, at the instigation of Shaikh Gadāī' Kambū, and other evil-minded persons, sent the Mullā to the fort of Biāna, and imprisoned him there. Later he permitted him to proceed on pilgrimage to the Ḥijāz. The Mullā had set off for Gujarāt, when he received a letter from Adham Khān and others, bidding him to stop at whatever place he was, and to wait for mysterious good news. He halted near Ranthambhōr. When Bairām Khān got the news, he sent a body of men to seize him and bring him back. After an engagement, the Mullā abandoned all his goods and belongings and went away with a few men. In reality Bairām

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 84,86, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 131,132. See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, pp. 27,28, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 20-22.

Khān at the instigation of short-sighted and envious persons alienated such a sincere and able servant; with his own hand he struck an axe at the root of his fortune. This episode was greatly disliked by Akbar. The Mullā had not reached Gujarāt when he heard the news of Bairām Khān's downfall. He hastily returned and did homage. He was honoured with the grant of the title of Khān[1], a standard and a drum. Afterwards he was deputed with Adham Khān for the conquest of Mālwa. When Adham Khān Kōka was summoned to the Court in the 6th year, the Mullā was confirmed as the Governor of Mālwa in succession to him[2]. Bāz Bahādur did not worry much about him, and, in the 7th year, collecting a force in the neighbourhood of Āwās broke out into a rebellion. Pīr Muḥammād raised a force, and marched against him. He dispersed him after a short struggle. He then proceeded to take the fort of Bījāgarh, and captured it from I'timād Khān—who was holding it for Bāz Bahādur—he annexed the fort to the imperial territories. As the ruler of Khāndēsh, Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Fārūqī, was an ally of Bāz Bahādur, Pīr Muḥammad Khān taking a picked force of 1,000 active men made a forced march of 40 *kos* in one night. As the former was in the Āsīr fort, Pīr Muḥammad went and sacked Burhānpūr. He gave orders for a general massacre, and many *Saiyids* and learned men were beheaded in his presence. While returning with much booty, he learnt that Bāz Bahādur was in the vicinity. He determined to fight. Experienced men advised against fighting and suggested that he should proceed to Hindīa. Pīr Muḥammad, in whom rashness prevailed over prudence, paid no heed to this advice, and set his heart on fighting.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 103, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 156, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, *loc. cit.* In his account in the *Maāthir* no reference is made to his appointment by Akbar to the expedition against his old master Bairām Khān, but this is detailed in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, pp. 39, 40; Lowe's translation, II, pp. 33, 34.

2 His appointments to Mālwa and later as Governor of Mālwa are mentioned on pp. 134, 152 of the text and on pp. 208, 236 of the translation of *Akbarnāma*.

His comrades ignoring the obligations due to companionship, were defeated after a brief fight. Some well-wishers seized his rein and took him off the battlefield. It was evening when he reached the banks of the Narbadā river. His men advised that the enemy was far off, and that they should encamp there for the night. He did not listen, and drove his horse into the water. By chance a string of camels, which was also crossing the stream, struck the Khān's horse. He was thrown down from his horse, but his companions did not exert themselves to rescue him, and he was drowned[1].

Verse

When his day was turned into night,
Two world-seeing eyes were obscured.

The unjust slaughter of the innocents at Burhānpūr did it work.

Verse

Murder not when you are in power!
For there is no escape from retribution.

This catastrophe occurred in 969 A.H. (1562 A.D.). Akbar was very grieved at the death of so loyal, able, brave and courageous an officer. It is stated that Pīr Muḥammad Khān carried his magnificience to such an extent that every day he had a thousand dishes of food prepared[2]. With all his pride and haughtiness he was bountiful. On several occasions he presented five hundred horses to his men in one day. With all that he was very hot-tempered. Mili-

1 The campaign against Bāz Bahādur culminating in his death by drowning is described on pp. 166-168 of the text and on pp. 256-259 of the translation of *Akbarnāma*, and on pp. 50, 51 of the text and on pp. 46, 47 of the translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*. In the former work it is a string of mules and not camels which is stated to have caused his fall from the horse. The massacre of the Shaikhs etc. of Burhānpūr is described in detail on pp. 47, 48 of the text, and on pp. 42, 43 of the translation of *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*.

2 This is apparently based on the account in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, p. 26, Lowe's translation, p. 16.

-ary pride joined to priestly zeal had ruined him. What more can be said! During the period, when he was the centre of the affairs of the Caliphate, an order was issued to Khān Zamān Shaibānī, to send Shahām—a camel driver's son with whom he was in love, and whom he used to address as: 'My King, My King'—either to the Court or to dismiss him from his company. Khān Zamān sent his trusted servant Burj 'Alī to appease the Emperor and to arrange the affairs. He went to Pīr Muḥammad's house, and delivered his message. The Mullā became very angry, and had him beaten, and later thrown down from the fort tower. Then laughing derisively he added: "Now this fellow has become synonymous with his name"—(Burj 'Alī: 'Alī's tower)[1].

PRITHIRĀJ RĀTHŌR

(Vol. I, pp. 429-431).

He was one of the body-guards[2] of Shāh Jahān. During the days of his troubles, he was always in attendance, and had thus assumed a position of reliance and trust. After the accession of that Emperor, he, in the Ist year[3], was granted the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse. In the 2nd year, he in company with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī was deputed to pursue Khān Jahān Lōdī who had fled from Akbarābād (Āgra). Out of his zeal he did not wait for others, but went off with a few officers, who all excelled in this noble quality, and overtook him near Dhōlpūr[4]. During the fight, he, following the Rajpūt tradition, dismounted, and engaged in a single combat with

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 69, translation, II, p. 107. The account of Shahām is somewhat different in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* text, II, pp. 22, 23, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 15, 16.

2 *Wālā-Shāhis*, according to Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, pp. 40, 43, 44, were "household troops, men raised and paid by the emperor out of his privy purse". They were, in fact, the bodyguards charged with the safety of the King.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 186.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

Khān Jahān who was on horseback. He wounded him with a spear[1], and himself received wounds. The Emperor graciously summoned him to the Presence, and raised his rank to 2,000 with 800 horse[2], and presented him a horse and an elephant. In the 3rd year, this was further increased by 200 horse[3], and in company of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan he went to reduce the fort of Nāsik. Later, when Mahābat Khān was nominated as the Viceroy of the Deccan, he was appointed as one of the officers of the province, and promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 15,00 horse[4]. In the course of the siege of Daulatābād he performed valiant services, and one day a Deccanī horseman, whose head was full of pride, challenged him to a single combat. On receipt of the challenge he left the ranks, and finished him in a sword duel[5]. In the 7th year, he received a further increase of 100 horse in his rank[6]. In the 9th year, when the Emperor advanced his standards of fortune towards the Deccan, he in company with Khān Zamān, the *Ṣūbahdār* of Bālāghāt, did homage in the vicinity of Daulatābād, and was nominated[7] with the said Khān for chastising Sāhū Bhōnsle, and devastating the territories of ʿĀdil Shāh. In this expedition also he performed remarkable services, and, in the 10th year, was awarded an increase of 100 horse. In the 17th year, when the charge of the Deccan was transferred from the agents of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Khān Daurān, Prithīrāj was distinguished by being put in charge of the fort of Daulatābād[8]. In the 18th year, he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse[9], and in the 19th year, an order was issued recalling him to Āgra, and he was placed in charge of the government of this

1 Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 535; also *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 278.
2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 280.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 477.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 504.
6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii. p. 47.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.
8 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 377. Also see Khāfi Khān, I. p. 601.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

fort[1] along with Bāqī Khān. In the 20th year, when Lāhōre was the imperial seat, he, in compliance with the orders, escorted a *krōr* of rupees from the royal treasury at Akbarābād to the Presence[2]. As at that time Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur had left for Balkh and Badakhshān, he was deputed to take charge of fifty lacs of rupees which were to have been sent with the Prince. After receiving a robe of honour, and a horse with a silver saddle he started[3]. In the 21st year, he along with Rāja Bēthal Dās was appointed to Kābul as an auxiliary to 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the 22nd year, he hurried to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Aurangzīb; and there together with Rustam Khān he displayed courage in confronting the Irānians. In the 25th year, he again accompanied the said Prince on his second expedition to Qandahār. In the 26th year, he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh on a similar expedition, and, after arriving there, he and Rustam Khān went for the conquest of the fort of Bust. In the 30th year he was appointed to the Deccan under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the same year, corresponding to 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.) he died. His brother Rām Singh and son Kesarī Singh received small *manṣabs*.

PURDIL KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 424-427).

His name was Pīrā[4], and he was the son of Dilāwar Khān Biranj[5], who was one of the Bāburian and old servants of Shāh Jahān. Dilāwar

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 510.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 611. 3 *Op. cit.*, p. 628.

4 The variant Pīrā in place of Bīrā in the text and in *Bādshāhnāma* has been adopted.

5 The variants, as noted in the text, are Parich and Barij, while in the *Bādshāhnāma* Barīj and Biranj, but the correct word appears to be Baraich, which is the name of an Afghān tribe, *vide* Jarrett, *Ā'īn*, II, p. 402. Dilāwar Khān was an officer of the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and died in the 4th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 296.

Khān, on account of his fidelity, loyalty, constant and good service during the period of distress and troubles, became closely attached to the Prince, and was reckoned amongst the limited set of his most intimate companions, who in reference to approach and confidence had precedence over all the imperial officers. In the beginning of the reign he received the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse[1] and was appointed *Faujdār* of Mēwāt. Later Jaunpūr was granted to him as his fiel. In the 4th year, he came with his son Pīrā from Jaunpūr to Burhānpūr, and paid his respects. As at this time, the victorious armies were engaged in subduing the Niẓām Shāhīs, and the conquest of those territories, he also was included amongst that victorious force. He was favoured with an increase in the number of his cavalry, and his son also received the rank of 1,000 and the title of Purdil Khān[2]. But Fortune—which is slow in granting favours and quick in discarding—did not permit him long to enjoy his success and the fruits of his good fortune; he died the same year.

Purdil Khān, on account of the favours and appreciation which the rulers of this dynasty always showed to their loyal house-born (*khānazād*) servants, was by repeated promotions raised to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse[3], and appointed *Thānadār* of the Lower Bangash, in the 10th year, on the transfer of Rāja Jagat Singh. On the death of ʻAzīz Ullāh Khān, in the 17th year, he was sent to govern the fort of Bust[4]. In the 20th year, he was granted an increase in his command of 1,000 horse[5]. When ʻAbbās II determined to conquer Qandahār,

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 117.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 44, but his rank is given as 2,500 with 2,200 horse.

4 His appointments during the intervening period, as detailed in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, are not included in the above account. For example he was in the 15th year appointed Commandant of the fort of Zamīn Dāwar and that area was granted to him in fief, *vide* p. 306. His appointment as the Commandant of the fort of Bust in succession to ʻAzīz Ullāh Khān is recorded on p. 379.

5 The increase in rank according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 679, was 500, with 500 horse and as a result his rank is stated to have become 3,000 with

Purdil Khān bravely moved forward to Fārah, and appointed Mihrāb Khān to take his place at Bust—the latter had been the Commandant of Bust when 'Alī Mardān Khān made over this country to the imperial officers, and Qulīj Khān having taken the fort from him by force had allowed him to go to Irān. The said Khān was nominated to capture the fort. Mihrāb Khān realized that owing to its strong fortifications it would not be easy to take the new fort, which had been built near the old fort by the order of the Emperor (Shāh Jahān), but, considering the reduction of the old fort an easy task, he erected his batteries accordingly. Purdil Khān had left some of his men to guard it at various points, and himself was active everywhere. He poured shots with cannons and muskets into the enemy's ranks, and from the beginning of the siege kept up constant firing for fifty four days. A number were killed and wounded on both sides. Out of Purdil Khān's total force of 600 soldiers 300 were killed, while double the number of Irānians lost their lives. At last on 14th Muharram, 1059 A.H. (18th January, 1649 A.D.) Purdil Khān preferring life to duty, and after taking oaths and promises waited upon Mihrāb Khān. That unjust person broke the compacts, put to death some of the 300 men—who objected surrendering their arms and showed fight, and imprisoned Purdil Khān with the rest, and their families, and brought them to the Shāh at Qandahār. The Shāh took Purdil Khān with him to Irān[1]. Though nothing is known about Purdil Khān after he went to Irān or his end, *i.e.* where he died, this is clear that he escaped shame and disgrace at the hands of his companions, and reproaches of acquaintances and strangers. If he had returned to India, he would like Daulat Khān[2],

3,000 horse, and this is the rank given in the list at the end of 20 years of the reign, *op. cit.*, p. 724.

1 See Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 224, 225, for a summary of the expedition of Shāh 'Abbās II. According to him "Pardal Khan, governor of Bist, capitulated after a brief resistance."

2 See under the account of Daulat Khān, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 24-30, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 467-471.

the Commandant of Qandahār and other officers who had been posted there, been the target of arrows of censure, and would have fallen from his position of trust and responsibility.

QĀDIR DĀD KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 140, 141).

His name was Shaikh Nūr Ullāh, and was the son of Qādir Dād Khān, son of Rashīd Khān Anṣārī of Shāh Jahān's time—an account of his career has been included separately[1]. During Aurangzīb's reign he attained the rank of 400, and was appointed Commandant of one of the Deccan forts. In the time of Bahādur Shāh he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 and granted the title of his father; and appointed *Faujdār* of Jāmōd in the province of Khāndesh. During the reign of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, when Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh after his appointment[2] as Viceroy of the Deccan went there, Qādir Dād Khān presented himself, and, as on his mother's side he was nearly related[3] to him, he joined him. He rendered valuable service in the battle against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān[4], and his rank was, therefore, raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and he received the gift of a flag and a drum. In the battle against Mubāriz Khān[5] he was in command of

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 242-250.

2 This is incorrect. Niẓām-ul-Mulk was not at this time appointed Viceroy of the Deccan, but recalled from Mālwa, and to retrieve his position proceeded to the Deccan, crossing the Narbadā at the ford of Akbarpūr on 1st Rajab, 1132 A.H. (9th May, 1720 A.D.). See Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 852, 860, and Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, pp. 18-22.

3 According to Khāfī Khān, II, p. 953, the relation was through his maternal grandfather.

4 Battles of Khandwa or Pandhār (20th June, 1720) and Bālāpūr (11th August, 1720); see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 28-34, 47-50.

5 Battle of Shakar Khera or Shakar Khelda in Berār, 11th October, 1724; see Irvine, *loc cit.*, pp. 144-150. Qādir Dād Khān's command of the vanguard is mentioned by Irvine and Khāfī Khān, II, p. 953.

the vanguard. After the battle in which Āṣaf Jāh was successful, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. Later, he was killed treacherously by one of his servants. As he had no children, Āṣaf Jāh granted the villages of Jalgāōn in the *Ṣūba* of Aurangābād, and Ambāra in Khandēsh in feudal tenure as a reward to his relations. Up to the date of writing a portion of these is in their possession.

QAMAR KHĀN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 53, 54).

He was the son of Mīr 'Abdul Latīf of Qazwīn[2]. In the 18th year of the reign, when Akbar turned his attention (went) to the Eastern districts, Qamar Khān accompanied him. In the 19th year, when Khān Khānān Mun'im Bēg was deputed to conquer Bengal, Qamar Khān's name was included in that of the forces which were sent with him. Khān Khānān sent him with Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Barlās towards Sātgāōn. He performed valuable services during the conflict in that province. In the 22nd year, he accompanied[3] Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, who had been transferred from Mālwa to Gujarāt. In the 24th year, he was appointed to accompany Rāja Tōdar Mal who had been deputed to punish the Patna rebels. When the imperial officers, owing to the large forces of the insurgents and the small number of the royal forces, were forced to shut themselves up[5], and the enemy attempted to stop the coming in of supplies by the help of their fleet, Qamar Khān crossed over with a force to the other bank of the river, while forces were sent down the river, and from the near

1 Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 542, 543.

2 See under Naqib Khān, Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 496, 497, and *antea* pp. 381, 382.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 87, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 123; and Text., III, p. 118, and translation, *III*, p. 169.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, *III*, p. 218, translation, *III*, p. 306.

5 It was probably in Monghyr in 987 A.H. (1579-80 A.D.)—see *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Lowe's translation, *II*, p. 291.

bank. As a result 3,000[1] boats were seized. No further account of him has been noticed. His son Kaukab[2] was found guilty of a fault during the reign of Jahāngīr. The Emperor summoned him to the Court, and after flogging he was imprisoned.

(I'TIMĀD-UD-DAULAH) QAMAR-UD-DIN KHĀN BAHĀDUR

(Vol. I, pp. 358-361).

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Fāḍil, and he was the son of I'timad-ud-Daulah Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur[3]. In the end of Aurangzīb's reign he obtained a suitable rank, and was granted the title of Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar he rose to a high rank and was appointed *Bakhshī* of the *Aḥadīs*. In the 4th year he was deputed, along with 'Abd-us-Samad Khān Dillēr Jang, to deal with the Sikhs[4]. In the first year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, after Ḥusain 'Alī had been killed and when Ghairat Khān his sister's son with the men of Bārah attacked the imperial army, Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān displayed valour, and afterwards received the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and the office of 2nd *Bakhshī* on the resignation of his father; the post of *Dārōgha* of the *Ghuslkhāna* was given to him in addition to his charge of the *Aḥadīs*. When his father died, although Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh was summoned from the Deccan for filling the post of the Prime Minister, Qamar-ud-Dīn had his rank increased,

1 The variant 300 as given in the text appears to be more probable. It has not been possible to trace the source in *Akbarnāma*.

2 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I, p. 171. He was restored to favour and granted increase in rank etc. in the 12th year, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-442.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, I, pp. 346-350. Detailed accounts of the activities of the father and son are to be found in Irvine's *Later Mughals*, I, II, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 1-223.

4 In the text مهم کرد "the campaign of Kard", but Kard is clearly an error for گرو Gurū, and the reference is to the Sikh campaign. See p. 348 of Vol. I of *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*.

and he was granted the title of I'timād-ud-Daulah. When Āṣaf Jāh after his appointment as the Premier, saw that his company was not acceptable[1] and showed unwillingness for a court appointment, and made a pretext for returning to the Deccan, Qamar-ud-Dīn in the year 1137 A.H. (1724 A.D.) was appointed to succeed him. For a long time he lived in happiness and glory. On one occasion, in the year 1147 A.H. (1734-35 A.D.), when Bālājī Rāō Maratha stirred up a commotion in Mālwa, Qamar-ud-Dīn was appointed along with Khān Daurān, each having a separate army. He fought four battles victoriously, but the affair ended in a peace. On a second occasion he marched from Delhī along with the Emperor to deal with the affair of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla, who was showing symptoms of rebellion, but because of his spite with 'Umdat-ul-Mulk, Ṣafdar Jang became a mediator on behalf of the above mentioned Afghān and brought him into the Emperor's service. On the third occasion he accompanied the Prince—who when he became sovereign took the title of Aḥmad Shāh—with a large army with the intention of opposing Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī, who had advanced from Lāhōre, and had come as far as Sirhind. One day when the armies were going to fight, he was accidently killed by a cannon-ball in 1161 A.H.[2] (1748 A.D.). He was a lover of comfort and had a pleasant disposition, and was acceptable to high and low. He did not approve of hurting anybody. Some of his father's properties had been obtained by oppression, but he compensated the owners by paying a fair price for them, and whoever was not pleased at having had to sell (to his father) had his property returned. He was naturally polite. They say that at the time when Āṣaf Jāh used to come to the Capital, he out of regard for

1 *Kōk na-dīda* but possibly there is an allusion to the girl Kōki who gained a great influence over Muḥammad Shāh—see *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn* (Calcutta reprint, 1902) I, p. 244; also see Irvine, *Later Moghuls*, II, p. 106 and 263-265. Her name was Raḥīm-un-Nissā.

2 He was killed in his tent while at prayers on 11th March, 1748, see Elliot, *History*, VIII, p. 108, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 223.

his age, and in spite of his office as the Premier, would get up to receive him. After his death his son Mīr Manū became active and attacked the enemy (Durranīs) with several thousand cavalry, and so drove them off that they took the road to their homes. On this account he got the title of Mu'īn-ul-Mulk and Rustam-i-Hind, and was appointed Governor of Lāhōre and Multān[1]. In the year 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.) when the Shāh Durrānī came from Kābul to near Lāhōre, a slight battle (*jang-i-sahl*) took place, and then peace was made[2]. The Shāh, (*i.e.* Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī) in accordance with the arrangement made with Nādir Shāh (by Muḥammad Shāh) received four estates, *viz.* Siālkōt[3], Gujarāt, Aurangābād, and Pasrūr as his tribute and returned. In the year 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.) he again came to Lāhōre, and fought for four months. Mīr Manū was overcome[4] as a result of the differences between Adīna Bēg Khān and Kūrā Mal his own servants, and entered into service[5]. The Shāh made him his own *Naīb* of Lāhōre, and returned. Mu'īn-ul-Mulk (*i.e.* Mīr Manū) went out to hunt one day in 1167 A.H. (1753 A.D.) and after a meal he developed a pain in his belly. He dismounted and wished to vomit, but could not, nor could he have a stool. Suddenly he died[6]. The Shāh sent a *Sanad* for the government of Lāhōre to his

1 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, pp. 412,413, where it is stated that the appointment was as Governor of Lahore, and that Mu'in-ul-Mulk later conquered Multān from Shāh Nawāz Khān who had been appointed *Ṣūbahdār* in 1749. see pp. 416, 417.

2 About February, 1750, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

3 Elliot's *History*, VIII, pp. 115, 166, *Siyar-ul-Muta'akhkhirīn*, text (Lucknow, 1897) III, p. 875, translation, III, p 289, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

4 The lands were said to be given for the expenses of the Kābul garrison.

5 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-434. Kūrā Mal was killed in action while hastening to Muīn-ul-Mulk's assistance.

6 *Siyar*, text III, p. 895, translation, III, p. 341, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 336,337.

son[1] who was only two years of age. On account of his tender years his mother took charge of the affairs. This disgusted the assistants. Meanwhile the son died[2] and the government reverted to the Bēgam, *i.e.*, his mother. After some time Khwāja 'Abdullāh Khān[3], son of 'Abdul Ṣamad. imprisoned the Bēgam and asked the Shāh for the Nā'ibship. On account of the disputes about the salaries (*tankhwāhs*) his soldiers left him, and the Bēgam was able to resume. control. After that one Mīrzā Jan a *Jama'dār* imprisoned the Bēgam, but afterwards an agreement was made. Afterwards 'Imād-ul-Mulk[4] made a raid on Lāhōre and imprisoned the Bēgam as has been described in detail in the biography of 'Imād-ul-Mulk[5]. Another son of I'timād-ud-Daulah is Intiẓām-ud-Daulah[6] Khān-Khānān, who in the time of Aḥmad Shāh became *Vazīr* in place of Ṣafdar Jang. In 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) he was killed by a companion. One of his sons is Fakhr-ud-Daulah who came to the Deccan one year before this work was composed, and obtained an office under N ẓām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh. He had been fabourable to the writer of these pages. There were also other descendants.

1 Muḥammad Amin Khān, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

2 He died early in May, 1754, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II, p. 53.

3 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-58.

4 Elliot's *History*, VIII, p. 240, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 59-64.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 847-856, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp, 674-678.

6 See Sir Iadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, p. 445, II. pp. 40-42. He was murdered by the soldiery of 'Imād-ul-Mulk in November, 1759. *vide* Sarkar, *op. cit.*, II, p. 214. Also see *Cambridge History of India*, Chapter XV, pp. 428-448 for a general survey of the period.

QARĀ BAHĀDUR KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 48-50).

He was a cousin of Mīrzā Ḥaidar Gūrgān[1], who was a decendant of the kings of Kāshghar. Mīrzā Ḥaidar's father was Muḥammad Ḥusain, son of a maternal aunt of Emperor Bābur. He came from Kāshghar *via* Badkhshān to Lāhōre. When Mīrzā Kāmrān went to recover Qandahār, which the Shāh of Irān had conquered from Khwājā Kalān Bēg, he left Mīrzā Ḥaidar as his deputy at Lāhōre[2]. Later, when Mīrzā Kāmrān went to Āgra, Mīrzā Ḥaidar also went there and took up service under Emperor Humāyūn[3]. After the second battle[4] with Shēr Khān Sūr in which the imperial armies were defeated, and Emperor Humāyūn was obliged to go to Lāhōre, Mīrzā Ḥaidar with a few men was sent to Kashmīr. This was because Mīrzā Ḥaidar during the reign of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Kāshgharī had accompanied his son to Kashmīr, and as a result knew the country and the people of the area, He had also been receiving letters repeatedly inviting him to the country. He showed these to the Emperor and tried to persuade him to go there[5]. He was sent from Lāhōre to Kashmīr with a small force. As owing to the absence of an established ruler anarchy prevailed in the country, the Mīrzā obtained possession of Kashmīr without a battle. He firmly ruled the country for ten years, and finaly had the *Khuṭba* recited and the money coined in the name of Emperor Humāyūn[6]. The

1 For a short account of his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 149. The account of Mirza Ḥaidar which forms the major part of the biography is based on *Akbarnāma*, I.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 135,136, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 308, 309.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, I, p. 162, translation, I, p. 347.

4 Battle of Qanauj, 17th May, 1540. see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, I, pp. 243-249.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text I, pp. 170,171, translation, I, pp. 359,360.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, I, pp. 196-199, translation, I, pp. 402-406. On p. 405, however, it is stated that he first "read the *khuṭba* and struck the coin in the name of Nāzuk Shāh", but after Kābul was captured by Humāyūn the *Khuṭba*

Kashmīrīs, who have a seditious and intriguing nature, however, in 958 A.H. (1551 A.D.) made a night assault and murdered the Mīrzā. He was the author of Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī[1]. The name of the author is given as 'Abdul Rashīd son of Abū Sa'īd Khān. He also was a poet, and the following quatrain is his:

Quatrain

A love must be a bondsman of care,
He must labour, and suffer the results of tyranny.
Either he must leave the road to his beloved's dwelling,
Or he should not mind the dogs there.

The name of Qarā Bahādur Khān's father was Mīrzā Maḥmūd. In view of the fact that the said Khān had been in Kashmīr with Mīrzā Ḥaidar, and knew the area intimately, Emperor Akbar, in the 5th year of his reign, sent him with a large force to conquer Kashmīr[2]. As there was a great delay in the start of the expedition, he reached Rājaurī in the middle of the hot weather. Meanwhile Ghāzī Khān, the ruler of the country, had strongly fortified the passes. A battle took place near Rājaurī, in which Qarā Bahādur Khān after a few days' fight was defeated, and had to turn back[3]. In the 9th year, after the Emperor's return to the Capital from Māndū in the province of Mālwa, Qarā Bahādur Khān was appointed Governor of Māndū[4]. He died a natural death on his appointed time. His rank was 700.

was read in Humāyūn's name, He also sent an envoy to Humāyūn inviting him to Kashmir, see Erskine, *History of India*, II, pp. 366,367. See also *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De & Prashad's translation, III, pt. 2, pp. 707-718. Mīrzā Ḥaidar was killed while he was approaching the quarters of Khwāja Ḥāji to release Qarā Bahādur, *Akbarnāma*, translation. I, p. 406.

1 See the excellent edition by Elias, N. & Ross, E. D. (London, 1895).

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 128, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 197. As Beveridge points out in a note, Abūl Faḍl has wrongly described him as a brother of Mīrzā Ḥaidar. He was really a cousin.

3 The expedition to Kashmir is described in *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 128-130, translation, II, pp. 197-199.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 232, translation, II, p. 352.

(SAIYID) QĀSIM[1] AND SAIYID ḤĀSHIM

(Vol. II, pp. 409, 410).

They were the sons of Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān Bārah. The first, in the 17th year of Akbar's reign, was deputed with Khān 'Ālam[2] in pursuit of Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā[3], who after his defeat by Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka had fled to the Deccan. The seoond, in the 21st year, was sent with Rāī Rāī Singh for the chastisement of Sulṭān Deorah[4], ruler of Sirōhī, who had become rebellious. He became famous for his good service in the conquest of Sirōhī. In the 22nd year[5], both the brothers were deputed with Shāhbāz Khān to extirpate the Rānā. In the 25th year, when the misdeeds of Chandar Sēn, son of Māldev were reported, Saiyid Qāsim and Saiyid Ḥāshim—who were fief-holders in the province of Ajmēr—were appointed along with others to punish that miscreant. After a fight they before long drove him into vagabondage[6]. In the 28th year, they were appointed with

1 See Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 461. The genealogy is given on p. 427.

2 For his life see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 410,411. He must have been deputed after the battle of Sarnāl in 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.), but this is not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*.

3 For his genealogy see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 513, and *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*. Lowe's translation, II, p. 87, note 1.

4 دیوڑه in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 196. دیوره in the text of *Maāthir*. See also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 385, note 1. Curiously Abūl Faḍl has inadvertently called the ruler Sulṭān and Rāī in the same paragraph; the latter in view of his being a Rājpūt is more appropriate. Sirōhī is the capital of the Sirohi State in Rajputana, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXIII, pp. 28-37. The account above is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 196,197, Beveridge's translation, p. 269.

5 This is apparently incorreec. In the 21st year both brothers were appointed in 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.) under Kanwar Mān Singh for the over-throw of the Rānā, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 236,237. Later in the same year they served with Shāhbāz Khān in the reduction of the fort of Siwāna in Jodhpur State, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 318,319. Beveridge's translation, II, p. 466.

Mīrzā Khān Khān Khānān for chastising Muẓaffar Gujarātī, who had stirred up strife. Later, after Mīrzā Khān reached the environs of Aḥmadābād, both the brothers on the day of the battle were in the vanguard. A severe battle took place. Saiyid Ḥāshim bravely sacrificed his life[1]. He held the rank of 1,000. Saiyid Qāsim received some wounds, and so Mīrzā Khān left him with others to guard the city. Later he and other Bārah Saiyids were appointed to defend Pattan. When Mīrzā Khān left Qulīj Khān in charge of the defence of Aḥmadābād, and himself left for the Court, Saiyid Qāsim was appointed Commander of the forces in the province. He repeatedly fought successfully against Muẓaffar, against Jām, the *Zamīndār* of Little Cutch, and against Khangār, the *Zamīndār* of Great Cutch. When the charge of Gujarāt was transferred from Khān Khānān to Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka, he was in the vanguard in the battle which took place between Khān Ā'ẓam and Sulṭān Muẓaffar in the 37th year[2]. Later he went to the Deccan campaign with Prince Sulṭān Murād, and in the battle with the Deccanīs had charge of the left wing, and proved his bravery by his valiant deeds. In the 44th year, corresponding to 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D) he died[3] of dyspepsia (*imtilā*). He had risen to the rank of 1,500. His sons and grandsons got promotions. Notices of some of them have been included.

QĀSIM 'ALĪ KHĀN[4]

(Vol. III, pp. 59-61).

In the 10th year[5] when Emperor 'Akbar made a rapid march against 'Alī Qulī Khān Khān Zamān, Qāsim 'Alī Khān was deputed

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 425, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 634; also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*. Lowe's translation, II, p. 342.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 593-595. Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 902-906,

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 757. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1133.

4 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 518.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 265. Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 394-395. For 'Alī Qulī Khān see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-337.

to proceed against Ghāzīpūr. In the 17th year[1], when the Emperor, after the conquest of Gujarāt, turned his attention to the fort of Sūrat, and the besieged on being hard pressed asked for quarter, the Emperor sent the said Khān, who was distinguished above his peers, to them. In the 18th year[2], he was sent with Khān 'Ālam and others to assist Mun'im Khān Khān Khānan in the conquest of Patna. Later, he returned to the Court, and in the same year was deputed to escort[3] Shujā'at Khān Muḥammad Muqīm, who forgetting the Court etiquette, had passed improper remarks against Mun'im Khān in his absence to Khān Khānān. In the following year, when the Emperor's camp was at Allāhābād, he returned to the Court[4], and did homage. In the 22nd year[5], he was sent with Sādiq Khān to chastise Madhūkar Bundēla, and in the 25th year, was deputed with Khān 'Āẓam Kōka to the eastern provinces. In the 26th year[6], he was sent to console those connected with Ḥājī Bēgam, the daughter of Emperor Humāyūn's maternal uncle, who greatly loved the Emperor, and for whom the Emperor also had since his childhood great affection and regard. Since her return from Ḥijāz she had taken up her residence at Humāyūn's tomb, and had died about this time.

In the 31st year, when the Emperor appointed two *Amīrs* to the charge of each province, the province of Oudh was assigned to Qāsim 'Alī Khān along with Fatḥ Khān[7]. In the 35th year, he was greatly favoured when he came from Khairābād to the Court. At the end of the same year he was permitted to go to Kālpī which was in his fief. When and where he died is not known.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 28,29. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 40.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 40, translation, III, p. 57.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 63,64, translation, III, p. 89.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 88, translation, III, p. 124.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 210, translation, III, p. 295. Madhūkar, the chief of Orcha, was the father of Bīr Singh the murderer of Abūl Faḍl.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 376,377, translation, III, pp. 551,452.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 511, translation, III, p. 779.

QASIM KHAN I

(Vol. III, pp. 78-82).

He was the son of Mīr Murād Juwainī[1]. In earlier times Juwain was included in the territory of Baihaq of which Sabazawār was the chief town. It was now a separate tract and was distinguished for its groves and streams. Many good men have come from this place, for example Shaikh Sa'ad-ud-Dīn Ḥamvī, 'Imām-ul-Ḥarmain Abūl Ma'ālī, and Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Ṣāḥib Dīvān. Mīr Murād also was a famous Saiyid of this place. He was for a long time in the Deccan, and became known as the Deccanī. He was distinguished for his courage and bravery, and was regarded as a past master in archery. Emperor Akbar appointed him to train Prince Khurram. In the 46th year of the reign of Akbar he died as *Bakhshī* of Lāhōre.

Qāsim Khān was an accomplished poet, and his verses were highly polished. Earlier on he was the treasurer of the province of Bengāl during the governorship of Islām Khān Chishtī Fārūqī. Islām Khān gave all possible attention to his and his brother Hāshim Khān's training. As a result of the patronage of this great officer he became very influential. Later, when Manīja Bēgam, the sister of Nūr Jahān was married to him, he was promoted to the high rank of an *Amīr*, and received a drum and a flag. The Court wits used to style him as Qāsim Khān Manīja. He was also intimately connected with Emperor Jahāngīr. One day the Emperor asked for fresh water. As the earthen cup was so very fragile, it could not stand the weight of the water and broke. The Emperor looked towards Qāsim Khān and said:—

Hemistich

The cup was delicate, the water could not repose.

Qāsim Khān immediately spoke out the second half of the verse:
He (or she) saw my condition, and could not restrain his (or her) tears.

1 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 559,560. In his account of Mīr Murād Blochmann has included an account of Qāsim Khān based mainly on the above account in *Maāthir*. Juwain is a small town in Khurāsān.

In the end of the reign of that Emperor he was the Governor of the province of Āgra, and also had charge of the fort and the treasures. When Emperor Jahāngīr died, and Shāh Jahān proceeded to the Capital from Junair in the Deccan for his enthronement, he encamped in Dahrah Garden, which from its association with Nūr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Jahāngīr had received the name of Nūr Manzil. Qāsim Khān paid his respects there and was graciously received. In the 1st year, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed Governor of the province of Bengāl in succession to Fidāī Khān[1]. Shāh Jahān during his visit to the province, before his accession, and become aware of the audacity of the Portuguese in the port of Hooghly. They used to take leases of *parganas* in that area, and by tyranny and severity converted their inhabitants into Christians and sent them over to Europe. They had been carrying out this reprehensible practice outside their leased areas. The port was a recent formation. An estuary (*khaur*) had separated[2] itself from the sea, and had extended some twenty *kos* in the direction of Rājmaḥal. The river Ganges after passing opposite Rājmaḥal joins that estuary. From the place of junction at a distance of about a a quarter of a *kos* to the right, the port of Sātgāōn is situated on a branch. In the days of the former rulers of Bengāl a number of European traders, who were

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 125,126. On p. 125 it is also recorded that before his appointment to Bengāl he was the Governor of Āgra. For Fidāi Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 12-18, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 559-563. In the account, however, it is not mentioned that he was removed from Bengāl on the accession of Shāh Jahān.

2 The account of the expedition against the Portuguese in Hooghly is adapted from *Bādshahnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 433-439. Also see Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 240-243, where it is stated that Shāh Jahān was annoyed with the Portuguese owing to their governor's refusal to help him when he was in Bengāl. See also Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 182,183, where it is stated that the expedition was sent at the insistent demand of Mumtāz Maḥal, whose two slave girls had been carried away by the Portuguese. A good critical account of the expedition with reference to various authorities is given by Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 104-113.

inhabitants of Sarandīp (Ceylon), came and settled at a distance of one *kos* from Sātgāōn. On the pretext that they wanted places for buying and selling, they made for themselves a few dwellings in the Bengālī fashion. In course of time, owing to the insouciance of the Governors of the province, many Europeans collected there, and it became a richly populated place. On one side there was the sea (estuary), and on the other three sides they dug up moats. They excavated tanks (for drinking water), and fortifying the place with guns and muskets gave it the name of the port of Hooghly. European ships began to come there regularly, and the port of Sātgāōn was deserted. Accordingly, at the time of his departure Qāsim Khān was given a hint that the Emperor had long purposed to destroy the heretical temples of the Nazareens in this port. As soon as he had disposed of the necessary business of government in the province, he should address himself to the task of extirpating the evil sect. Qāsim Khān, in the 4th year, sent his son 'Ināyat Ullāh with Allāh Yār Khān—who was the real leader—with number of *Manṣabdars* in that direction. Lest the Europeans becoming wise to their movement should take to boats and so escape, it was given out that the expedition was proceeding against Hijlī. A force was also sent with a fleet to bar their passage. The army, which was sent, went by forced marches and besieged Hooghly. The siege lasted for nearly 3½ months. The Europeans sometimes fought, and sometimes in the hope of getting assistance they used to delay peace negotiations by cajolery and deceit. The holy warriors made sluices in the moat opposite the church—where the depth and breadth was the least,—and drained off the water. They charged mines with gun powder and exploded them. The church and many of the infidels were blown sky-high. The brave warriors attacked and conquered the place. From the beginning to the end 10,000 Europeans, men and women, were killed, and 4,400 were made prisoners. Nearly 10,000 peasants whom they had imprisoned were released, and 1,000 Muhammadans attained martyrdom. Three days after the victory, Qāsim Khān died a natural death in the year 1041 A.H. (1631-32) A.D.). He was the author

of a *dīwān* and other compositions. He was of a liberal disposition, and a friend of poets. These two couplets of his are well known.

Verses

After this the heart starts flowing in place of tears,
When water in a spring dries up, mud begins to flow,
Your love came to steal my heart, but not finding it in the chest
Like a thief came out abashed from the dwelling of a destitute.

The Jāma'mosque[1], of Āgra in the bāzār of Atga Khān was built by him.

QĀSIM KHĀN II

(Vol. III, pp. 95-99).

Muḥammad Qāsim, grandson of Qāsim Khān[2] *Mīr Baḥr*, was known as *Mīr Ātish* (commander of the artillery), while the grandfather was generally called *Mīr Āb* (Commander of the Navy). His father Hāshim Khān was the governor of Kashmīr[3] during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. Muḥammad Qāsim, because of his being a house-born one, became known to Shāh Jahān, and in the 18th year, was raised to the rank of 1,500, and honoured by appointment as Superintendent of the Artillery and *Kōtwāl* of the royal camp[4]. In the Balkh campaign he, in view of his showing signs of devotion to duty,

1 This can not be the Jāma' mosque of Āgra which was built by Shāh Jahān. Apparently the word *Jāma'* here is used in its literal sense of large or huge.

2 For an account of Qāsim Khān see Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 412,413, and for his son Hāshim Khān not Bēg, as in the text above, pp. 553,534; on p. 534 the author has included an almost verbatim translation of the present notice about Qāsim Khān.

3 Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, p. 199.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 414.

was, at the recommendation of Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, sent to Andkhud with Rustam Khān Fīrūz Jang. As a reward for his valuable services he was granted the title of Mu'tamad[1] Khān. After his return to the Court through his good fortune he was, in the 21st year, promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and appointed Master of the Horse[2] (*akhtah-bēgī*). In the 22nd year, his rank was raised to 3,000 as a result of an increase of 500, and he was granted the title of Qāsim Khān[3], and in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb he was deputed with a powerful force of artillery for besieging Qandahār. In the 25th year, he was granted an increase in the number of troopers and a drum. In the 28th year, he was granted an increase of 500 and his rank became 4,000 foot with 2,500 horse[4]. In the 29th year, he was appointed with a force of 4,000 brave troopers for the capture of the fort of Sāntūr[5], which the ruler of Srīnagar had recently repaired, and where he had collected a number of rebels; he was also devastating the surrounding territory. He reached there very quickly, and while he was besieging the place, the garrison, losing heart, in despair set fire to the buildings, and retired. Qāsim Khān razed the fort, and returned.

When in the last years of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign all the power became concentrated in the hands of Dārā Shikōh, his brothers rebelled. Murād Bakhsh in great haste declared himself independent and mounted the throne in Gujarāt. Emperor Shāh Jahān, at the recommendation of Dārā Shikōh, in the beginning of the 32nd year, 1068 A.H. (1658 A. D.) raised Qāsim Khān to rank of 5,000 with 5,000 two-horse. three-horse troopers, granted him one lac rupees in cash, and appointed him Governor of Aḥmadābād Gujarāt[6]. He was sent off with Mahārāja Jaswant (Singh), who had been appointed Governor of Mālwa about the same time. It was arranged that the two

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, p, 612. 2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 23.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 69. The increase of 500, as given in the above account, is incorrect. In *'Amal Ṣāliḥ* it is stated that he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2.000 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 201. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 216. 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 285.

leaders should take up their quarters at Ujjain and endeavour to deter Murād Bakhsh from his purpose, and advise him. If unfortunately he persisted in offering silly excuses, and did not withdraw from Gujarāt in deference to the royal orders, and refused to accept the fief of Berār, the Khān and the Mahārāja were to start against him without delay or hesitation, and do their utmost to dislodge him and to liberate that province. Should exigency make it necessary, he was to attach himself to the Mahārāja in any expedition that might have to be undertaken. After arriving at the arranged destination, and on receiving the news of the departure of Murād Bakhsh from Gujarāt for Mālwa Qāsim Khān and the Mahārāja proceeded to oppose him by the route of Bāns Barlāh (Bānswāra). When they reached within three *kos* of Kāchrūd[1], the Prince retreated to a distance of eighteen *kos*, and at some seven *kos* from Ujjain joined his elder brother Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, who was heading for the Court from the Deccan. When the Mahārāja heard this news, and as he was quite unaware of the arrival of Muḥammad Aurangzīb, he became perturbed, but in his helplessness resolved to draw up his forces. Qāsim Khān with 10,000 horse took the vanguard, and when the battle started, a body of gallant Rājpūts galloped forward, and passing Aurangzīb's artillery fell on his van. On the other side, the centre joined with the van, and with the reserve and *altamash* launched an attack. A great fight resulted, and many leading imperial officers were slain. Rāja Jaswant took upon himself the disgrace of flight, and retired towards his home territory. Qāsim Khān and other soldiers thought themselves lucky to save their lives and fled[2]. In the first battle[3] of Dārā Shikōh, the Khān was in his left wing.

1 See Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 198. This place is in the *Sarkār* Ujjain. Bāns Barlāh also mentioned in *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 56, is Bānswāra, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 310.

2 Battle of Dharmat, 26th April, 1658, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 348-369.

3 Battle of Samūgarh, 9th June, 1648, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-405.

When Aurangzīb was victorious, and Nūr Manzil became his camping ground, Qāsim Khān humbly presented himself for employment, and through his good fortune received the fiefs of Sambhal and Murādabād—which were very fertile areas and the home of recalcitrants, and formerly belonged to Rustam Khān who was killed in the course of the battle[1]. He moved in that direction. At this time Sulaimān Shikōh had sought refuge in the hill country of Srīnagar. The Khān was ordered to be on the alert, and should Sulaimān Shikōk attempt to come, to pursue him with the army commanders of the area and seize him. In the 3rd year he was appointed to deal with the affairs in Mathurā[2]. While he was proceeding to perform this duty in 1071 A.H. (1660-61 A.D.) one of his brothers whose brain was deranged and who apparently had a grudge against him out of personal spite and carried away by his temporary loss of control, killed him with a dagger[3]. This miscreant was executed by the Emperor's orders.

(MAHDĪ) QĀSIM KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 199-202).

At first he was in the service of Mīrzā 'Askarī[4], the third son of Bābur. He was an officer commanding trust and influence, and further had fosterage relations with him (Mīrzā 'Askarī). His brother Ghaḍanfar Kōka was with Mīrzā 'Askarī when Humāyūn after the conquest of Gujarāt made over Aḥmadābād to 'Askarī, and himself turned his steps to Māndū. One day the Mīrzā under the influence of liquor in a wine party said, "We are kings and the shadows of

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 126, 127.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 573.

4 Mīrzā 'Askarī, the third son of Bābur, was 14 years younger than Humāyūn. He was appointed Viceroy of Gujarāt with his headquarters at Aḥmadābād in 1535; see Banerji, *Humāyūn Bādshāh*, p. 154.

God". Ghaḍanfar whispered[1], "You are drunk and not in your senses." The company smiled and the Mīrzā became angry and imprisoned Ghaḍanfar. When he was released, he went away to Sulṭān Bahādur, the ruler of Gujarāt who had escaped to the port of Dīp (Diu)[2] and told him that he knew that the Mughals were determined upon flight. He urged him to go to Aḥmadābād, and Sulṭān Bahādur, after collecting a force did so, and again took possession of that country.

Afterwards when Mahdī Qāsim Khān entered the service of Humāyūn, he did good work, and in Akbar's time he attained the rank of 4,000. In the 10th year Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd[3], who had been sent to pursue Khān Zamān, became doubtful of his own safety; and giving up the path of service became a renegade and took up that of disloyalty. He fled to the country of Garh Katanka[4], of which he was the Governor. Akbar in the beginning of the 11th year, 973 (1565-66 A.D.) after returning from Jaunpūr to Āgra appointed Mahdī Qāsim Khān to the government of that province[5], and ordered that after arranging the affairs of the area he should arrest Āṣaf Khān who had committed so very serious an offence. Mahdī Qāsim Khān sturdily girded up the loins of resolution; and started humbly to render efficient service along the proper lines of allegiance. Āṣaf Khān before the arrival of the royal army left the country full

1 This story is taken from *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* (see De's Text, II, p. 38, and translation, II, p. 58, note 2). The difference of the translation in Elliot, V, p. 197, Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, II (2nd edn.), p. 372, and De, is to be explained by the different readings of the word as نیستی (*nēstī*) and مستی (*mastī*).

2 Apparently the island of Diu which is one of the Portugese possessions in Western India, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 377.

3 For an account of Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majid see Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I, (2nd edn.), pp. 395-398.

4 Garh Katanka is another name for the Gōndwāna tract in the Central Provinces and Central India, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XII, pp. 321-336. Blochmann, *op. cit.* p. 372 identified it as Jubbulpōre.

5 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 271, 272, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 404, 405.

of sorrow and regrets. Mahdī Qāsim Khān arriving there engaged hotly in pursuit of Āṣaf Khān, but when the latter out of his misfortune joined Khān Zamān, Mahdī Qāsim Khān pulled his reins and turning back began to attend to the duties of the government. The country fell into his hands without exertion and trouble, but as it was extensive and its affairs in a highly disordered state, he could not manage it properly. He was greatly annoyed and upset, and in the middle of the same year he was overcome by depression[1], and without obtaining royal permission, he left for the Ḥijāz by way of the Deccan. From there he travelled via 'Irāq to Qandahār. In the end of the 13th year and during the days of the siege of Ranthambhōr[2] he presented himself penitent and regretful at the imperial threshold. He presented 'Irāq horses and other gifts. As he was an old servant, Akbar received him kindly and graciously and restored him to his former rank, and granted him the fief of Lucknow. His subsequent history is not known[3].

QĀSIM KHĀN KARMĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 123-126).

He was an Irānian. Through good luck he was enlisted in the service of Aurangzīb. As he was not wanting in courage and zeal, he soon gained promotion and became a favourite of the Emperor. In the 30th year, after the conquest of Bījāpūr he succeeded[4] Kāmgar

1 See *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 272, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 406.

2 In 1569 A.D., see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 334-336, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 489-492. The above account of Mahdi Qāsim Khān's return is apparently adapted from *Akbarnāma*.

3 He was the uncle and father-in-law of Ḥusain Khān Tukriya (*Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 551-554, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 644, 645). Badāyūni (Lowe's translation, II, pp. 128, 129) states that he was very indignant with Mahdi Qāsim Khān on the latter getting Lucknow as his fief which had previously been his *jāgīr*, and abandoned his wife and married a daughter of his uncle Ghaḍanfar Bēg.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 281.

Khān as the Ist *Mīr Tuzuk* (Master of Ceremonies). In the same year he was deputed to Bēswa Pattan[1] for the chastisement of the rebellious elements. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sirā, which was an extensive tract, and was known as the Bījāpūrī Karnātik. There he distinguished himself by his energy and fearlessness in putting down rebellious elements, and became a terror for them, so much so that the chiefs of Chitaldroog and Rāīdroog, who were well known for their impudence and turbulence, at the hands of Qāsim Khān put straws into their mouths (as a sign of subjection). The said Khān did not relax his vigilence at all, and was a very efficient watchman for the entire area. In the 39th year, 1107 A.H. (1695-96 A.D.) he had reached near Adōnī, when he received royal orders[2] that he should march with Khānazād Khān and other imperial officers who had arrived in that area for chastising Santā Maratha, who had been devastating the royal territories, and had defeated whatever royal army was sent against him. The Khān joined the royal armies about six *kos* distant from the route along which the enemy was to pass. He wished to entertain the *Amīrs* to a suitable feast. As the Karnātik touring equipment had not come into fashion, and he had left all gold, silver and porcelain utensils at Adōnī, he had them brought over from there, and next day sent over his advance Camp to a place three *kos* distant. The enemy becoming aware of this divided their force into three bands, and sent one against the advance camp. The second faced the camp (of Qāsim Khān), while the third was held in readiness. One band fell on the advance camp unawares, and wounded and slew many, and carried away whatever was in the camp. This was reported to Qāsim Khān immediately. Without rousing Khāna-

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 283. Pattan is perhaps the town in Satāra district in *Sarkar* Khērlah, see Jarrett, *Ā'īn*, II, p. 233.

2 The account of the expedition is adapted from *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 375-378. For further details see Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*, p. 166. Santā is Santāji Ghōrpare and the fortress is not Dandēri but Dudhēri, 25 miles north of Chittaldrog, see Elliot's *History*, III, p. 355 note, and *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 291-295.

id Khān from his slumber Qāsim Khān hurried to meet the enemy. e had not advanced even a *kos* when the enemy appeared. Meanhile Khānazād Khān woke up, and on hearing the news he hastened join Qāsim Khān) leaving all his baggage behind. A great battle[1] ok place, and great deeds of bravery were performed. Neither side ave way. While the battle was at its height, news was received that e band which the enemy had held aside in readiness had attacked e camp and plundered it. The royal forces lost heart, and fighting eir way reached the small fortress of Dooderī or Dūdherī (Danderī text) and encamped there on the bank of a tank. The enemy urrounded them, but though his forces appeared every day, they did ot attack for three days. Except the water of the tank the troops ad nothing to eat or drink. On the fourth day the enemy attacked large numbers, like ants and locusts, and bullets were fired like an cessant rain. The ammunition of the royal force had been plunered. After fighting for some hours, when the royal forces saw that ey were shut in from all sides they in spite of opposition of the arrison forced their way into the fortress. The enemy besieged them nd waited. On the first day they got barley and millet bread from he stores of the fortress, while the horses were given new and old hatching straw. On the second day nothing was left. As the hān was addicted to opium, and his life depended on it, the craving r opium killed him. On the third day he died, and so saved his ife from the enemy. Some[2] say that he poisoned himself.

1 Near Chitaldroog.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 432, and Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 357.

QĀSIM KHĀN MĪR ABŪL QĀSIM NAMAKĪN[1]

(Vol. III, pp. 74-78).

He was one of the Husainī Saiyids of Herāt. At first he was in the service of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm[2], but later through his good luck he was enlisted among the servants of Emperor Akbar. As he held *jāgīrs* in Bhēra and Khūshāb[3], and was in the vicinity of the Salt-range, he sent plates and cups of salt (rock salt) as an offering (to the Emperor), so he got the nickname of *Namakīn*. The salt-range is a mountain twenty *kos* long in the Panjab *ṣūba* in the Dūāb of Sind-Sāgar which lies between the Bait (Jhelum) and Sindh rivers. They cut out large pieces of salt from the mountain side, and bring these to one side. Of the price the miners get three-fourths and the porters one fourth. The merchants buy the salt at one and a half to two *dāms* per maund, and export it to distant lands. One rupee for every seventeen maunds is paid as excise to the royal exchequer. Craftsmen make plates, dishcovers and various other utensils out of rock salt[4]. The Mīr had a position of intimacy in the Court of Akbar. In the battle of Dā'ūd Khān Karārānī a golden chain of an elephant was found in his house. As a result he was degraded from his rank[5].

1 Blochmann in *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 525-527 has given an almost complete translation of this notice, and added notes on various persons and events. His genealogical tree of Qāsim Khān is particularly valuable. His nickname is generally given as Tamakīn in Persian Mss.

2 See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 325. He was Akbar's brother.

3 In Shāhpūr district in the Panjab, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XXII, pp. 211-221.

4 For an account of the salt mines see *Imperial Gazetteer*, III, pp. 159, 160. Also Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 525, note 1.

5 It has not been possible to trace the source for this statement. In *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, II, Lowe's translation p. 196, it is stated that Abūl Qāsim was defeated by Junaid uncle's son of Dā'ūd in the 19th year. It was apparently after this event that his rank was reduced

In the 32nd year[1], when the Afghāns of Swāt, Bajaur and Tīrāh came with their families to the Court, Emperor Akbar appointed the Mīr as *Krōrī* and *Faujdār* of that area; he kept half of the leaders of that tribe under surveillance, and permitted the rest to leave with the Mīr. Up to the 40th year he had reached the rank of 700. In the 43rd year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) he was appointed Governor of Bhakkar[2]. He built the great mosque in Sukkur. As he treated the people of the area harshly and improperly, he was, on receipt of a complaint from them, dismissed. It is stated that when he arrived at the Court, the oppressed lodged a complaint before Qāḍī 'Abdul Ḥayy the *Qāḍī* of the Camp. He summoned the Mīr to his court, but the latter did not appear. The Qāḍī represented to the Emperor that the Mīr had disobeyed the orders of *Shara'* and also shown disrespect to royal authority. An order was issued that he should be tied to the feet of an elephant, and taken round. The Mīr heard of it, and at the advice of Shaikh Ma'rūf, the *Ṣadr* of Bhakkar, who was present, won over all the complainants by paying them money, and sent them off to Bhakkar the same day. Immediately he went to the *Darbār*, and represented that the *Qāḍi* had made a false report. Neither any man of Bhakkar was a complainant, nor had he been summoned to the court. When an explanation was called for from the *Qāḍī*, he in spite of all efforts was unable to produce any of the oppressed. From that day it was decreed that the *Qāḍī* should write down the descriptive rolls of the complainants and send them to the Emperor. Later, the Mīr was granted an increase in his rank, received the title of Khān, and was made fief-holder of Gujarāt.

In the first year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, Prince Khusrau, after his rebellion and subsequent defeat by Shaikh Farīd Bukhārī, was

1 In the account of the 33rd year, *Akbarnāma*, III, Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr* I, pp. 66, 67. This account differs in several respects from that in *Maāthir*.

2 *Akbarnāma*, op. cit., p. 1117.

greatly perturbed regarding the direction to which he should escape. Some of the Afghāns, who had been his fellow conspirators, suggested that after plundering and devastating the Dūāb area they should proceed towards the Capital. If they succeeded, all to the good, otherwise they could escape to the eastern districts which constituted a very extensive area. Ḥasan Bēg Badakhshī, however, remonstrated that this expedition was dangerous and they should retire towards Kābul. As Khusrau had made over the reins of authority to him, he preferred the course suggested by him, and started in that direction. There orders had been issued to the fief-holders and *Krōrīs* to be on the alert in the area under their charges, and to capture Khusrau wherever he could be seen. Consequently great care was taken on all highways. Khusrau with Ḥasan Bēg and a few other companions wished to cross the Chināb river. On reaching the Sōdhara ferry at night they began to look for a boat, and found one without any boatmen. Suddenly another boat laden with firewood and grass arrived. Ḥasan Bēg wished to drag its boatmen by force to the unoccupied boat. This resulted in noise and an uproar. The headman of Sōdhara hearing about it went to the ferry, and stopped the boatmen from ferrying the passengers to the other side. When it was morning, Mīr Abūl Qāsim Namakīn with the *Manṣabdārs*, who were in the vicinity, rushed from Gujarāt, and capturing Khusrau placed him under surveillance[1]. For this excellent service he was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 3,000, and was again appointed to Bhakkar. The Mīr resolved to make Bhakkar his home, and a hillock overlooking the fort of Bhakkar and on the southern side towards the town of Rōhrī, and near the Panjāb branch of the river called Khārmānrī, he built a mausoleum, to which he gave the name *Ṣaffa-i-Ṣafā* (the dome of purity). It is of unrivalled brigthness on moonlit nights, and there he was buried.

1 For a detailed account of Khusrau's flight and capture see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, I, pp. 66, 67. This account differs in several respects from that in *Maāthir*.

It is stated that he had an extraordinary appetite. He would eat a thousand mangoes, a thousand sweet apples and two[1] (water) melons each weighing a maund. He had many children; twenty two[2] of these were males. Of them Mīr Abūl Baqā Amīr Khān[2] has been separately described. Mīrzā Kashmīrī owing to his participation in Khusrau's rebellion was, in accordance with the royal orders, deprived of his male organ. Mīrzā Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was marked for promotion, but died in his youth. Mīrzā Zaid Ullāh[3] did not succeed in getting a *manṣab*, and took up service with Khān Jahān Lōdī[4].

QĀSIM KHĀN MĪR BAḤR[5]

(Vol. III, pp. 62-66).

He was one of the distinguished men of the age for his rectitude, bravery and ability. He was the sister's son of Dōst Mīrzā who was an old servant of the Tīmūrid dynasty. When in the year 954 A.H. (1547 A.D.) Mīrzā Kāmrān was besieged in the fort of Kābul, and Emperor Humāyūn who was encamped on Kōh 'Aqābīn to the east of the fort, was attacking it with artillery, Qāsim Khān with his brother Khwājgī Muḥammad Ḥusain through good fortune threw themselves down from a bastion between the Iron Gate and the Qāsim Barlās tower, and joined the Imperial forces[6]. From that day he was always an object of favour at the royal hands. After the accession of Emperor Akbar he was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr*, and granted

1 32 sons according to Jahāngīr's *Memoirs, op. cit.*, p. 31.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 172-174, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 105, 106.

3 يدالله in the text is apparently a printer's error for زيدالله

4 There is no mention in this notice of Abūl Qāsim having been the *Jāgīrdār* of Jalālābād, from which post he was removed in the 2nd year of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Memoirs, loc. cit.*, pp. 102, 103.

5 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 412, 413.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text, I. p. 263, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 507, 508. Dōst Mīrzā is designated there as Pahlwān Dōst Mīr Barr.

the rank of 3,000. He built the Āgra fort, which had no equal anywhere else, in the course of eight years at a cost of seven krōrs of *tankas*, which were equal to 35 lacs of rupees. The fort was built in the 10th year of the reign, 972 A.H. (1564-65 A.D.) on the bank of the Jumnā, to the east of the city on the site of old fort which owing to its age and the effect of the weather had greatly decayed. The breadth of the surrounding wall was three yards and its height from the foundation to the top sixty yards. The red stones (of which it was built) were cut and were fitted so well that not a hair could be inserted between them. All the foundations went down to the water level. For added strength the stones were clamped together by iron rings[1]. In the 23rd year Qāsim Khān was appointed Governor of Āgra, and in the beginning of the Sha'bān of the 32nd year[2], 995 A.H. (July, 1587) he was deputed to conquer Kashmīr.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 246, 247. Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 372, 373. Also see *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, II, p. 74, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 74, 75, where the chronogram of the date of foundation comes to 374 A.H., and *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari*, De's Text, II, p. 179, and translation, II, pp. 293, 294. According to Badāyūni the fort was completed in 5 years, while according to *Ṭabaqāt* it took four years to complete it. The breadth of the wall in the text is 30 yards, which is apparently a mistake for 3 in *Akbarnāma*, while Badāyūni gives it as 12, and *Ṭabaqāt* as 10. The cost in *Ṭabaqāt* in 3 krōrs of *tankas*. Also see Nūr Bakhsh's interesting article entitled. "The Agra Fort and its Buildings" in *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.* for 1903-04 (1906), pp. 164-193. On p. 165, note 1, the author has made a mistake in suggesting that three yards of the MS. is apparently a mistake for thirty yards. I made enquiries from the Director General of Archaeology in this connection, and I am indebted to him for the following information:—"The width of the walls of the Agra Fort is not uniform throughout: it differs in various places. At the top, however, it ranges from 4°9″ to 10° excluding the parapets, which in their turn measure from 2°9″ to 5°2″ in width. It is difficult to give the exact thickness of the foundations, but the width of the inner wall on the south at the level of the *damdams* has been found to measure 14°3″ excluding the modern brick in-filling."

2 There is a certain amount of confusion in regard to the date and year of the expedition. According to the *Akbarnāma*, III, translation, p. 752,

This is a country the conquest of which, owing to the difficulties of communications and inaccessibility of the mountains, had not been attempted by the former rulers (of Delhī). Lofty mountains surround it on all sides, and though there are six or seven routes into it, only three of these are possible for the transport of large armies, but if on each of these a few old women were stationed to roll down stones, no one would be able to get across. Qāsim Khān, as he was confident of his skill and courage, gladly accepted the task. Ya'qūb Khān son of Yūsuf Khān Chak, who at the time was the ruler of the country came forward with a large force to fight. He fortified the Kamzail pass and stationed himself there. As the people of the country were dissatisfied and discontented with his rule, several of them deserted him and joined Qāsim Khān, while others raised a rebellion in Srīnagar. Ya'qūb Khān was consequently forced to return to suppress this domestic disturbance, and Qāsim Khān entered the country without any opposition. Ya'qūb Khān finding himself unable to oppose him took to the mountains. Later, having collected a force he fought several times, but was unsuccessful and so was obliged to submit, and enlist himself among the royal servants. As the nature of all the inhabitants of that country is prone to commotion and intrigue, there was not a day when there was not some intrigue, and not a month passed without an outbreak of disturbances.

Qāsim Khān became tired of repeated encounters and resigned his appointment as the Governor of the country[1]. In the 34th year,

Qāsim Khān was sent with other officers in 994 A.H. (28th June, 1586, according to Beveridge). *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, p. 364, also has it in the beginning of Sha'bān, 994 A.H. (middle of July, 1586), but according to the *Tabaqāt*, De's translation, II, p. 616 *et sequel* it would be Sha'bān, 995 A.H. For details of the expedition see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 502-506, and Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 762-771. Kamzail pass of the text is Kapartāl in *Akbarnāma* and Katrail in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*. Beveridge has added a critical note (note 3, p. 764 *et seq.*) and come to the conclusion that it was probably Darhāl about 12 miles north-east of Rājauri.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 523, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 861.

he was deputed to Kābul[1], and for several years managed the affairs of that area. An Andjānī youth proclaimed himself in Badakhshān as a son of Shāh Rukh Mīrzā. For a time he was successful. When the Shāh of Tūrān defeated him, he made friends with the Afghān Hazāras. When Qāsim Khān had left for the Court, he came over with a few men to Afghānistān for creating a disturbance. He represented to the guards that he was proceeding to the Emperor's Court. Hāshim Bēg son of Qāsim Khān, who was in charge of the affairs of the *Ṣūba* as his father's deputy, sent some people to act as guides and bring him there. After that scoundrel had passed Panjshīr, he rapidly marched off to the Hazāra country. Hāshim Bēg also came quickly, and after a short contest made him a prisoner and took him to Kābul. After Qāsim Khān's return, he in his simplicity gave him a position near himself, and did not think it necessary to keep a strict watch over him. He also gave employments to his companions. Although his well-wishers warned him, but it was of no use. That miscreant conspired with 500 Badakhshīs, and lay in wait to kill Qāsim Khān. When the latter in accordance with royal orders was sending him to the Court, he at mid-day with some others sneaked into Qāsim Khān's bed-chamber. Except for some female servants no one was at hand, and Qāsim Khān fighting bravely was killed, and his head cut off. When Hāshim Bēg heard this news, he proceeded to the citadel and forced an entrance. There was a fight with muskets and arrows, and many were killed. In the melée that sedition-monger also reached his doom (was killed). This happened in the 39th year[2], 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.).

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 569, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 861.

2 This account of the pretender is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 652, 653, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 1001-1003.

QĀSIM MUḤAMMAD KHĀN[1] of Nīshāpūr (Vol. III, pp. 50-52).

He was one of the great men of Nīshāpūr. As the Ūzbēgs became powerful in that tract he left his native country and became a companion of Bairām Khān. In the battle[2] against Sikandar Khān Sūr he rendered valuable services in the company of Bairām Khān. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign in the battle against Hēmū he was deputed to the van[3] under 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, and distinguished himself by his brave deeds. In the same year he was appointed to chastise[4] Ḥājī Khān—a slave of Shēr Khān Afghān, who was distinguished for valour and prudence, and who after fighting with Rānā Udai Singh of Mēwār had taken possession of Ajmēr and Nāgōr. Ḥājī Khān's men fled on hearing of the approach of the royal troops, and Ḥājī Khān retired to Gujarāt. Qāsim Muḥammad Khān went to Ajmēr and set about the settlement of that area.

When, in the 5th year, Bairām Khān was discredited, Qāsim Khān left him, and took up service under the Crown. In the same year, he in the company of Shams-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Atka was appointed to oppose Bairām Khān, and on the day of the battle he commanded the right wing[5]. After the battle was won, he was granted a fief in Multān[6] and was permitted to go there. In the 9th year, the Emperor resolved to put down 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbēg,

1 As *Blochmann*, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 379, has noted the name should be Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, as he is styled in the *Akbarnāma*, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh* and *Ṭabaqāt*.

2 Battle of Sirhind 22nd June, 1555, see *Akbarnāma*, I, Beveridge translation, p. 631. Muḥammad Qāsim's name is not mentioned in connection with the battle, but earlier on, p. 625, it is stated that he was one of the officers whose exertions made it possible for the army to cross River Sutlej.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 33, Beveridge' translation, II, p. 54.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 46, translation, pp. 71-73.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. III, 112, translation, pp. 168-170.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 114, 115, translation, p. 175.

and went to Mālwa on the pretext of hunting elephants. When the royal retinue reached Sārangpūr, Qāsim Khān, who at the time was in charge of that area, had the honour of waiting on the Emperor. And having begged the Emperor to grace his district by a visit he showered gold etc. over the Emperor's head. He offered to the Emperor 700 horses and mules, and presented his officials to the Emperor. He won a good name for himself by distributing the animals amongst the *Amīrs* and the royal force which had arrived there by forced marches[1]. When 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbēg on hearing of the approach of the Emperor Akbar fled from Māndū, the Emperor sent Qāsim Khān[2] and some others to proceed hurriedly and block his way. After this in the course of his flight 'Abdullāh Khān gave up plundering and came forward to fight, but on Emperor Akbar arriving close on his heels took to flight. The said Khān with some others was deputed in his pursuit. He made a rapid march, and on reaching near a defile, from which Chāmpānēr was visible he fell on 'Abdullāh Khān's camp[3]. 'Abdullāh Khān and his son escaped, and Qāsim Khān collecting all his bag and baggage waited there. The Emperor after reaching the place showed great favour and kindness to Qāsim Khān. Nothing further is known about him.

QAWĀM-UD-DĪN KHĀN of Iṣpahān
(Vol. III, pp. 109-115).

He was the brother of Khālifā Sulṭān the famous Grand *Vazīr* of Irān. This family originally belonged to Māzindarān, and was descended from Mīr Qawām-ud-Dīn, known as Mīr Buzurg of Ma'arshiya Saiyids. The latter in 760 A.H. (1359 A.D.) became the ruler of Māzindarān and Ṭabiristān. After the passage of years, one of the descendants of the said Mīr, by name Amīr Niẓām-ud-Dīn

1 *Akbarnama*, Text, III, pp. 224, 225, translation, p. 345.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 227, translation, p. 348.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 228, 229, translation, p. 350.

as a result of the changed circumstances came to Iṣpahān, and settled down in the Gulbār quarter. Gradually he became possessed of wealth and property, and *Khalīfāship* descended to Saiyid 'Alī who was one of the Amīr's grand-children, and who was known as Khalīfā Sulṭān, the family came to be known as the Khalīfā Saiyids. Some say that Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī gave him the title of Khalīfā Sulṭān and presented him a drum and a standard. His worthy heir was Mīr Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad the daughter's son of Khalīfā Asad Ullāh. He was one of the famous Saiyids of Iṣpahān, and was the author of this well known quatrain:—

Quatrain

May she be a lamp and consume my aggrieved soul,
So that she may say "I have made thee my very own moth (or flame).
I die if I approach her not!
I burn if I circle round her.

Mīr Shujā'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad was famous for his learning and wisdom. He lived in a grand style on the wealth which he had inherited from his ancestors. His son Mīr Rafī'-ud-Dīn Muḥammad was well versed in rational and traditional learning. He was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I. In 1026 A.H. (1617 A.D.), in the 31st year of the Shāh's reign, he, on the death of Qāḍī Sulṭān Mūsavī of Ṭurbat—who in succession to Qāḍī Khān Saifī Ḥusainī served as the *Ṣadr* of Irān for only eight days and then died of illness—was appointed *Ṣadr*, and in that post served with great honesty. He died in 1034 A.H. (1624-25 A.D.). His worthy successor Khalīfā Sulṭān conveyed his body to the holy Karbalā, and burried it in the holy cemetery of the Prince of Martyrs, the fifth of the family of the Robe. When Khalīfā Sulṭān, as a result of his alliance with Shāh 'Abbās I, and of his being the *Vazīr* of the kingdom of Irān, became the most honoured person of the realm, his brother Qawām-ud-Dīn was appointed *Ṣadr*, which was one of the highest offices in that country. After

his brother's death, and the change in sovereignty and the irresolute nature of the reigning sovereign, he left his home and country and migrated to India. He paid his respects to Emperor Aurangzīb in the beginning of the 17th year of the reign, and received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger with *phūl katāra*, a string of pearls, a sword with gold appurtenances, a worked shield, a silken plume, and Rs. 10,000 in cash. He was appointed to the rank of 3,000 foot and 1500 horse, and granted the title of Khān[1]. Earlier also relations of Khalīfā Sulṭān, who had come to this Court, were successful in getting suitable ranks. For example, Mīr Ja'far, his sister's son, who reached the port of Sūrat in the 28th year of Shāh Jahān's reign—while Khalīfā Sulṭān was still alive, though he died later in the same year—received a present of Rs. 6,000 cash from the Sūrat treasury, and after paying his respects he was given the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and a cash present of Rs. 10,000. In the 31st year[2] his rank was increased by 500 with 500 horse, and he was made fief-holder of Ḥusainpūr in Bihār. In the 3rd year of 'Ālamgīr's reign, Mīr 'Imād-ud-Dīn, his son-in-law, came to the Court, and received the title of Raḥmat Khān[3], and the office of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*. In the 6th year, Saiyid Ṣadr Jahān[4] one of his sons-in-law came in quest of service, and was favoured with a suitable office.

Now the pen starts to write an account of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān. He received an increase of 500 in his rank, and in the 19th year on the Emperor's return to Lāhōre from Ḥasan Abdāl was appointed Governor of Kashmīr[5]. In the same year he was removed from there

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*. p. 130.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 245.

3 He received the title of Raḥmat Khān in the 10th year, *vide 'Ālamgīrnāma* p. 1034, where he is described as *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*.

4 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 851, 852.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 151. He was recalled from Kashmir in the 21st and not 19th year, and Ibrāhīm Khān was appointed his successor, *id*. p. 163. He returned to Court in the same year (*id*. p. 165) and received a robe of honour.

and returned to the Court. He was appointed Governor of Lāhōre[1], and to this office the *faujdārī* of Jammu was added later. It so happened that, at this time as a result of the Emperor's desire to uphold the canonical Law, the *Qāḍīs* of the cities and towns had acquired so much influence that they contended on an equality with the officers and governors of the areas. Especially this was the case with Saiyid 'Alī Akbar Allāhābādī, the *Qāḍī* of Lāhōre, who on account of his inherent rectitude and prestige did not bend his head to anyone. Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān—who, in addition to his wisdom and learning, regarded himself as one of the premier men of Irān in regard to lineage and ability—was able to size up the exact position of the *Qāḍī* immediately after his arrival in Lāhōre. At their very first meeting there was a misunderstanding and this gradually developed into dislike. It so happened that Saiyid Fāḍil, the sister's son of the *Qāḍī* was a tyrannical and insolent person, and the *Kōtwāl* being tired of his actions and talk was after his life. Things came to such a pass that the Governor sent the *Kōtwāl*—whose name was Niẓām-ud-Dīn, but was more commonly known as Mīrzā Bēg—with a force to seize the *Qāḍī* and bring him before him. The *Qāḍī* fortified his house, and made a great outcry. In the tumult the *Qāḍī* and his sister's son were ignominously killed; and his son was wounded. As the people of Lāhōre in such cases pretend by exhibitions of their religious-mindedness to be the defenders of Islām, and are intriguers, while in the market people and the educated—who have read a few words call themselves 'Ullāmā and are really worse than ignorant—gathered together in thousands, and there was a general riot. The Governor and the *Kōtwāl* shutting themselves up in their houses prepared for battle. The tumult continued for a long time, and people could not go about in the streets. At last both were removed from their offices and ranks, and Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh was appointed Governor with Luṭf Ullāh Khān as his deputy. Until the arrival of the said

1 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīrī*, p. 166. The *faujdārī* of Jammu was added to his office in the same year, p. 169.

Khān an order was also issued to the latter's brother Ḥifẓ Ullāh Khān, the *Faujdār* of Chiniot to proceed post-haste to Lāhōre, and make over the *Kōtwāl* to the *Qāḍī's* heirs, and to send the governor to the Court. He did as he was ordered. Niẓām-ud-Dīn was capitally punished in Lāhōre, while as a result of the tumult and the crowd of malcontents it was found difficult for Qawām-ud-Dīn to be sent away in safety. Consequently he was quietly taken in a closed palanquin to the river, which ran close to the city, and from there sent off by a boat. He arrived at the Court in the 23rd year at Ajmēr. The *Qāḍī's* son with a huge crowd also came to the Court, and claimed retaliation for his father's murder. The Emperor ordered that proceedings should be started according to the law, and the Khān endured indignities in the course of the trial. As the *Qāḍī* Shaikh-ul-Islām rightly would not find the charge of murder proved, the affair dragged on for a long time. From vexation and anger the Khān became ill, both in body and mind. The prosecutors would not give way, and pressed that his advocate should come to the Court for defending the case, or rather that Qawām-ud-Dīn himself should be brought in a palanquin. When he had suffered all sorts of indignities, the son of Saiyid ʿAlī Akbar, at the intercession and entreaty of the principal courtiers, forgave the old man and withdrew his demand for retribution. The said Khān also taking pity on his miserable condition died about this time[1]. He had two sons. One was Ṣadr-ud-Dīn who accompanied his father from Īrān; a separate notice[2] about him has been included. The second was Muḥammad Shujāʿ, who arrived from Īrān in the 19th year, and was appointed to the rank of 1,000[3]. When his brother in reward for his bravery was granted the title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān[4] in lieu of his earlier title of Shujāʿat Khān, he was

1 The account of his quarrel is adapted from *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 188.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 746, 747.

3 *Maāthir-i-ʿĀlamgīrī*, p. 153, where the rank to which he was appointed is given as 1,000 with 300 horse.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

favoured by the reigning Sovereign and granted the latter title. In the siege of Gōlconda he was with his brother, and was wounded, but through the kind attention of the Emperor he was cured[1].

QAZALBĀSH KHĀN AFSHĀR
(Vol. III, pp. 85-87).

He was the son of Ṭahmasp Bēg, son of Qādir Āqā who for a time was the *Vakīl* of Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, ruler of Irān. He came to India by sea and reached Bījāpūr. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Khān gave him the title of I'timād Khān and appointed him his general. In the 5th year[2] of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he entered the service of the latter, and received the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, the title of Qazalbāsh Khān and a present of Rs. 20,000 cash. In the 6th[3] year he was deputed with Prince Shujā' for the conquest of Parendā in the Deccan. After reaching Burhānpūr, the Prince, who had sent Khān Zamān in advance also proceeded towards Parendā, and left Qazalbāsh Khān[4] with 1,000 horse in Shāhgarh to guard the roads. In the 9th year, when the Emperor came to the Deccan, and three armies under three distinguished commanders were appointed to chastise Sāhū Bhonsle and to devastate the 'Adil Shāhī territories, Qazalbāsh Khān was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse, and attached to Khān Daurān's forces[5]. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and appointed *Thānadār* of Pathrī[6] in Berār. In the 13th year he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse, and made commandant of the fort of Aḥmadnagar[7] in succession to Saiyid Murtaḍā Khān. In the 15th year[8] he

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 296.
2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 441.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 537.
4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 35.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 136. The grant of the increase in his rank is recorded on p. 138.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 249.
7 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 176.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

was exalted with the grant of a drum, and in the 18th year[1], at t recommendation of Khān Daurān, 500 of his troopers were ma two-horse and three-horse. In the 22nd year[2] corresponding to 10 A.H. (1648 A.D.) he died at Aḥmadnagar. He was of an auste deportment, and in all wordly affairs conducted himself with care a rectitude. His enterprises were successfully carried out without a guidance from others. He lived in great style, and used to spend lot on his food. Most of his servants were Irānians, and they lived well. In consequence his income was not equal to his expend ture, and he became indebted. After his death his son Iraj Kh lightened the load of his father's debt. His eldest son Mīrzā Naj 'Alī was a Persian born, and had recently migrated from Irān. Aft his father's death he received the rank of 1,000 foot and horse, ar was appointed *Faujdār* of Bālāpūr in Berār. In the 30th year he di as the Commandant of the fort of Ẓafarnagar Bālāghāt. 'Iraj Khā who was the best of the decendants of Qazalbāsh Khān, was born India with four brothers by the same mother. After his father death, 'Iraj Khān[3] received the rank of 1,500 foot and the title Khān, and was appointed in place of his father to the defence Aḥmadnagar. Mīrzā Rustam was appointed *Faujdār* of Sangamnē During Emperor Aurangzīb's reign he was exalted by the grant of th title of Ghaḍanfar Khān. Mīrzā Bahrām was made *Thānadār* of Dēva gāōn in Bālāghāt Berār, and through Aurangzīb's favour he received h father's title. Mīrzā Hāshim was distinguished for his learning an calligraphy. Another Muḥammad Raḍā was short-lived. Of Qaza bāsh Khān's sons-in-law, one was Mīrzā Sikandar Bēg son of Sulṭā Baisanqar—who was Qazalbāsh Khān's cousin, and held the fort c Maqāzīrū on the border of Irān for Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī; he was on suspicion of being in league with the Turks, unjustly put to deat

1 This was in the 18th year, see *op. cit.*, p. 417.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 66.

3 *Id. ibid.* p. 66. For his detailed account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, pp. 268-272, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 685-687.

during the reign of Shāh Ṣafavī. His eldest son, who had been taken as a prisoner to Turkey, was enlisted in the service of Khūnd Kār (the Sulṭān). (Another son-in-law) Sikandar Bēg came to the Deccan, and received an appointment from the Emperor. Another, Mīrzā Wais Bēg, was employed in the Deccan to look after the auxiliaries. A short account of this family has been included here in view of the fact that it was for long distinguished in the Deccan.

QAZĀQ KHĀN BĀQĪ BĒG ŌZBĒG

(Vol. III, pp. 88, 89).

He was the brother of Khusrau Bēg Ōzbēg[1] who was one of Jahāngīr's officers. When his father Khusrau Bēg died a natural death in the campaign against the Rānā, Bāqī Bēg left service and resolved to go to Mecca. Emperor Jahāngīr increased his rank and position, and induced him to give up mourning. For a long time he was a fief-holder of Jālaur, and was distinguished in that area for his bravery and courage. He was also skilled in developing the country. Under Khān Daurān he rendered good service in the 9th year in the pursuit of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, and was rewarded by the Emperor with the grant of the title of Qazāq Khān[2], and promoted to the rank of 1,500 foot with 800 horse[3]. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sīwistān (in Sindh)[4], and fought great battles there with the Hēmcha and other rebellious tribes of the area, and as a result was able to establish authority and government in the country. He was promoted

1 He is called Khusrau Bī Ōzbēg Qimchi in Jahāngīr's *Memoirs*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 206. He died in the 10th year, *ibid*., p. 284.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 134. His rank at the time, according to *Bādshāhnāma* was raised to 1,000 with 800 horse.

3 *Op. cit*., p. 249, where he is stated to have granted an increase of 500 in his rank, and his rank at the end of the 10th year, therefore, was 1,500 with 800 horse, p. 306.

4 He was at the same time granted an increase in rank of 500 with 800 horse, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 150, 151.

to the rank of 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse. During the governorship of Muhammad Aurangzīb Bahādur he was appointed to Gujarāt[1]. As his expenditure had greatly increased, while the income from his fiefs was limited, he suffered troubles at the hands of his retainers. During the government of Islām Khān Mashhadī he was appointed to the Deccan, where he was made *Thānadār* and fief-holder of Pathrī. He was able to improve that *pargana* materially, and as a result he became more solvent, and comfortable. He always had the desire to go on pilgrimage. In the 24th year, 1061 A.D. (1651 A.D.) he died and was buried in Pathrī. It is stated that he was a great story-teller, and was very urbane in his dealings. He left two young sons. The Emperor fixed a daily allowance for them. It is stated that his mother used to say her prayers standing even at the age of 120 years, and that her food consisted of meat soup only. She loved the son so much that she fainted whenever he left for the Court. After his death she owing to the tenacity of life survived him for a few years.

QIBCHĀQ KHĀN AMĪN BĒG SHAQĀWAL

(Vol. III, pp. 82-85).

He was an elder of the Qibchāq clan and a resident of Balkh. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when the armies of India took possession of that city, the ruler Nadhar Muhammad Khān[2] becoming anxious and through carelessness and short-sightedness took to vagabondage, Qibchāq Khān separated from him and took up his abode in Chaichaktū and Mārūchaq. Bahādur Khān Rōhilla and Aṣālat Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*, who had been placed in charge of the country, sent him a conciliating letter, in accordance with the royal orders and urged him to take the path of loyalty (to the Emperor). He guided by his clear understanding and wisdom accepted the offer and came to Balkh. The officers made him very happy by presenting him 60,000 *Shāhīs*, and recommending him for the rank of 2,000 with

1 Apparently as *Faujdār* of Barōda, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

2 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, II, p. 490.

1,000 horse. He left his belongings in Balkh, and went by permision of the officers, to Gazrawān[1] in order that by collecting his own tribe of Aimāqs he might make other tribes, who were rebellious, ally themselves with him in the hope of being favoured by the Emperor. His appointment was approved by the Emperor, and he was in addition granted the title of Qibchāq Khān. Parts of Chaichaktū, Maimnna, Ghurjistān, Gazrawān, Khārayāb and Khairāb were included in his fief. Later, when the territories of Balkh and Badakhshān were restored to Nadhar Muhammad Khān, Rustam Khān the Governor of Andkhud set off for India by way of Darsāj which was a dependency of Gazrawān. Qibchāq Khān joined him, and after he had traversed some stages by the route of Ika Ūlang, the leaders of the Aimāqs came after him, and said that they were also leaving Ūzbēgs, and had decided to become subjects of the ruler of India, but that some delay must occur for getting the necessary equipment for travelling. When Rustam Khān saw that the said Khān did not have such equipment as to be able to travel during winter, and he would have to wait till spring, he gave them Rs. 5,000 from the Government treasury for the journey and sent them off. Qibchāq Khān spent the winter in Chārhad—which was on the borders of Qandahār, and in the 22nd year reached Qandahār by way of Khwāja Ujjain. A letter summoning him was sent from the Court, and directions were sent that he was to receive a present of Rs. 50,000 from the Qandahār treasury. As the report of the marching of Shāh 'Abbās II against Qandahār was confirmed, he out of his zeal for service offered to the commandant of the fort to serve with the royal officers till the end of that affair. He considered this offer very opportune and gladly accepted[2] it. A month had not elapsed when the Shāh of Irān came to Qandahār and besieged it. Both sides started fighting, until Shādī Khān Ūzbēg—who was one of the staff in the fort and at that time had charge of the Wais Qaran

1 This appears to be Ghujdawān.

2 *'Amal Ṣaliḥ*, III, p. 67.

Gate, out of cowardice and faint heartedness, went and joined the enemy, and tried to lead astray Qibchāq Khān, who had developed loyalty for the Emperor whom he wished anxiously to serve. He did not wish to be a party to this wickedness, but his companions, who had their families with them, represented that they were distracted by fear for their property, life and honour, and did not let him follow his own mind. He was consequently forced to join that renegade[1], and, as has been narrated, in the account[2] of Shādī Khān, the latter opened the Wais[3] Qaran gate to the Irān, and taking Qibchāq Khān with him went and paid his respects to the Shāh of Irān. As he could not after this come to India he remained there. Wkat finally happened to him is not known.

QIL'ADAR KHAN[4]
(Vol. III, pp. 115—120).

His name was Mīrzā 'Alī 'Arab, and he was a worthy son of the pious 'Arab Khān. He grew up under the care of his father, and developed laudable qualities and pleasant manners, which ensured success in his later life. He was appointed by Shāh Jahān to the rank of an officer of 500 with 250 horse. In the 24th year, he, with his father's permission, came from the Deccan to the Court, and was favoured by the grant of a suitable rank. He was also deputed to take to his father a robe of honour and a drum. After his father's death, he, in the 29th year, was at the recommendation of the victorious Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb, Viceroy of the Deccan, appointed *Thānadār* of Trimbak and Harīs, which were two adjoining forts and were among the strong fortresses of Sangamnīr. In the

1 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 76.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 661, 662.

3 Probably the Pascarn of Tiefenthaler, I, p. 75.

4 He must not be confused with Qil'adār Khān Chēla who held the rank of 1,000 with 80c horse, and who died in the 13th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 734, nor with Qil'adār Khān Commandant of Ghazni.

first year of Emperor Aurangzīb's accession he joined him and was with him in his campaigns. He performed valuable services and distinguished himself in the battle[1] with Shujā' and in the entrenchments at Ajmēr. Owing to the familiarity with the affairs and the rules and usages of the Deccan, he was later appointed an auxiliary for that area and remained there all his life. He was granted an increase in his rank, and the title of Qil'adār Khān, and for a time was *Faujdār* and defender of Aurangābād. Later he was the Commandant of the fort of Fatḥābād, Dhārwar. In the 25th year when Emperor Aurangzīb marched from holy Ajmēr to the delightful city of Burhānpūr, and stayed there for three or four months till the end of Ṣafr 1093 A.H. (end of February, 1682), Qil'adār Khān died at Dhārwar, and was buried beside his father's grave.

His mother was a Saiyidā, and was the daughter of Mīr Saiyid Sharīf, son of Mīr Saiyid Ibrāhīm of Yazd. When this pious lady died, 'Arab Khān married the daughter of Mīrzā Jamshēd Bēg Qazalbāsh of Yazd. This Mīrzā Jamshēd Bēg was the son-in-law of the miscreant Mīr Ma'ṣūm. His mother was a daughter of the Ṣafavī princes, and his father was Mīr Munīm son of Mīr Mullā who during Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī's time was the *Vazīr* of Astarābād. Mīr Mullā's father was Khalīfā Mīr, who received the title of Khalīfā from Shāh Ismā'īl I, and was the son of Mullā Mu'īn, the famous preacher of Khurāsān and who was endowed with prophetic qualities. The second daughter of the late Mīrzā Jamshēd Bēg was married to 'Arab Khān's son Qil'adār Khān. That chaste lady had four very accomplished daughters—one of these was the real grandmother of the author, May God pardon her!—and a son Mīrzā Dārāb. Dārāb was educated and trained by his father, and was at the head of his contemporaries for ability and courage, and in his turn received a suitable rank, and was active in the Emperor's service. For a time he was the *Bakhshī* of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh, and later was the *Bakhshī* of Karnātik and *Bakhshī* of the forces of Dhulfiqār Khān Naṣrat

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 247.

Jang. He was successively appointed Commandant of the forts of Dhārwār, Kālna and Qandahār. At first he had the title of 'Ara Khān, and later of Nūr Muḥammad Khān. While he was Commandant of the fort of Qandahār, Mūsavī Khān Mīrzā Mu'izz—who was the *Dīvān* of the Deccan—wrote a letter with instructions, and eith inadvertently or because he did not know his rank used on it titl generally used in the case of clerks (*alqāb daftarī*). The Khān o of indignation and regard for the high dignity of the 'Arabs—whic he regarded as sacrosanct—used the same titles in the reply. Mūsa Khān regarded this as a proof of the Khān's madness, and reported t matter to the Emperor, and recommended that he should be dismisse The Khān went to the Court, and wanted to have a fight with Mūs vī Khān. He made leading men his intermediaries; the real fac came out in the Court, and Qil'adār Khān was again restored favour.

After the death of Emperor Aurangzīb he[1] settled down in Aura gābād, and was leading an easy life till suddenly his tranquility wa disturbed by fickle Fate. At this time Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh and Muḥa mmad Amīn Khān Bahādur deserted the company of Muḥamma A'ẓam Shāh, and coming to Aurangābād halted there. Owing to th constraining power of the circumstances prevailing during that tim of confusion they used all sorts of strict measures against all who wer supposed to be rich. The Khān, who was reputed to have the riche and accumulations of his father and grandfather, was brought fro his house, and a large sum was demanded from him. From that da the Khān gave up worldly affairs and went into retirement. This il treatment—which was more fatal than death for sensitive-minde people—resulted in melancholy taking hold of his brain, and darken ing his intellect. His madness, however, was of a strange type One day he would pass in sleep and silence, and allow no one to com to him, while the next day he would eagerly seek company, and trea

1 This notice is apparently an appreciative account of a relative of th author based mainly on his personal information.

people with great attention and regard. He was like this for a long time, till he died. His son Mīrzā Raḍa 'Alī is well versed in poetry and literatute.

Reflections

Every revolution of the heavens increases and multiplies certain things, and diminishes or destroys others. Thus in former times there was wealth and authority. The accounts of the magnificence, power, and abundance of the goods and paraphernalia of the late 'Arab Khān and the pious Qil'adār Khān, as are narrated, and their appointments to ranks of 5,000 and 7,000 which I heard of, seem incredible and appear as fairy tales.

Mūsavī Khān Mīr Hāshim, whose nom-de-plume was Jur'at was Qil'adār Khānī. Mūsavī Khān has been in the service of Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh for three years. His ostensible post is that of the *Mīr Munshī* (Chief secretary?), but his influence and intimacy are such as cannot be exceeded. That great *Amir* after his first appointment as the Premier wrote to the reigning sovereign in respect of him "the greatest benefit which the Almighty has bestowed on me is the companionship of this man, who is a Saiyid, a learned man, a philosopher, a secretary, a poet, a companion and a confidant. Though his military abilities have not been tested so far, but courage appears in his name. In fact, his training and nuture were arranged by Qil'adār Khān." His grandfather Saiyid 'Alī Gīlānī was for a long time in the service of the humane Khān. In short, Musāvī Khān is a focus of all laudable qualities, and at present has no equal in the whole of the Deccan. This charming verse is his: —

Verse

Pleasure always lies in appropriateness.[1]
It even draws sugar from the heart of a tiger.

But he gets little advantage from his noble qualities. May God favour him with good fortune!

1 Apparently the meaning is that tact is everything, but both the verse and the entire paragraph of Reflections are far from clear.

QIYA KHAN GUNG
(Vol. III, pp. 54-56).

He was one of the Emperor Humāyūn's officers. In the end of the reign of that monarch he rendered good service in Kōl Jalālī[1] ('Alīgarh) and its neighbourhood. When the disturbance of Hēmū spread far and wide, Qiyā Khān went to Delhī and joined Tardī Bēg Khān. On the day of the battle he fought bravely in the vanguard[2], but as failure had been decreed by Fate, it happened as it was to happen. Later when that unfortunate statesman (Hēmū) was slain by the sword of Emperor Akbar's fortune[3], Qiyā Khān was appointed Governor of the capital town of Āgra[4] and its neighbourhood, and given the rank of 5,000. As the *parganas* near Gwālior were in his fief, he, by his zeal and courage collected from that area the necessary equipment, and in the 2nd year besieged Gwālior fort, which was one of the noted forts of Upper India, and which Salīm Shāh, had made his capital. Bahīl Khān, a slave of Salīm Shāh, was in charge of the fort. He saw that owing to its situation near the royal territories it would be impossible to hold the fort for ever, and so sent a message to Rāja Rām Sāh—who was a descendant of Rāja Mān Singh, who in old times had held the fort—to the effect that the fort was the Rāja's hereditary property, and he was prepared to make it over to him for a small sum. Rām Sāh considered it an unexpected favour, and turned in that direction. When Qiyā Khān heard about it, he hastened to contend with him, and put him to flight[5]. Rām Sāh went to the Rānā's country. In the 3rd year 966

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 15, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 25.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 29, translation, p. 48.

3 Emperor Akbar refused to kill Hēmū, and so Bairām Khān himself killed him, *op. cit.*, Text, pp. 41, 42, translation, p. 66.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 45, translation, p. 71.

5 This is incorrect. According to *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 57, translation, p. 88, Rām Sāh was besieging the fort of Gwālior when Qiyā Khān went with an army and defeated him, and himself started to besiege the fort. Other

A.H. (1559 A.D.), when Emperor Akbar came to Āgra, he at once sent a force to help Qiyā Khān. Bahīl was forced to submit and offered to surrender the fort. Ḥājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī at his request hastened to the fort, and brought Bahīl to the Presence. When in the 10th year, Emperor Akbar turned to the eastern districts to quell the rebellion of Khān Zamān, Qiyā Khān—who had joined the rebels—was brought before the Emperor at Qanauj through the mediation of Mun'im Khān. The Emperor pardoned his offences and favoured him[1]. After the conquest of Bengāl he was put in charge of Orīssa. When Bengāl became the home of rebels, although Qiyā Khān had not the felicity of quieting the uproar[2], but he with some brave men held the ground in that country (Orīssa), and cleaned it of the enemy. When, in the 25th year, it (Bengāl) became empty of royal troops, Qudū Lōhānī stirred up strife, and was successful in battles. He also attacked Orīssa. Qiyā Khān having resisted for a time retired into the fort, but as a result of the protracted nature of the struggle and the desertion of his unreliable associates he was defeated. At last he was killed in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) with some others who prized their honour, and thus won for himself an eternal reputation[3]

QUBĀD KHĀN MĪR ĀKHŌR

(Vol. III, pp. 99-102).

He was the Master of the Horse of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān ruler of Balkh and Badakhshān. During the later part of the rule of the latter he was Commandant and Governor of the fort of Ghōrī. When in the 19th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign Prince Murād Bakhsh marched from Kābul for the conquest of Balkh and Badakh-

officers were sent to assist him in the 3rd year, when Bahil Khān submitted, *op. cit.*, Text, p. 77, translation, pp. 118, 119.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 252, translation, p. 378.

2 *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 291, 320; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 429, 469

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 341, translation, pp. 499, 500.

shān, he, after arrival in that area, appointed Qulīj Khān and Khalīl Ullāh to capture the forts of Kahmard and Ghōrī which were situated on the borders of Kābul. They sent a force in advance against Ghōrī. Qubād was misled in believing these men to be a force from the Hazārājāt, and coming out with 300 horse arranged his force for contending them. After a short engagement he retired to the fort and began preparing for an engagement. When the leaders joined near the fort, Qubād Khān, finding that he had not more than 500 men with him, and there being no hope of any reinforcement, took refuge in the citadel. Finally asking for quarter he came out. Qulīj Khān sent him with his four sons and other members of the family under the charge of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Turkamān to the Court[1]. In Kābul he had the honour of paying his respects, and received the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and a present of Rs. 20,000 cash[2]. In the 21st year he came to the Court from his fief, and was appointed *Qushbēgī* (falconer) and granted an increase of 500. In the 22nd year[3] the Emperor resolved to hunt in Safaidūn. He first went to the hunting ground of Kanūda—known as the special hunting ground (*Khāṣ Shikār*) and which was 6½ *kos* from the Capital, and where delightful buildings had been erected. There he was engaged in hunting the *nilgāō*. From there he went along the banks of the Bihisht Canal to Safaidūn, and enjoying hunting all along the way reached the village of Jhajrāna, which was three *kos* from Safaidūn, and then returned. Qubād Khān on account of his services on this occasion received an increase of 500 in his rank. In the battle near Qandahār between Rustam Khān Deccanī and Quilīj Khān against the Irānians he rendered valuable service, and was rewarded with a further increase of 500. In the 10th year of the third cycle of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he had reached the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse[4]. In the first battle

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 524, 525.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 555.
3 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 65.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 456.

against Dārā Shikōh, he[1], Ṭāhir Khān and other Tūrāniāns were in the right wing with Khalīl Ullāh Khān. After Dārā Shikōh's defeat he did homage[2] to Aurangzīb.

When the victorious royal armies in the pursuit of Dārā Shikōh reached Multān, Qubād Khān with Shaikh Mīr was sent after him. When Dārā Shikōh after crossing the river Sindh went away towards Gujarāt, Shaikh Mīr left the said Khān at Tatta, as the governership of the province[3] had been assigned to him from the Court, and returned. Qubād Khān's rank was fixed at 4,000 with 3,000[4] horse. It appears from the Mirāt-ul-'Ālam that in the 3rd year he was removed[5] from there and Lashkar Khān appointed in his place. In *'Ālamgīrnāma*, however, it is recorded that he was removed from Tatta in the 7th year and that Ghaḍanfar Khān[6] replaced him. Evidently he was twice appointed to the governorship of the province. After returning to the Court he was deputed to the Deccan forces.

When Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh himself went to capture Sīvā's forts, he, on the death of Iḥtishām Khān sent Qubād Khān with some other *Manṣabdārs* to the *thānadārī* of Pōōna. He in his zeal for service sent his sons Abūl Qāsim and 'Abdullāh[7] to punish the enemy in various centres, and they returned safely and with great deal of booty. After the submission of Sīvā, and the establishment of royal authority in this territory, the Rāja turned from there to devastating the territories of Bījāpūr. The said Khān and the Mughals were sent as skirmishers, and he repeatedly distinguished himself. In compliance with the royal summons he repaired to the Court[8] in the 9th year, and in the 10th year when Muhammad Amīn Khān *Mīr Bakhshī*

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 95.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

4 This is apparently incorrect, as even after his removal from Tatta, and increase granted in the 4th year his rank was 3,000 with 2,500 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 634.

5 *Op. cit.* p. 485.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 864.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 899.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 986.

was deputed to chastise the Yūsuf Zaīs, Qubād Khān also was sen as an auxiliary[1]. It has been reported that he was later appointe governor of Orissa where he died.

QULIJ KHĀN ANDJĀNĪ[2]

(Vol. III, pp. 69-74).

He belonged to the tribe of Jānī Qurbānī. His ancestors ha been in the service of the Chaghtā'ī dynasty; particularly his grand father held a high office under Sulṭān Bāyqrā. Owing to his clos association he was greatly relied on in the service of Emperor Akbar In the 17th year[3] corresponding to 980 A.H. (1572-73 A.D.) he turne his attention to the conquest of the non fort of Sūrat. The fort w situated on the bank of the river Tāpti (Tābtī in text) near the se On two sides it was surrounded by the river, and on the other tw sides there was a deep moat connected with the river. Ṣafr Āqā entitled Khudāwand Khān, a Turkish slave of Sulṭan Mahmūd c Gujarāt, had built it in the year 947 A.H. (1540 A.D.).

The chronogram is: —

May this structure prove a load on the chest and life of the Frank:

(*Sad bawad bar sīna au jān Farangī īn banā'ī*: 947).

The Emperor Akbar reduced the fort after a siege lasting on

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 61.

2 See Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 35, note 2, pp. 380-282 for a account of his career

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 17, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 24.

4 His name is given as Ghaḍanfar Āqā entitled Khudāwand Khān *Tārīkh-i-Firishta*, II, p. 226 (Newal Kishore end. 1864). The above chrono gram of the building of the fort is not given in *Akbarnāma*, but it is to b found in *Firishta*, *op. cit.*, p. 227 and is ascribed to Mullā Muḥammad Astr bādī whose nom-de-plume was Raḍā'ī. Also see *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, II, De translation, pp. 381, 382, the date of building of the fort is given as 947 A.H and it is stated that it was built by Ṣafar Āqā.

month and seventeen days[1], and Qulīj Khān was appointed to govern and defend this great fort. In the end of the 23rd year he was deputed from the Court of Gujarāt so that in addition to helping the officers in that area he would be able to develop his fiefs[2]. In the 25th year, after Shāh Manṣūr *Dīvān* was killed, he was appointed *Vazīr*[3]. In the 28th year when Sulṭān Mazaffar Gujarātī started a commotion in the Gujarāt territory, and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān and I'timād Khān were signally defeated, Mīrzā Khān[4] and Qulīj Khān were deputed from the Court. The first was to proceed straight to Gujarāt to punish the rebels, and the second was to go there after laying hold of the fief-holders of Mālwa. Accordingly Qulīj Khān spent a long time in settling that vast territory. In the 34th year he was granted *Sarkār* Sambhal[5] as his fief. At the time of the departure to Kashmīr he, Rāja Bhagwant Dās, and Rāja Tōdar Mal were left at Lāhōre for jointly managing the State affairs. After the death of Rāja Tōdar Mal[6] he for a long time held charge of the financial administration. In the 39th year, 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.) when Qāsim Khān, the governor of Kābul was killed, Qulīj Khān was appointed to this charge[7]. As the Raushānīs had become more emboldened owing to the Governor having been killed, Qulīj Khān proceeded to

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 28, 29, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 39, 40. Qulij Khān's appointment as Governor of Sūrat fort is recorded on p. 31 of the text and p. 44 of the translation. In the *Ṭabaqāt* (*op. cit.*), p. 385, the period is given as two months, and Qulij Khān is called Qulij Muḥammad Khān, p. 388.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 264, translation, p. 283.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text. p. 344, translation, p. 504. See also Beveridge's interesting note on Shāh Manṣūr's death on the same and following page.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 413, translation, pp. 613, 614.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 537, translation, p. 817, where the grant of Sambhal as his *jāgīr*, and his being left at Lāhōre to manage the affairs in consultation with *Rāja Bhagwān Dās and Rāja Tōdar Mal are recorded.*

6 Rāja Tōdar Mal died on 8th November, 1589, *op. cit.*, translation, p. 561.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 654, translation, p. 1004.

Tīrāh, but owing to the shortage of supplies had soon to return to Kābul. As he had not been able to manage Afghānistān properly, he was romoved[1]. In the 32nd year, 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.), Prince Daniyāl[2] was promoted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and he was sent to govern the province of Allāhābād. Qulīj Khān whose daughter was married to the Prince, was promoted to the rank of 4,500, and appointed as the Prince's guardian. In the 43rd year getting disgusted with the Prince he returned to the Court[3].

In the 44th year[4] when Emperor Akbar when to Khāndēsh, Qulīj Khān was left in charge of the Capital, Āgra. After the Emperor's return from Āsīr in the 46th year, as there was no senior officer in the Panjāb, Qulīj Khān was sent for looking after that territory. He requested that he might also be made Governor of Afghānistān, and this request was granted[5]. In the beginning[6] of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he was appointed Governor of Gujarāt. In the 22nd year (1016 A.H.; 1607-08 A.D.) he was again sent[7] as Governor of the Panjāb. In the 6th year when Lāhōre was assigned as the fief of Murtaḍā Khān Shaikh Farīd, Qulīj Khān returned to the Court, and was[8] appointed Governor of Kābul in place of Khān Daurān, and deputed to put down Aḥdād Raushānī and to settle Afghānistān. The year of his death[9] is given by the words:—

Al maut jasr Yūṣalū al-ḥabība 'Alī al-ḥabibia

(Death is the bridge uniting the lower and the beloved: 1023).

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 715, 720, translation, pp. 1066, 1073.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 721, translation, p. 1077. The increase in his rank to 4,500 is also mentioned on p. 1076 of the translation.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 744, translation, p. 1112.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 762, translation, p. 1140.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 798, translation, p. 1196.

6 Roger & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 21.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

8 *Op. cit.*, pp. 198, 199. His rank at the time of this appointment was increased to 6,000 with 5,000 horse.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 253, where it is recorded that he was 80 years old at the time of his death.

Qulīj Khān was very pious and ascetic, and was a bigoted Sunnī. He was constantly occupied in theological studies. It is stated that during the days of his governorship of Lāhōre he used to spend on watch of the day in a *Madrasa* reading theology and studying commentaries and Traditions. He laboured hard in propagating religion. The people of Lāhōre in the hope of becoming known to him and attaining their objects studied theology with great diligence. Qulīj Khān had a poetical vein[1], and his nom-de-plume was *Ulfatī*. This quatrain is his: —

Quatrain

A lover cherishes the desire for union,
The Sufī keeps the amulet exposed over his cloak.
I am the follower of that one, who aloof from all
Ever keeps the heart warm, the eyes moist.

It is stated that when in the last days (of the Emperor) he, in compliance with the summons of Emperor Akbar travelled from Lāhōre to Āgra in six days, Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan[2] of Tūrbat was getting into prominence. One day the Khwāja remarked, "His Majesty's skirt is of double wool, while mine is only single, and how wide and large the former is." Qulīj Khān retorted, "Khwāja, beneath your skirt are some hamlets and waste places (*chand kul au kōr*), while beneath His Majesty's is a universe; that is why the Emperor has so loose a skirt. The explanation is quite simple."

It is recorded in the Dhakhīrat-ul-Khwānīn[3] that the author had

1 See *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, III, pp. 188, 189, and Haig's translation, III, pp. 263, 264, where some couplets of his are recorded.

2 He was Prince Daniyāl's *Vazīr* and *Dīvān* of the Deccan during Akbar's reign. For his life see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 737-739, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 128-130. In the translation the fact of his being the *Vazīr* of Prince Daniyāl has been left out.

3 This work is hitherto unknown, see Beveridge, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, translation, I, p. 7, note 4.

heard from Muḥammad Sa'īd, son of Mīrān Qulīj the brother's son of Qulīj Khān—who was unequalled for his faith and purity, truthfulness and accuracy, and from his piety and great respect for religion was regarded as the *Mujtahid* of the age—that "In the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) when Jaunpūr was assigned to Qulīj Khān in fief, he started to lay the foundations for a building. In digging for the foundation a cemented dome came into view. In my presence Qulīj Khān spent ten days from morning to evening, in company with a number of noblemen and officers of that city, till the dome was fully visible. Qulīj Khān broke the lock weighing a maund which was set on its iron door, and entered the dome in company with a huge crowd. A man with a grizzled beard and of a wheaty complexion was found seated opposite the *Qibla* in the fashion of *Jōgīs*. On the noise of the opening of the door, and of the men entering the dome, he raised his head, and asked in Hindī language—"Has the incarnation of Rāja Rām Chand taken place." They answered—"It had." He asked—"Has Sītā, whom Rāwan had carried off, come into the hands of Rām Chand?" They replied—"She had." He asked—"Has Krishna *Avātār* appeared in Mathurā." They replied—"It was four thousand years ago that he came and departed." He asked—"Has Muḥammad the real of the prophets appeared in Arabia?" They replied—"It is a thousand years ago that he departed from the world, and his Faith has rendered vain all other Faiths." He asked—"Is the river Ganges still flowing?" They replied—"It is the glory of the world." He then asked them to carry him outside. Qulīj Khān set up seven tents close together, and every day the *Jōgī* changed from one to the other. On the 8th day he came out, and said his prayers according to the rites of Islām. By sleep and food he became a different man. He lived for six months. He spoke to no one."

Though in the world of Divine Power such things, and even greater than these are not impossibe; but this story is not such as one may reckon possible, but strange; it is, however, contrary to reason. Still as the narrator was not unreliable, it has been recorded. Qulīj Khān had a family, and many of them attained to high offices. Of his sons

Mīrzā Saif Ullāh and Mīrzā Chīn Qulīj received suitable ranks during the reign of Emperor Akbar. A separate account[1] of Chīn Qulīj has been included.

QULIJ KHĀN KHWĀJA 'ĀBID

(Vol. III, pp. 120-123).

He was the son of 'Ālam Shaikh—a leader of the learned and great men of Samarqand—son of Allāh Dād, son of 'Abdur Raḥmān Shaikh 'Azīzān. The latter took up residence in the city of Samarqand, and applied himself in the instruction of the religious minded people. It is stated that his lineage is connected with Shaikh Shahāb-ud-Dīn[2] Suhrawardī, May the Almighty have pity on him! The said Khān having completed his education in Samarqand went to Bokhārā, and was at first appointed a *Qāẓī*, and later *Shaikh-ul-Islām*. In the 29th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he with a view to going on pilgrimage of the holy places, came to Kābul and from there reached India. He paid his respects to the Emperor, and was allowed to depart after receiving a robe of honour and Rs. 6,000 in cash. He returned after performing the pilgrimage.

During the time when Prince Aurangzīb started from the Deccan to Upper India to enquire after the health of his father, Khwāja 'Ābid was honoured by promotion to the rank of 3,000 with 500 horse, and the title of Khān. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he was promoted to the rank of 4,000 with 700 horse[3]. In the 4th year he was appointed to the office of *Ṣadr Kull*. In the 7th year he was exalted by the advance of his rank to 4,000 with 1,500 horse[4]

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 351-354, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 434, 435.

2 For his account see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894), p. 360

3 The grant of title of Khān is recorded in *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 51, and the rank of 4,000 with 700 horse on p. 76.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 855.

In the 10th year he was removed from office[1], but was later appointed Governor of Ajmēr, and received a robe of honour, an elephant and a standard. In the 14th year he was transferred as Governor[2] of the province of Multān. In the 18th year he was transferred from there and returned to the Court[3], and on appointment as the leader of the pilgrims[4] he left for Mecca. In the 23rd year he was awarded *in absentia* the title of Qulīj Khān[5]. Later he arrived at the Court, and was deputed[6], in the 24th year, with Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur for pursuing Sulṭān Muḥammad Akbar, who having shown signs of rebellion had taken to flight. As he returned to the Court without the prince's permission, he was for a time the object of censure[7]. After his transgressions had been forgiven, he was, in the same year, appointed[8] a second time to the high office of *Ṣadr Kull* on the death of Riḍvī Khān. In the 25th year on being deputed to the Deccan campaign he was granted a drum[9]. Later, when the Emperor arrived in the Deccan he was in the 29th year appointed Governor[10] of the province of Ẓafarābād, Bēdar.

During the time when Emperor Aurangzīb started from Shōlāpūr, with the intention of reducing Bījapūr, Qulīj Khān came to the Presence[11] and did homage. He was granted a bow and a quiver, and from the neighbourhood of Bījāpūr was deputed[12] for preparing entrenchments. The fort, however, was surrendered by treaty. In the 30th year 1097 A.H. (1685-86 A.D.) when emperor Aurangzīb marched towards Ḥaidarābād, he after reaching near the fort of Gōlkonda (Gōlconda) ordered that the dependants of the besieged, who were encamped outside the walls of the fort, should be annihilated. The said Khān by great exertions during this expedition reached the

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 62.
2 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 141.
4 *Op. cit.*, p. 143.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 185.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 203.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 205.
8 *Op. cit.*, p. 207.
9 *Op. cit.*, p. 214.
10 *Op. cit.*, p. 263.
11 *Op. cit.*, p. 275.
12 *Op. cit.*, p. 278.

fort by rapid marches. There he was struck by a cannon ball on the shoulder, and his hand was blown off. He exhibited great self-control, and rode back to his camp. Jumdat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān, who was deputed to enquire and comfort him, found on arrival surgeons busy removing splinters of bones from his shoulder, and he kneeling firmly was busily conversing with those present without a frown on his face. He was drinking a cup of coffee with his second hand, and said that an expert stitcher had luckily been found. Although all possible steps were taken for his treatment, his life could not be saved[1]. His elder son was Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Fīrūz Jang, whose account[2] and those of his two brothers Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Ḥamīd Khān Bahādur[3], and Naṣīr-ud-Daulah 'Abdur Raḥīm Khān[4] have been separately included. One of his sons was Mujāhid Khān Khwāja Muḥammad 'Ārif; he was with the said Fīrūz Jang, and rose to a suitable rank. Another was Muḥāmid Khān who did not rise to any high rank; both of them died early in life.

QULIJ KHĀN TŪRĀNĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 92-95).

In his youth Qulīj Khān was a servant of the 'Abdullāh Khān Zakhmī[5], and was one of his intimate followers. Later during the days when Shāh Jahān, the heir-apparent, was still a prince, he entered his service. When Shāh Jahān entered Telingāna with the object of proceeding to Bengāl, Qulīj Khān's elder brother Khān Qulī Bahādur—who had a higher rank and *manṣab*—displayed great devotion and

1 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, pp. 289, 290.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 872-879, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 587-592.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 765-769, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 610, 611.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 835-837, translation *antea*. pp. 385-387.

5 Probably 'Abdullāh Khān Fīrūz Jang for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 97-105.

Zikariā[1], which was very confined, and enlarged and improved it. It is stated that even at the height of his prosperity he was always respectful to 'Abdullāh Khān, and never wrote to him without the superscription '*Arḍdāsht* (Petition).

QURAISH SULṬĀN[2] OF KĀSHGHAR
(Vol. III, pp. 61, 62).

Kāshghar is a country belonging to the 6th clime, and is extremely flourishing. To the north of it are the hills of Mughalistān. That boundary is connected[3] with Shāsh (Tāshkhand), and it also adjoins Turfān, and passing from there it joins the Qalmāq territory. From Shāsh to Turfān is a three months' journey. On the west also it has a long range mountains from which start the Mughalistān hills. On its east and south is a desert, and ridges of moving sand. The lineage of Quraish Sulṭān goes back to the Great Qāān[4] as follows. Quraish Sulṭān was the son of Sulṭān 'Abdur Rashīd Khān, son of Sulṭān Abū Sa'īd Khān son of Sulṭān Aḥmad Khān commonly known as Alābeha Khān, son of Yūnus Khān, son of Ūwais Khān, son of Shēr 'Ali Ūghlān, son of Khidr Khwāja Khān, son of Tughluq Tīmūr Khān, son of Alsanuqā Khān, son of Davā Khān, son of Yarāq Khān, son of Bīsūn Khīn Tūā, son of Mawātgān, son of Chaghatā'ī Khān, son of Chingīz Khān Qutlūgh[5]. Nigār Khānam, mother of Emperor Bābur was the daughter of Yūnus Khān. When 'Abdur Rashīd Khān

1 For his life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 97. He was a famous saint of Multān, and apparently Qulij Khān had his tomb enlarged while he was Governor of Multān.

2 Blochmann in *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 511, has given a free translation of the above account under Shāh Muḥammad son of Quraish Sulṭān. The genealogical tree of the Chaghtā'ī family published on p. 512, is based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 553, and *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*.

3 Adapted from *Tarīkh-i-Rashīdī*, see Elias & Ross's translation, p. 394.

4 Great Qāān, is Chingiz Khān.

5 Various readings of the names are given in *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, *Akbarnāma* and Blochmann.

died, the government of Kāshghar came to 'Abdul Karīm Khān the elder brother of Quraish Sulṭān. He acted in accordance with his father's will, and treated his brothers with kindness and regard. Meanwhile a quarrel arose between Khudābanda son of Quraish Sulṭān and his uncle Muḥammad Khān. Khudābanda hastened to Kirghīz, and with the help of the people of the place took possession of Turfān and the adjacent territory. The Khān became suspicious of Quraish Sulṭān, and sent him off to the Ḥijāz. He went with his wife and children to Badakhshān, and from there proceeded to Balkh, and with the permission of 'Abdullāh Khān migrated to India. In the 34th year he waited upon the Emperor Akbar, and was exalted with royal favour[1]. In the 37th year corresponding to 1000 A.H. (1592 A.D.) he died at Ḥājīpūr of abdominal pains[2]. He had attained the rank of 700. After him his sons were suitably provided (by the Emperor).

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN[3]

(Vol. III, pp. 56-59).

He was the brother of Shams-ud-Dīn Khān Atga, and one of the great officers of Emperor Akbar. He held the high rank of 5,000. During the time when his fief was in the Panjāb[4], he built several grand holy buildings—which were a monument of this great officer—in the great city of Lāhōre. In the 9th year[5] he hastened to Kābul

1 The account of Quraish Sulṭān's career in Badakhshān etc. is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text. III, p. 556. translation, III, p. 844. He was appointed to a rank of 700 after his arrival in India.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 610. translation, p. 981, where it is stated that he died of diarrhoea.

3 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 353, 354. For his brother Shams-ud-Dīn generally known as Atga Khān see Blochmann, pp. 337, 338, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 531, 535.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 193, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 299.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 239, translation, p. 361. The visit to Ghaznī is recorded on p. 241 of the text, and on p. 364 of the translation.

to assist Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. He went to Ghaznī—which was his native place—and showed great kindness to his clansmen and kinsmen, whether near or far. He also built a house and established a garden there and then returned. When the Panjāb was taken from the Atga Khēl, Quṭb-ud-Dīn was granted Mālwa[1]. After the conquest of Gujarāt he was granted *Sarkār* Broach as his *jāgīr*. Broach is situated to the south of Aḥmadābād, and has a fort situated on the bank of Narbadā just before it opens into the sea; it is regarded as one of the sea-ports of Gujarāt. Afterwards he came to the Court, and received[2] the high rank of 5,000. As he showed signs of greatness and understanding, in the 24th year he was[3] appointed guardian of Prince Sulṭān Salīm, and received a *dāqū* robe of honour—a very high honour of the Tīmurid dynasty—and the title of *Bēglar Bēgī*, which is one of the chief titles bestowed by this family. Out of gratitude for these great benefactions he arranged a grand banquet, and begged the Emperor to grace it with his presence. Emperor Akbar in this gathering placed Prince Salīm on his shoulder, and thereby added materially to his glory and good fortune. Shortly afterwards the settlement of the Broach *Sarkār*[4] up to Nadhurbār was entrusted to him. In the 28th year 991 A.H. (1583 A.D.) Sulṭān Muẓaffar made Gujarāt a hot bed of rebellion, and Quṭb-ud-Dīn, who in spite of his wisdom and foresight, had become[5] negligent, did not exert himself to remedy the situation. Though the Pattan officers wrote that the rebels were attacking his fief and dominion, and to deal with their insurrection he should proceed there quickly, but he delayed, and did not render efficient service. When he was censured from the Court, he sent an army against the enemy, but this force

1 The expulsion of the Atga Khēl from the Panjāb and the grant of Mālwa to Quṭb-ud-Dīn are recorded on pp. 332, 333 of the text and p. 487 of the translation.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 184, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 257.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 274, 275, translation, p. 401.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 280, translation, p. 410.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 409, translation, p. 507.

was defeated and returned. At this time after making proper arrangements for the safety of the Broach fort, he himself came forward. His well-wishers represented that it was neither right to treat lightly a great rebellion, nor was it proper to ignore the soldiery, rather it was the occasion to lavish gold freely (on the soldiers) and win their hearts, but he paid no heed to them. When Sulṭān Muẓaffar approached and the two armies were drawn up, many of his men deserted and went over to the enemy. Consequently Quṭb-ud-Dīn was obliged to withdraw with his clansmen to the enclosed city of Barōda. Quṭb-ud-Dīn because of his greed for his possessions and love of life had not the courage to expose his life, and so entertained the idea of peace. He sent Zain-ud-Dīn Kanbū with the proposal that he might be allowed to depart to the Ḥijāz with his possessions. He did not realize that wealth was accumulated in order to preserve honour, and life was only worth living when it was honourable. He brought eternal disgrace on his head by appearing before Sulṭān Muẓaffar after securing a document of capitulation. The Sulṭān wickedly violated the agreement and handed him over to executioners who put him to death[1].

It is stated that the seditious nature and faithlessness of the Sulṭān were patent to Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān, but the destined Fate had blinded the eyes of his intelligence so that he at the words of such a perfidious person uselessly sacrificed his life.

Verse

When Death played for the stake of his life,
Fate closed his keen-sighted eyes.

Of his sons Naurang Khān was for a time at Akbar's Court. Later he was granted a fief in Mālwa, and finally received a *jāgīr* in Gujarāt. In that province he performed good service till in the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 421, 422, translation, pp. 626-629 for a detailed account of Muẓaffar's campaign against Broach and of the death of Quṭb-ud-Dīn.

39th year he died of a pain in his abdomen. The second son was Gūjar Khān[1]. He also had a *jāgīr* in Gujarāt, and served in that province under Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka.

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ I
(Vol. III, pp. 102-108).

He was the second son of Nadhar Bahādur. As he and his elder brother Shams-ud-Dīn Khān quarrelled with one another while they were jointly employed in the *Faujdārī* of Junāgarh in Sōrath, Emperor Shāh Jahān sent Shams-ud-Dīn Khān to the Deccan, and made Quṭb-ud-Dīn fief-holder and *Faujdār* of Pattan, Gujarāt. When in the beginning of the illness of Emperor Shāh Jahān, Prince Murād Bakhsh, Governor of the *Ṣūba* of Gujarāt through lack of comprehension and faint-heartedness lost patience and assumed sovereignty, the fief-holders and feudal chiefs of the province were obliged, willy-nilly, to obey and serve under him. Quṭb-ud-Dīn[2] also joined him. In the battles against Jaswant and Dārā Shikōh[3] he rendered him good service. Later when that madcap fool fell a victim to the trickery of 'Ālamgīr, and was made a prisoner[4] at Mathurā on 4th Shawwāl (25th June, 1658), Quṭb-ud-Dīn two days after the event waited upon Aurangzīb, and receiving a robe of honour was appointed *Faujdār* of

1 Naurang Khān and Gūjar Khān are often mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, III, in connection with the campaigns in Gujarāt under Khān Ā'ẓam. Naurang Khān's death is recorded on text p. 651 and translation, p. 1001, where he is stated to have died of diarrhoea at Jūnāgarh. Naurang Khān arranged the translation of Bābur's Memoirs by Muḥammad Qulī Ḥiṣṣārī, see Rieu, *Catalogue*, II, p. 799.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 294, for the part played by him in the murder of 'Alī Naqī, Murād's *Vazīr*, after he joined the latter. For an account of Murād assuming royalty see the same work. II, pp. 302-305.

3 Battles of Dharmat and Samugarh.

4 *Vide* Sir Jadunath's detailed account, pp. 432-436.

Sōrath[1]. When the fugitive Dārā Shikōh reached Tatta, and went by way of the desert with the design of entering Gujarāt, which he believed to be without a force or leader who could oppose him, and at the advice of some persons went along the sea shore—a path that was untrodden, and consequently the road was very difficult and hard to traverse—into that country, and once again showing his independence created a disturbance, the officers and all auxiliaries of the area gathered round him. Quṭb-ud-Dīn, however, through far-sightedness and sagacious judgment did not during this tumult give up his allegiance to Aurangzīb, and did not join Dārā Shikōh. After the battle of Ajmēr, when the helpless Dārā Shikōh had again to fly, Quṭb-ud-Dīn was rewarded with an increase in his *manṣab* and the title of Khān[2].

When Rāī Singh was defeated by his brother Rāīmal—the *Zamīndār* of Jām, who was a feudatory chief of the Empire—the territory on the latter's death was assigned from the Court of his son Satr Sāl. Rāī Singh becoming presumptuous imprisoned his nephew, and took possession of the territory. Relying on the help of Tīmājī, the *Zamīndār* of Kach (Cutch), he expelled from all places the agents of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān, who had been deputed to collect the tribute of the territory. The Khān with nearly 8,000 horse and a large infantry force started in the 5th year from Jūnāgarh. When he arrived near the city of Jām, that disagreeable person came out four *kos* to meet the Khān and erected entrenchments. For two months an artillery and musketry duel took place. At last the Khān one day fell on the infidels, and pressed them hard. Rāī Singh, who was facing the Khān, lost his life together with his one son, his uncle and relations, and other officers, in all 300 persons. On all sides infidels were slain, and the rest fled. The city of Jām received the name of Islāmnagar[3]. The Khān was rewarded with royal favours. Latter, he

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 146.
2 *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 338, 339.
3 For the expedition against Jām see *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 768-775.

was deputed to the Deccan[1], and under Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh and at the head of 7,000 horse he exerted himself greatly in devastating the territory of Sīvājī. When after Sīvājī's submission, the Mīrzā Rāja turned his attention to the country of 'Ādil Shāh, the Khān was placed in charge of the rearguard. He repeatedly did great deeds in engaging the enemy. In the 9th year he was summoned to the Court, and had the honour of paying his respects. His rank was increased by 500[2]. In the 10th year he was deputed under Muḥammad Amīn Khān *Mīr Bakhshī* for the chastisement of the Yusufza'ī[3] Afghāns. Later he was again transferred to the Deccan, and remained there till the end of his life.

As he had become an old servant of that territory, he behaved towards the governors on the principle of "slanting the jar and not spilling the contents." This was specially so with Khān Jahān who was greatly annoyed with him. Both sent petitions against one another to the Emperor. In the 20th year, 1088 A.H. (1677 A.D.) when governorship of the Deccan was transferred from Khān Jahān to Dilēr Khān, the said Khān under the new Governor was busy fighting against the Bījāpūrīs, when he died[4]. His dead body was conveyed to Qaṣūr in the Pānjab which was his home. He was a prudent commander, in whom skill was combined with diplomacy. Khān Jahān was afraid of him.

It is stated that in his later days his eyesight became very weak. Khān Jahān, as a result of his differences with him, reported that Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān had grown old and blind. The Khān, who was vigilant and clever, on hearing of it immediately married the daughter of an elephant driver, and contrived, by giving it publicity, that it should be included in the report of events, so that Khān Jahān's report might appear to be the result of enmity. He had four and two daughters. His eldest son Muḥammad Khān, was the best of them.

1 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 827.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 1033. The increase was 500 horse and his rank became 3,500 with 3,000 horse.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 1047.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 161.

He was killed soon after his father's death in the battle of Malkhair. The second Muṣṭfā Khān renounced his office and became a dervish. Both of them left behind a number of children. The other two Niẓām-ud-Dīn and Fatḥ-ud-Dīn left no descendants.

Quṭbpūra, which was one of the noted quarters of Aurangābād was named after him. It is stated that this quarter was held by Kīrat Singh son of Rāja Jai Singh. He built an edifice and a large tank in it. Quṭb-ud-Dīn, in the days of his influence, claimed them as his hereditary property on the ground that his father Naẓar Muḥammad during the siege of Daulatābād had settled there and laid the foundations of the quarter. He wanted to have it transferred to him from the Rāja. There was a case, and the matter was reported to the Emperor. An order assigning the land to the Khān was received from the Court. The Khān paid the price of the building to the Rāja. Up to the present day, when none of his descendants are of any importance, they derive their livelihood from the income of this quarter. But his daughter's descendants have endeavoured to secure employment, and have become known. One of them, a daughter's son, Dōst Muḥammad by name, was an honest man, of a *faqīr*-like disposition and a lover of the poor. For a long time he held Tānklī, Berār in fief, and so that *pargana* was known by his name. Later, his son after him received his father's title and held that *pargana*. He was a noble-minded man of his times. He died a few years back. At present his brother's son, Khwēshgī Khān by name, has inherited those lands, and he also holds most of Quṭbpūra together with the old building, either through inheritance or by purchase. Considering the results of inheritance this quarter should have ceased to have any importance. But as the deceased Muthawwur Khān[1] Khwēshgī—who was a high officer, and well known for his pleasing manners and noble qualities—when he came to the Deccan with Amīr-ul-Umarā Ḥusain Alī Khān, settled down there in view of his belonging to the same caste,

1 For a more detailed account of Muthawwur Khān, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 776-793, translation *antea* pp. 333-343.

and having old connections with the family. He spent nearly thirty years in this place; and as a result of his efforts to develop it the place once again began to flourish. The late Muthawwur Khān died on the first of Rabī' II, 1156 A.H. (4th May, 1743 A.D.), and was buried near his own house in Quṭbpūra. As his real name was Raḥmat Khān, Mīr Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī, at the request of the writer, composed a versified chronogram in reference to this name.

Quatrain

To Muthawwur Khān came the appointed time;
The eternal garden became his stage.
The guardian angel announced the date of his death !
May the Mercy of God be with him.
(*Raḥmat āizid shāmil ao*: 1156 A.H.; 1743 A.D.)

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN KHWESHGĪ II
(Vol. III, pp. 126-130).

Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Khwēshgī's alias was Bāyazīd. His father was Sulṭān Ahmad Khalafzaī', daughter's son of Nadhar Bahādur, and son-in-law of Jān Bāz Khān Khwēshgī. The father became famous and influential in the service of Prince Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. For some reason he retired from service, and took up residence in his native country. Later, on being summoned by the Emperor[1] he resolved again to serve him, but on the way he was attacked by madness, and died. He had four sons, *viz.*, Ḥusain Khān[2]—whose account has been given separately—, Bāyazīd Khān, Pīr Khān and 'Alī Khān. The third did not prosper. The second was appointed to a high rank during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, but he died young. His son Nūr Khān became known as Shams Khān[3], and was appointed *Faujdār* of Dūābā Baht (Bist) Jālandhar (Jullundur).

1 Emperor Aurangzib, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 600.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 600-605, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 641-643.

3 According to Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXIII, p. 132, his name

At the time the turbulent tribe of Sikhs plundered the country from Lāhōre to near Delhī and spread anarchy in the area. Having defeated the forces of Wazīr Khān[1] *Faujdār* of Sirhind they took possession of the city. When Shams-ud-Dīn Khān became the *Faujdār*, he started with 5,000 horse, and a large number of gentlefolk and craftsmen of all types from the Muḥammadan population—who had collected together to wage a religious war and vied with one another in their zeal to wage war against the infidels even to the extent of sacrificing their lives—and encountered the Sikh forces. An engagement took place at Rāhōn seven *kos* distant from Sulṭānpūr. After much firing of cannon and throwing stones with slings the infidels were terrified, and many were slain by the sword. The frightened Sikhs entered the Rāhōn fort, and after striving hard in vain for some days to hold the siege fled[2]. Later through courage and bravery or rather through God-given fortune he defeated them in twenty two battles. Later, Muḥammad Amīn Khān Chīn Bahādur was appointed by the Emperor to go with the advance army, and after he reached Sirhind, Shams-ud-Dīn Khān out of pride did not have recourse to him, and independently went on chastising the Sikhs, and conquered the Sirhind fort. Muḥammad Amīn wrote to the Emperor that Shams Khān's head, on account of the force that he had with him, was full of dangerous designs and that he should not be trusted. The officers of the State overlooked his claims, and he who expected to be rewarded was dismissed.

according to Dānishmand Khān was Shamshēr Khwēshgi, and he was made Shams-ud-Dīn Khān on joining the imperial service and given the rank of 500 with 150 horse.

1 His name was Muḥammad Jān, but later he received the title of Kār Ṭalab Khān and finally of Wazīr Khān. He had the rank of 3,000, see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 122, note 3. His forces were defeated at a plain between Alwān Sarā'i and Banūr some 10-12 miles north-east of Sirhind on 24th Rabī' I, 1122 A.H. (22nd May, 1710 A.D.), *vide* Irvine, p. 123.

2 Irvine's account, pp. 126, 127, is apparently taken verbatim from *Maāthir*. Later successes of Shams Khān are noted on pp, 132, 133.

But Bāyazīd Khān was a man of the world and an opportunist. While holding a minor *manṣab* he was able to obtain the appointment of a *Faujdār*. When Bahādur Shāh marched to give battle to Muḥammad A'ẓam Shāh, Bāyazīd Khān paid his respects and joined his forces. After the victory he was rewarded by appointment to a high rank and received the title of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān. Later he gained access to Prince 'Aẓīm-ush-Shān, and as a result was appointed *Faujdār* of Jammū.

When the Gurū (Bandah) who was the chief and leader of the Sikhs went from Lōhgarh to the ice-mountains[1], but could not remain there from fear of the imperial troops, and after traversing many defiles and gorges came out by way of Rā'īpūr and Bahrāmpūr. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān was 16 *kos* to the west by north of Rā'īpūr, and by a strange coincidence his brother's son Shams Khān, who had been transferred from the Dūāb, came to his uncle to take leave. On hearing the news Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān immediately sent Shahdād Khān the brother-in-law of Shams Khān with 1,500 horse to protect Rā'īpūr, and himself proceeded with 900 horse in company with Shams Khān. They had gone half way and were occupied in hunting when news was received that the leader of those audacious people was close at hand. Quṭb-ud-Dīn was of the opinion that they should hasten to Rā'īpur and attack the Gurū with the whole force. Shams Khān, however, who had several times defeated them, did not worry about them, and started after them. He did not use his artillery, but galloped to the attack. When the forces met, and the Sikhs heard Shams Khān's name, they thought the only course left was to escape with their lives, and fled. Shams Khān followed them. Though Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān urged that this victory should be regarded as providential, and they should only after collecting their forces proceed to extirpating the enemy, but Shams Khān out of youthful impetuosity and pride for

1 Mountains in the Nāhan State in the Panjāb, *vide* Irvine, p. 140. For the siege of Lōhgarh see Irvine, pp. 137-140 and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*. Text, III, pp. 672-674.

own valour would not turn the rein. The Shiks perceived the allness of the pursuing force and turned back. They fought with all arms, and a sharp engagement took place. Finally when their ns grew tired they threw away their swords and attacked each other th their teeth. At last Shams Khān was killed[1], and Quṭb-ud-Dīn came insensible as a result of many wounds. Only a few Afghāns th the elephants of the two leaders remained there. The Kāfirs at nes dragged the two elephants, and again the Afghāns attacked and cued them. Meanwhile Shahdād Khān, who had been coming m Rā'īpūr to welcome (Quṭb-ud-Dīn and Shams Khān), heard of at had happened. He galloped hard, and arrived in the nick of ne. Those miscreants believed that Shams Khān had now come, d dispersing like the stars of the Bear (the Great Bear constellation), d. Shahdād Khān considering return advisable retired to Rā'īpūr. ter three days Quṭb-ud-Dīn died. The bodies of both were convey- to their native place and buried. This Shahdād Khān later attained eat promotion in this reign; a separate account[2] of his career has en given. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān had no son.

QUṬB-UD-DĪN KHĀN[3] SHAIKH KHŪBAN
(Vol. III, pp. 66-68).

He was the daughter's son of Shaikh Salīm of Fatḥpūr. His ther was a Shaikhzāda of Badā'ōn, and was a foster-brother of nperor Jahāngīr. When Jahāngīr in the days of his princehood ent to Allāhābād, and through presumption and being led astray gan seizing territory, he gave Shaikh Khūban the title of Quṭb-ud-īn Khān, and appointed him Governor of Bihār. After his accession

1 In Irvine, p. 141, Shams Khān's death is mentioned, but the place of the ttle is not indicated.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 711-715.

3 Blochmann, *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 557, 558. For Shaikh Salīm Chishtī's see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 348.

he raised him[1] to the rank of 5,000 and appointed him Governor of Bengāl. As the turbulence and seditious-mindedness of Shēr Afgan Khān Istaljū—who had his fief in Burdwān in Bengāl—had been repeatedly reported to the Emperor, or because of his wife Mihrun-Nisā Bēgam of whom the Emperor was enamoured, as has been detailed in the account of Shēr Afgan—the Emperor when sending off Quṭb-ud-Dīn gave him a hint that if he found Shēr Afgan loyal and obedient he should let him remain, otherwise he should send him to the Court. Should the latter object to coming, he should punish him. When Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān reached Bengāl, he because of Shēr Afgan's manners and dealings became suspicious, and although he sent for him, the latter, as he had been informed by his agent's letter of what had taken place (at the Court) offered unsubstantial excuses for not coming. Quṭb-ud-Dīn started by rapid marches for Burdwān. He sent ahead his sister's son Shaikh Ghiyāthā to ascertain what was in Shēr Afgan's mind, and to tell him that they had come to collect the tributes due from the *Zamīndārs* of the district, and that he should assist them in this work. Ghiyāthā by honied words and cajolery so represented matters as to make Shēr Afgan feel sure that no trickery was intended. He came unattended to welcome (Quṭb-ud-Dīn). When the latter heard that Shēr Afgan was coming, he instructed his confidential followers to put Shēr Afgan to death as soon as Quṭb-ud-Dīn gave the signal by raising his whip. Shēr Afgan came with two men, and respectfully held an interview. The men from all sides pressed round, Shēr Afgan remarked, "What sort of a demeanour is this?" Quṭb-ud-Dīn held back his men, and advancing a few steps started talking to him. Shēr Afgan realizing from Quṭb-ud-Dīn's manner that treachery was in the offing became aggressive. It is stated that Quṭb-ud-Dīn during the interview with Shēr Afgan had been so impressed by his polished manners that he had given up all idea of harming him. When he raised his hand to keep back his men, they mistook it for the arranged signal and became active.

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 78.

Shēr Afgan being compelled drew his sword, and so smote the be of Quṭb-ud-Dīn—who was very corpulent that his bowels gushed out Quṭb-ud-Dīn holding his belly with both hands cried out with a lou voice that they should not allow the disloyal person to escape. Abī Khān Kashmīrī—who was a high officer, and was well known for hi bravery and courage—urged on his horse, and struck with his swor Shēr Afgan on the head. Shēr Afgan in his turn struck Abīh Khā hard with his sword and killed him. Meanwhile Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān servants gathered round from all sides, and finished Shēr Afgan wit the sword of retribution. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān remained on horse-bac long enough to hear the news that Shēr Afgan had been killed. The he gave way. He, however, sent Ghiyāthā to Burdwān to confiscat Shēr Afgan's property and to bring his family. He himself starte off in a palanquin, but died after traversing a short distance. H body was conveyed to Fatḥpūr Sīkrī. This happened in 1016 A.H (1607 A.D.) in the 2nd year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign[1].

QUTLUQ QADAM KHĀN QARĀWAL[2]
(Vol. III, pp. 52, 53).

In his early life he was a servant of Mīrzā Kāmrān. Later h attached himself to the saddle-straps of Emperor Humāyūn. Durir the reign of Emperor Akbar he rose to a high rank. In the 19

1 The account is adapted from *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, pp. 113-115. For critical account of Shēr Afgan and his murder see Beni Prasad, *History Jahangir*, pp. 174, 175, where most of the relevant authorities are cited. Sh Afgan's tomb is at Burdwān *vide* Abdul Wali, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal* (N.. XIII, pp. 184-186 (1917). Also see Beni Prasad. *Proc. Indian Historical Recor Commission*, IV, pp. 19-25 (Calcutta, 1922).

2 See Blochmann, Ā'īn, I (2nd edn.), pp. 477, 478. His name there given as "Qutlugh Qadam Khān Ākhta-begī", and his name is explained as t Khān of *Qadam-i-mubārak*, the name given to stones with the impression of t foot of the Prophet. A Qarāwal, according to Irvine, *Army of the Indi Moghuls*, pp. 189, 225, is a huntsman in peace, and a scout or skirmisher war. Blochmann's account contains further details about Qutlugh Qadam Khā

year he was deputed with Mun'īm Bēg Khān Khānān to Bengāl, and there looked after the affairs of the State. He rose to the rank of 1,000, and died at his appointed time. His son Asad Khān was sent with Prince Sulṭān Murād to the Deccan, and in the 46th year he was with Shaikh Abūl Faḍl when the latter halted near the tank of Qutlugh[1]. At that place he was struck by a cannon ball fired from the fort of Daulatābād. His abdomen was so badly torn that his entrails came out. He, however, did not lose his self-control, but died at midnight.

RAḌAWI KHĀN SAIYID 'ALI

(Vol. II, pp. 307-309).

He was the second son of Ṣadr-uṣ-Ṣadūr Mīrān Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī[2] of whom a separate account has been given. When Emperor Shāh Jahān in the 20th year of his reign proceeded from the Capital towards Kābul, he left Saiyid Jalāl,—who was very ill at the time—in the Capital, and took Saiyid 'Alī with him for carrying on the work as his father's deputy[3]. After his father's death Saiyid 'Alī's rank was increased[4] to 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 21st year he was exalted by a further increase of 500 with 200 horse. In the 22nd year he was appointed Superintendent of the jewel-room, and of the precious vessels. In the same year he had an increase of 500 with 50 horse. In the 24th year he was removed from this office, and appointed Superintendent of the library and picture gallery in succession to the late Mīr Ṣāliḥ *Khushnavīs*. In the 25th year he was favoured by an

He is, however, incorrect in identifying him with Qutlu or Qatlu Khān Afghān of the *Ṭabaqāt* (see De's translation, III, p. 562) to whom Shaikh Farīd was sent for negotiating a peace in the 29th year.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 795, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1192. His name there is given as Pāyinda Khān. See also Beveridge's note 2 on the same page.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 447-451, Beveridge & Prasha translation, I, pp. 737-740.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 638. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 682.

increase of 150 horse, and in the 28th year his rank by promotion became 2,500 with 500 horse. He also received the title of Riḍavī Khān, and was appointed *Bakhshī* and Reporter of the province of Aḥmadābād in succession to Dōst Kām—, and he was in addition the *Āmīn* (revenue agent) of that province[1]. In the 30th year he on transfer returned to the Court, and was appointed Reporter of the provinces. When the affairs of the State came into the hands of Aurangzīb, he joined him, and in the 2nd year received an annual pension of Rs. 12,000[2], and retired. In the 5th year he was reinstated[3], and granted the rank of 2,500 with 400 horse, a robe of honour, and an enamelled dagger. In the 9th year he was appointed *Dīvān* of the Bēgam Ṣāḥib in succession to Rashīdā'ī *Khushnavīs*, and given an increase of 100 horse. In the 10th year he was promoted to the high office of Chief *Ṣadr* in succession to 'Ābid Khān; he was granted a robe of honour, and his rank was increased to 3,000 foot with 500 horse[4]. In the 24th year[5], corresponding to 1091 A.H. (1680 A.D.) he died.

(RĀJA) RAGHŪNĀTH
(Vol. II, p. 282).

He was one of the the protégés of Sa'd Ullāh Khān[6]. About the end of the 23rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was favoured with the grant of the title of Rāī, and the gift of a gold pen-case[7]. In the 26th year he had a suitable increase in rank, and was appointed record keeper (*Daftardār*) of the *Khālṣa* and *Tan*. By the 29th year his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 200 horse. In the 30th year, after the death of Sa'd Ullāh Khān, he received a robe of honour, an increase

1 *Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 203.

2 *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 440.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 755.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 1049. His earlier appointment as *Dīvān* of the Bēgam Ṣāḥil is also mentioned there. See also *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 62.

5 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*. p. 207.

6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 441-449.

7 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 110.

in rank of 200 horse, and the title of Rāī Rāyān. It was further arranged that until the appointment of a chief *Dīvān*[1], he should report (to the Emperor) all affairs of the *Dīvānī*. As Fate had decreed that the affairs of the State should devolve on Emperor Aurangzīb, Raghūnāth with other clerical officials waited upon Aurangzīb after the battle with Dārā Shikōh. In the battle with Shujā' and the second battle with Dārā Shikōh Raghūnāth had his place in the centre of the army. After the second coronation his rank was increased to 2,500 with 500 horse, and he was granted the title of Rāja. He carried on his duties in a masterly manner. In the 6th year of Emperor Aurangzīb's reign, corresponding to 1073 A.H. (1662-63 A.D.) he died[2].

RAHMAT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 283-286).

He was Hakīm Diyā'-ud-Dīn. son of Hakīm Quṭbā brother of Hakīm Ruknā of Kāshān, who was a famous physician, and the most eloquent of men. Hakīm Ruknā was a favourite of Shāh 'Abbās I, who often used to come to his house. After seeing that the Shāh was ill disposed towards him, he migrated[3] to India in the reign of Emperor Akbar; with reference to this incident he composed the following verse:—

Verse

If one morning the sky[4] be averse to me,
At evening I will leave his domain as does the sun.

During the reigns of Emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr he led a peaceful life. Diyā'-ud-Dīn had married the younger daughter of

1 The death of Sa'd Ullāh Khān and the grant of the title of Rāī Rāyān to Rāja Raghūnāth and new arrangements are recorded in *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, pp. 218, 220.

2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 829. He is stated to have been the *Mutṣaddi* of the *Dīvānī*.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 816, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1224.

4 فلک in the verse has a double meaning, Shāh 'Abbās I or the sky.

Ṭālibā Āmulī, who had been brought up by Satī Khānam[1] who was the wife of Naṣīrā, the brother of Ḥakīm Ruknā. On this account he was favoured by Emperor Shāh Jahān, and in the 14th year was appointed Superintendent of the *Karkīrāq khāna* (furring department), and granted[2] a title and a female elephant. In the 18th year[3] his rank was increased to 1,000 with 150 horse. In the 22nd year he was made Superintendent of Branding (*Dāgh*), and in the 24th year granted an increase of 100 horse in his rank. In the 27th year on the transfer of *Mīr Bakhshī* he was appointed *Dīvān* and Superintendent of the *Karkīrāq khāna*[4] of the province of Aḥmadābād, and in the 29th year his rank was raised to 1,500 with 400 horse. During the time of illness of Emperor Shāh Jahān, when Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh assumed[5] sovereignty, and struck coins and had the *Khuṭba* read in his own name (in Gujarāt), the said Khān became his companion. After the Prince's arrest he entered the service[6] of Aurangzīb, and being promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 300[7] horse was appointed *Dīvān* of Gujarāt. When Dārā Shikōh arrived at Aḥmadābād, though he went with the Governor[8] and waited upon him, yet he declined to accompany him. Accordingly when Dārā Shikōh fled from near Ajmēr, Ḍiyā'ud-Dīn was again an object of favour, and in the 3rd year was appointed *Dīvān* of Rōshan Rāī Bēgam (Rōshan

1 For her account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 791, 792, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 260, 261, in the account of 'Āqil Khān 'Ināyat Ullāh.

2 The title granted was that of Raḥmat Khān, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 223.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 386.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 183.

5 For a detailed account see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 302-305.

6 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 139.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 140. His rank is given there as 2,000 with 500 horse.

8 Khāfī Khān, II, p. 63. The Governor was Shāh Nawāz Khān, whose two daughters were married, one to Aurangzīb and the other to Murād. The *Maāthir* account appears to be incorrect in saying that Raḥmat Khān refused to accompany Dārā Shikōh, for he was with him at Ajmēr, see *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 334.

Ārā). Afterwards he was favoured by promotion to the post of *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*[1]. In the 8th year he died[2]. 'Abdur Raḥīm, his son-in-law, and Muḥammad Ṣādiq, his son, received robes of condo lence (mourning dresses).

As the names of Sulṭān Dārā Shikōh and Sulṭān Murād Bakhsh have been mentioned, an account of their last days is included here. The first, after his defeat at Ajmēr, proceeded towards Aḥmadābād, but as he was not received favourably by the people of the area he hurried to Kach (Cutch). As he did not meet with kindness there he entered Sindh. Malik Jīwan[3], *Zamīndār* of Dhādhar (Dādar) in this province—who in earlier days had been favoured by Dārā Shikōh—eagerly came forward, and took Dārā Shikōh to his house. Meanwhile Dārā Shikōh's wife[4] died, and he sent off some of the men, who were with him, to convey her bier to Lāhōre. He himself resolved to proceed to Irān. Malik Jīwan ostensibly sent his brother and some men with him to act as guides, but after they had gone one or two stages they fell upon Dārā Shikōh and made him a prisoner. Malik Jīwan sent an account of the meritorious service he had performed to Rāja Jai Singh and Bahādur Khān Kōka, who had been appointed by the Emperor to pursue Dārā Shikōh. They brought him to the Presence, and in the 2nd year of the reign he was executed[5].

The other (Murād Bakhsh) was in his simplicity deceived by the highly alluring promises of Aurangzīb, and always cherished the idea

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, p. 487.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 915.

3 He was afterwards given the title of Bakhtyār Khān, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 25

4 Nādira Bānō Bēgam, daughter of Sulṭān Parvēz son of Emperor Jahāngir. She died in May-June 1659, see Irvine's note in *Storia do Mogor* I, p. 348.

5 For accounts of Dārā Shikōh's capture and execution, see Bernier, *Travels in India*, I, pp. 350-354 (V. Ball's edn. 1889). Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 347-358, and the detailed accounts in Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 537-549, and Blochmann, *Journ. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, XXXIX, pt. I, pp. 274-279 (1870).

that he would be made the Emperor. Though his well-wishers told him of what had happened in older times, and warned him against going with only a few men to Aurangzīb, it was of no avail. At last on 4th Shawwāl, 1068 A.H. (25th June, 1658 A.D.) the Emperor sent for him at the stage of Mathurā, and cleverly made him a prisoner. At first he was kept in the fort of Salīmgarh, but after some time was transferred to the Gwālior fort. At his request Saras Bā'ī (Saraswatī Bā'ī), his beloved, was made his companion in his helpless condition. In the 5th year of the reign, on the allegation of his having murdered 'Alī Naqī—whom Murād Bakhsh had put to death at Aḥmadābād without any proof of his guilt, and whose heirs were induced to make a claim for retaliation—he was capitally punished[1]. The chronogram is: —

Hemistich

Alas! Alas! they slew him with all deceit.
(*Ai wāī ba-bar bahāna kushtand*: 1072 A.H., 1661-62 A.D.)

RAḤMAT KHĀN MĪR FAIḌ ULLĀH

(Vol. II, pp. 219, 220).

He was an officer of the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān. In the 3rd year when the Emperor was encamped in the Deccan, and three forces were deputed for the chastisement of Khān Jahān Lōdī, and to ravage the territories of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, he was appointed[2] with Rāja Gaj Singh. Later he was appointed to the Deccan. After the death of Mahābat Khān, when Sāhū Bhōnsle came near Daulatābād and ravaged the towns in that neighbourhood, and Khān Daurān, Governor of Burhanpūr, prepared to chastise him, Mīr Faiḍ Ullāh[3]

1 For Murād's capture and execution see Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 333, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 300-306, Khāfī Khān, II, pp. 38, 155, 156, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op.cit.*, pp. 430-449. Khāfī Khān gives the name of his mistress as Sarsan Bā'ī, but Saraswati Bā'ī as given by Sarkar appears to be the correct name.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 294.

3 *Ibid*, I, pt. ii, p. 68.

with Mādhū Singh was left in Burhānpūr. In the 8th year his rank was increased to 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and later he accompanied Khān Daurān when the latter went in pursuit of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, and rendered good service. In the 9th year his rank was increased by 500, and he was granted the title of Raḥmat Khān[1]. In the 10th year he received a flag, and was permitted to leave for *Sarkār* Bījāgarh which was his fief[2]. In the 11th year he was promoted[3] to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and in the same year, corresponding to 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.) he died[4]. Asad Ullāh, his son, had the rank of 600 with 600 horse; he died in the 30th year.

(RĀJA) RĀISĀL DARBĀRI

(Vol. II, pp. 172-174).

His father was Rāja Sūjā, son of Rāja Rāī Rāīmal[5] Shaikhāwat. Ḥasan Khān Sūr, father of Shēr Shāh, was in the beginning of his career a servant of the latter. There are two branches of the Kachwāhas. One is the Rājāwat to which belong Mīrzā Rāja Mān Singh and his ancestors. The other is the Shaikhāwat which includes Rāja Lōnkarn, and Rāja Rāīsāl and his peers. It is stated that one of their ancestors had no son. A dervish came to him, and having compassion on him gave him the glad tidings of (the coming of) a son. After a time as a result of the prayers of that holy man the son arrived. He was called Shaikh, and his descendants came to be known as Shaikhāwat[6].

Rāja Rāīsāl through his good fortune became a favourite of Emperor Akbar, and excelled his peers in intimacy and trust. As his good nature and understanding were apparent, he gradually rose in position of trust, and was put in charge of the royal seraglio. In

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 134.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 222. 3 *Badshāhnāma*, II, p. 21. 4 *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

5 See Tod, *Rajasthan* (London, 1914 edn.) II, pp. 316, 317 for Rāisāl and his ancestors.

6 See Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 315. The dervish's name was Shaikh Burhān.

Tārikh-i-Akbarī (*Akbarnāma*) his rank is given as 1,250 in the 40th year[1]. Apparently this rank was in vogue at the time. Later, however, it was established that promotions in the ranks of 1,000 and above were to be not less than 500 horse at a time. In the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr his rank was increased[2], he was made a Rāja, and seconded to the Deccan. He was there for a long-time till his death. He was long lived, and had 21 sons, each one of whom had many children. While he was in the Deccan, Mādhū Singh and other grandsons of his, out of boldness and evil intentions, collected a number of vagabonds and forcibly took possession of their grandfather's property, which was called Khandār[3] and was near Ambar. Mathurā Dās Bengālī—who was upright and learned, and held charge of the Rāja's establishment, and was acting as the Rāja's deputy at the Court—behaved with prudence, and rescued part of the property from the hands of the usurpers. After the Rāja's death two or three of his sons, such as Rāja Girdhar[4] and others behaved loyally and received the titles of Rāja. Other sons and grandsons of whom there was a large number, lived in their native country on the pretence of being landholders, but were for the most part robbers and sedition-mongers.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 809, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1215. He was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 1, 250 horse during the 40th year.

2 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, p. 17. He was granted a flag and his rank raised to 3,000.

3 In *Sarkār* Ranthambhōr, *vide* Jarrett's translation of *Ā'īn*, II, p. 275, where it is described as having a stone fort on a hill. Perhaps it is Khundaila of Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, II, Rogers & Beveridge's translation p. 252, where the grant of the title of Rāja to Girdhar is recorded.

(RĀĪ) RĀĪ SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 148-154).

He was the son of Rāī Kalyān[1] Mal *Zamīndār* of Bīkānēr. He belonged to the Rāthōr tribe and was connected with Rāī Māldēo in the fourth generation. As the appreciative and judicious nature of Emperor Akbar became well known, and the great fortune of that Emperor was apparent from the turn of events, Rāī Kalyān with his son Rāī Singh in the 15th year, while the Emperor was at Ajmēr, was successful in obtaining loyal service, and was attached to the royal saddle straps. He gave his brother's daughter in marriage to the Emperor[2], and thus gained special distinction. In the 40th year Rāī Kalyān Mal had the rank of 2,000. Rāī Singh in the 17th year when the Emperor decided on the conquest of Gujarāt, was deputed with a large force to stay in Jōdhpūr[3] the home of Māldēo, and block the road from Gujarāt, so that the rebels from that province might not be able to enter the royal territory from that direction. He stayed in that area with other forces. When Ibrāhīm Ḥusain Mīrzā after his defeat in the battle of Sarnāl entered the royal territory, and besieged Nāgōre—which was in the fief of Khān Kalān and was defended by his son Farrukh Khān—Rāī Rāī Singh with the officers, who were in that district, went to attack the Mīrzā. The latter raised the siege and retired. Rāī Rāī Singh pursued him, and engaged him in battle. He performed great deeds in this fight, and defeated the Mīrzā[4]. In the 18th year when the Emperor decided on making a flying march to Gujarāt, Rāī Rāī Singh was sent in advance.

1 Caliyan Sing of Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) II, p. 143. For Rāī Singh see the same work pp. 143-145.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 358, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 518, Tod states that Akbar and Rai Singh were married to sister princesses of Jaisalmer, but does not mention the marriage of Akbar to Kalyan Mal's niece.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text. III, p. 5. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 8.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 34, 35, translation, pp. 49, 50.

He joined the Emperor on his arrival, and in the battle with Muḥammad Ḥusain Mīrzā distinguished himself[1] by his great activity. In the 19th year he was deputed with Shāh Qulī Maḥram for the chastisement of Chandar Sēn, son of Rāja Māldēo. He left no stones unturned for the success of the campaign, and greatly devastated the country. He also took part in the siege of the fort of Siwāna, which was Chandar Sēn's place of refuge[2]. In order to punish Chandar Sēn, who was still in the field, another force was needed. In the end of the same year Rāī Rāī Singh[3] came alone to the Emperor, and reported the state of affairs. The Emperor deputed another force after Chandar Sēn, and allowed him to return. But as the fort of Siwāna was not taken for a long time, in the beginning of the 21st year Shāhbāz Khān[4] was deputed to this duty, and Rāī Rāī Singh and other officers returned to the Presence. Later, in the same year he was sent with Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān to punish the *Zamīndār* of Jālaur and Sirōhī. When they offered excuses and desired to present themselves at the Court to be purged of their offences, he with Saiyid Hāshim Bārah, in accordance with orders, stayed behind in the town of Nādōt, and blocking the egress and ingress of the Rānā of Udaipūr, tried hard in subduing the recalcitrants of the area[5]. Sulṭān Dēoda, *Zamīndār* of Sirōhī on account of his innate suspiciousness retired to his home. Rāī Rāī Singh was directed to take possession of Sirōhī, and he proceeded to besiege it. To increase Dēoda's alarm he sent for his family from his home. Sulṭān Dēoda attacked the caravan (of his family) and a battle took place. After many were killed, Dēoda retired to the fort of Ābūgarh (Mount Abu). This is a fort near Sirōhī in the borders of the province of Ajmēr towards Gujarāt. Its real name is Arbudā Achal. Arbudā, according to the Hindus, is the

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 57, translation, p. 61.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 80-82, translation, pp. 113, 114.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 110, 111, translation, p. 155.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 167, translation, p. 237.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 189, 190, translation, pp. 266, 267.

name of a spirit, and Achal means a hill. In course of time the name has been corrupted to Ābūgarh. Its height is seven *kos* (*i.e.* the table-land extends for 7 *kos*), and on the top the Rānā in former times had built a fort. The approach is very difficult. It has so many springs of good water, good wells and cultivated fields that they can provide sufficient water and food for the besieged. There are numerous kinds of flowers, and scented plants, and the air is very pleasant. Rāī Rāī Singh took Sirōhī and proceeded to Ābūgarh. By only a slight exertion he succeeded in making things very difficult for the besieged. Sulṭān Dēoda was bewildered, and handed over the keys of the fort. Rāī Rāī Singh left a force there, and reached the Court with Sulṭān Dēoda[1]. In the 26th year when the coming of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm to the Panjāb was bruited abroad, and the Emperor decided to go there, Rāī Rāī Singh was sent in advance with a force, and a number of noted elephants. Later he was attached to Prince Sulṭān Murād who was appointed to deal with Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. At the end of the same year when the royal armies returned to the Capital, Rāī Rāī Singh and other fief-holders were sent to the Panjāb. In the 30th year he was sent[2] with Ismā'īl Qulī Khān to Balūchistān. In the 31st year he was exalted by the marriage of his daughter[3] to Prince Sulṭān Salīm. In the 35th year he was permitted to go to his home in Bīkānēr[4]. He returned, and in the end of the 36th year was sent[5] with a force of brave men to assist Khān Khānān 'Abdur Raḥīm, who was engaged in the Tatta campaign. In the 38th year his son-in-law, the son of Rāja Rām Chand Baghēla, was allowed after his father's death to proceed to his father's territory round Bāndhū fort. He fell down from his palanquin on the way, and was bled for the sake of treatment, but his ailment increased as result of

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 197, translation, pp. 278, 279.
2 *Op. cit.*, Text. p. 475, translation, p. 717.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 494, translation, pp. 748. 749.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 581, translation, p. 881.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 606, translation, p. 925.

bathing and washing at improper times, and he died. The Emperor, who appreciated the value of the services of his officers, went to Rāī Rāī Singh's house and comforted him by all kinds of favours[1]. Afterwards for some reason he was separated from the Emperor.

About this time the complaint of oppression on the part of one of his servants was received by the Emperor. The latter was greatly annoyed, and the servant was summoned to the Court for enquiry. Rāī Rāī Singh concealed him, and represented that he had absconded. For this reason he was for a time excluded from the honour of paying his respects. Later he was restored to favour, and received Sōrath in fief, and was seconded to the Deccan. He negligently spent some time in his home at Bīkānēr, and even after leaving delayed on the road. Though the Emperor sent him a warning, it was of no avail. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn was appointed to bring him to the Court if he did not go off on service. He was obliged to come to the Court, and as he had no valid excuse for his perversity, he was for a time excluded from presence at the Court. At last in consideration of his past services the Emperor pardoned him, and he was again received into favour[2]. In the 45th year when the Emperor was at Burhānpūr, and Shaikh Abūl Faḍl was deputed to Nāsik, Rāī Rāī Singh was nominated to accompany him. As, however, his son Dalpat was creating a disturbance in his home, he was permitted to go there. In the 46th year he again came to the Court[3], and in the 48th year was deputed with Prince Sulṭān Salīm on the expedition against the Rānā[4]. During the reign of Emperor Akbar he attained the rank of 4,000, and in the Ist year of the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr was promoted to the rank of 5,000[5].

When the Emperor (Jahāngīr) went to the Panjāb in pursuit of Khusrau, Rāī Rāī Singh was ordered to follow with the harem.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 641. translation, p. 985.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 717, translation, pp. 1068, 1069.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 798, translation, p. 1196.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 822, translation, p. 1233.

5 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 49.

Without permission he left them on the road, and went to his home. In the 2nd year after the Emperor's return from Kābul he, at the intercession of Sharīf Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā appeared with a cord (*fauṭa*) round his neck and did homage[1]. In the 7th year, corresponding to 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.) he died[2]. His eldest son was Dalpat, who had the rank of 500 during Emperor Akbar's time. In the 36th year he was appointed to assist Khān Khānān in the Tatta (Sindh) campaign, but on the day of battle, he in spite of his having a large force with him, out of cowardice looked on as a spectator from a distance[3]. In the 45th year, when Emperor Akbar was in the Deccan, and Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā on account of a quarrel with Khwājgī Fatḥ Ullāh, and want of intelligence absconded, Dalpat on the pretence of searching for the Mīrzā left the army with his men, and went home[4]. In the 46th year his father was appointed to chastise him. As he expressed a wish to return to the Court, the Emperor forgave him, and on being summoned he arrived at the Court[5]. In the 3rd year (of Jahāngīr) he was pardoned at the request of Khān Jahān Lōdī. After his father's death when he came to the Court from Deccan, he was granted a robe of honour, and the title of Rāī; and was nominated as his father's successor.

It is recorded in *Jahāngīrnāma* that Rāī Rāī Singh had another son named Sūr Singh. Though Dalpat was the *Tīka*[6] son, Rāī Rāī Singh on account of his love for the mother of Sūr Singh wanted to make the latter his successor. When Rāī Rāī Singh's death was reported, Sūr Singh foolishly represented that his father

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 130, 131. There is, however, no mention of his appearing before the Emperor with a *fauṭa* round his neck.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 609, translation, p. 931 (not 934 as given in the Index).

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 770, translation, p. 1151.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 798, translation, p. 1196.

6 *Tīka* here is used in the sense of heir-apparent. For the mark on the head see Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 521.

had made him his successor and given him the *Tīka*. The Emperor was displeased with this statement, and said, "If your father gave you the *Tīka*, we have exalted Dalpat". With his own hand he drew the *Tīka* on Dalpat's forehead, and granted him his father's home as his fief[1]. In the 7th year Dalpat's rank was increased by 500 foot with 500 horse, and he was deputed to assist Mīrzā Rustam Ṣafavī who had been sent as governor of Tatta (Sindh). In the 8th year it was reported that he had fought with his younger brother Sūr Singh, and had been defeated. At the same time Hāshim of Khost, the *Faujdār* of that area arrested and brought him to the Court. As he had repeatedly behaved improperly, he was capitally punished[2]. As a reward for this service Sūr Singh's rank was advanced by 500 foot with 200 horse. A separate account of Rāo Sūr has been included.

(RĀJA) RĀĪ SINGH SĪSODIA
(Vol. II, pp. 297-301).

He was the son of Mahārāja Bhīm son of Rānā Amar Singh[4]. When in the 9th year[5] of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, Prince Shāh Jahān was nominated to the campaign against Rānā Amar Singh, the latter being hard pressed knocked at the door of supplication[6] and

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 217, 218. His name in this work is Dalīp instead of Dalpat.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 258, 252.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 211, 212.

4 He is the Rana Umra of Mewar in Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.) I, p.278 *et seq.*

5 Prince Khurram was sent in the 8th year from Ajmēr, vide *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 256, but the date according to Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 235 was early in 1614, which would mean the 9th year.

6 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 273, 274.

aited on the Prince[1]; Bhīm[2] his son thereafter distinguished him-lf in the Prince's service. He exerted himself in chastising the *amīndār* of Gujarāt, and in fighting with the Deccanīs. He also ɜrformed valuable services in collecting tributes in Gōndwāna, ıd gained for himself a name for bravery and courage. When issensions arose between the Emperor and the Prince, he did not give p the Prince's service, and when the latter leaving Bengāl started for .llāhābād, while from the other side, according to the orders of mperor Jahāngīr, Sulṭān Parvīz under the guardianship of Mahābat ḫān advanced with the imperial forces for dealing with the disturance, and there was a battle, Bhīm behaved bravely, and like a loyal[3] ɜrvant gave up his life. Rāī Singh after Shāh Jahān's accession came : the Court in the 1st year, and in spite of his youth was, in consiɜration of his father's services, granted a suitable robe of honour, jewelled *sarpēch* (a turban ornament), an ornamented dagger, the ınk of 2,000 with 1,000 horse and the title of Rāja. He also :ceived a horse, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 20,000 in cash[4]. : the 5th year he was exalted by an increase of 1,000 with 200 orse[5]. In the 8th year he was deputed[6] with Prince Muḥammad .urangzīb Bahādur who had been sent to support the troops sent › chastise Jujhār Singh. In the 9th year he had an increase[7] of oo horse, and in the 12th year was sent with Prince Dārā Shikōh › Qandahār. In the 14th year he received a drum, and was deputed ·ith Sa'īd Khān Ẕafar Jang for the chastisement of Jagat Singh ·*amīndār* of Janmūn who had rebelled. In the 15th year his rank

1 *Op. cit.*, p 276.

2 Bhīm was in attendance at the Court when the news of his father's :ath was received in the 14th year, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, II, p. 123. In c 15th year he was granted the title of Rāja, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

3 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 232-234; Khāfī Khān, I, pp. 346-356; Beni ·asad, *Op. cit.*, pp. 375, 376.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 195.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 99.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

was raised[1] to 4,000 with 2,000 horse, and was again deputed with Prince Dārā Shikōh to Qandahār. In the 18th year he was appointed[2] with 'Alī Mardān Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and afterwards accompanied Prince Murād Bakhsh to the same territory.

When that Prince after taking Balkh developed a dislike for that country and started for the Court, he also came to Pēshāwar. As the men appointed to this expedition were forbidden to cross the Attock, he remained[3] there. Later he returned to Balkh and Badakhshān with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and was victorious in every campaign that was assigned to him, against the Ūzbegs. On the Prince's return he was permitted from the said province to return home. In the 22nd year[4] he was again appointed to the Qandahār campaign with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, and performed great deeds there in defeating the Irānians in the company of Rustam Khān. His rank was consequently advanced to 5,000 with 2,500 horse. Later[5] he was a second time deputed to the same campaign with the said Prince, but on account of illness remained in Pēṣhāwar. After the royal cavalcade arrived in that neighbourhood he obtained leave to go home. He went a third time to Qandahār with Prince Dārā Shikōh, and from there was sent with Rustam Khān to take the Bust fort. In the 28th year he went with 'Allāmī Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish Chittōr. In the 31st year he went with Mu'aẓẓam Khān and others to the Deccan to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the battle with the 'Ādil Khānīs he did good service. He killed his opponent, and after receiving three serious and several minor wounds dismounted. A large number of his men were also killed. As a reward for this loyal service his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 4,000 horse and he was granted a special robe of honour, a jewelled sword, an Arab horse with golden saddle, a (male) and a

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 294.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 424.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 463.

4 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 71.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

female elephant. He was also given an assignment of one lac of rupees, and permitted to return home. In the battle between Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and Aurangzīb he and a number of his tribesmen (Rājpūts) were in the right wing of the Rāja's forces. When the battle began, he bade good bye to his reputation, and fled to his home[1]. After the battle with Dārā Shikōh he did homage to Emperor Aurangzīb[2]. In the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, as the excess baggage with some of the Harem were left in the town of Tōra, he was left there to protect them[3]. In the 2nd year with Shā'ista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, and in the 7th year with Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh he was deputed to the Deccan, and as he served loyally and bravely in the conquest of Sīvā (Shīvajī) Bhōnsle's forts and in devastating 'Ādil Khān's territories, he was rewarded by his rank being raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse of which 500 were two-horse three-horse troopers. In the 10th year he again went[4] to the same country in attendance on Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, and in the 16th year, corresponding to 1083 A.H. (1672 A.D.) he died there. His sons Mān Singh, Mahā Singh and Anūp Singh came to the Court, and were granted robes of honour[5].

(RĀJA) RĀJRŪP
(Vol. II, pp. 277-281).

He was the son of Rāja Jagat Singh[6] son of Rāja Bāsū[7]. In the 12th[8] year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed *Faujdār* of Kōh Kāngra. When his father rebelled, he also[9] joined him against

1 *'Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 70, 71.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 141, 142.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.
4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 61.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.
6 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 238-241, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 726, 727.
7 *Op. cit.*, pp. 157-160, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 392, 394.
8 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 127.
9 *Op. cit.*, pp. 237, 238.

the Emperor. After his father's offences were forgiven, he with his father submitted[1]. In the 19th year after his father's death he received the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, the title of Rāja, the gift of his home as a fief, and the present of a horse. He also was given charge of the wooden fort which his father had built between Sarāb and Andarāb, and which had been placed under his charge. Out of the 1,500 horse and 2,000 infantry, which had been fixed as his father's contingent, the pay of 500 horse and 2,000 infantry was assigned upon the Kābul treasury[2]. In the same year he was attached to Prince Murād Bakhsh, who had been appointed to take Balkh and Badakhshān, and after Qandahār he was appointed to protect it with a body of troops. Two lacs of rupees were made over to him for carrying on the affairs of that area[3]. His rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was presented a jewelled dagger, and a pearl necklace[4]. During that time he had frequent fights with the Ūzbegs and Alamāns—who regularly used to come to the area in parties for plunder—and forced them to run away from there. He pursued and killed numbers of them. In the 20th year he was exalted by an increase of 500 horse and the grant of a drum. At this time he went from Qandahār to Ṭalīqān to wait on Qulīj Khān. The Almāns came in a large force and besieged Qandahār, and started fighting all round. One day, when they were drawn up near his camp, he out of his great bravery attacked them. There was severe fighting. A number of his men lost their lives, and he also received three wounds, but he fought his way back to the camp. After that the besiegers becoming disappointed raised the siege and left the city. In the 22nd year his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,500 horse, and he was appointed commandant of the fort of Kahmard in succession to Khalīl Bēg. In the 25th year he had an increase of 500, and was sent with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur on the Qandahār campaign[5]. In the siege of the

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 269.
2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 481, 482.
3 *Op. cit.*, p. 527.
4 *Op. cit.*, p.555.
5 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 140.

place he commanded a battery. On return from there he was appointed to Kābul with Sulaimān Shikōh. In the 26th year he again[1] went to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikōh, and in the siege of the place exerted himself to his best. In the 29th year, in accordance with the orders, he left Kahmard, and having done homage at the Court went home. When Dārā Shikōh after being defeated by Emperor Aurangzīb left for Lāhōre, Rāja Rājrūp, who in compliance with summons prior to the war of succession had started from his home, met Dārā Shikōh between Delhī and Sirhind. By his fables and enchantment he was enmeshed in the net of his companionship[2]. Later, when Dārā Shikōh after reaching the Capital (Lāhōre) proceeded towards Multān, Rājrūp perceiving the signs of failure in his affairs left him on the pretence that he would go home, and prepare equipment[3]. Afterwards with good intentions he came from his home, and on the banks of the river Bēās joined Khalīl Ullāh Khān who was pursuing Dārā Shikōh. Through Khalīl Ullāh Khān's recommendation he was enlisted in Emperor Aurangzīb's service, and his disgrace and evil deeds were forgotten[4]. His rank was increased to 3,500 foot and horse, and he was appointed to the *thānadārī* of Chāndī[5] on the borders of Srīnagar (Garhwāl). Sulaimān Shikōh had marched from Allāhābād, and wanted to proceed to the Panjāb *via* Sahāranpūr, and join his father. On account of the spreading out of 'Ālamgīr's forces he could not do so, and was forced to retire into the hill country. Rāja Rājrūp was sent to make proper arrangements at the foot of the hills and prevent Sulaimān Shikōh from coming out that way. Later he joined the Emperor[6], and was attached to the vanguard of the right wing in the second battle with Dārā Shikōh. As Kōklā Pahār was the refuge of Dārā Shikōh's men, the Rāja brought out his foot-men—who were experienced hill-climbers—from the back

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
2 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 179.
3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182.
4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 187, 190.
5 *Op. cit.*, p. 199.
6 *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

of Kōklā Pahār, and himself remained on horseback ready to support them. The enemy perceiving their small number boldly came out of their entrenchments, and engaged in battle. The royal officers followed closely, and the battle raged for three watches. The entrenchments were still intact, when Dārā Shikōh losing heart took to flight[1]. As Prithī Pat[2], the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagār (Gārhwāl) had, through short-sightedness, given refuge in his territory to Sulaimān Shikōh, and out of foolish hopes was helping him, the Rāja in the 2nd year was deputed with a force of the victorious army to Srīnagar hills. If the said *Zamīndār* ignoring sage counsels persisted in looking after Sulaimān Shikōh, he was to devastate his country and eradicate[3] him. As the *Zamīndār*, out of ignorance and pride, did not give up helping Sulaimān Shikōh, Tarbīyat Khān and Ra'dāndāz Khān were also appointed, and they made the *Zamīndār's* position impossible. He in his helplessness turned to the Mīrzā Rāja (Jai Singh), and made the delivering up of that one, who had himself gone into the snare, as the means of his pardon.

In the 4th year, on the transfer of Saiyid Shahāmat Khān the Rāja was sent off to look after the boundaries of Ghaznīn[4], but after reaching there he died in the same year, corresponding to 1071 A.H. (1660-61 A.D.). Like his father he was not void of courage and bravery, and had the right spirit for enduring afflictions and in repenting of faults. His younger brother Bahār Singh, who with his father had performed great deeds in the Badakhshān campaign, spent a great part of his life in the ignorance of holy theism, but in the end of the

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 320-327. Also see Har Bilas Sarda, *Ajmer: Historical and Descriptive* (Ajmer, 1941), pp. 157, 164, and Plan of the battle on p. 160, where Kōklā hill is shown. The name of Rāja Rājrūp is incorrectly given as Ramrup in that work.

2 The name is Prithi Pat in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 26, but in Khāfi Khān II, p. 723 it is Prithī Singh. There also it is stated that he was pardoned at the request of Rāja Jai Singh on his agreeing to hand over Sulaimān Shikōh.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 421.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 625. His death is referred to on p. 647.

d year he obtained from the pious Emperor the light of guidance id became converted to Islām. From the threshold of the religious inded Caliph he received royal favours, and was given the title of [urīd[1] Khān. For a long time he guarded Ghōrband. Up to the :sent day his descendants are in possession of Shāhpūr *alias* Bharwīn :ir ancestral home[2] which is to the west of Tārāgarh, and whoever : the Rāja is called Murīd Khān.

(RAJA) RĀJ SINGH KACHWĀHA
(Vol. II, pp. 170-172).

He was the son of Rāja Askaran[3], brother of Rāja Bihārā Mal[4]. 'hen the latter became a great favourite of Emperor Akbar, every e of his relations also was promoted according to his deserts. Rāja ;karan[5] was appointed with Ṣādiq Khān in the 2nd year to chastise ·a Madhukar Bundēla. In the 24th year he was deputed[6] with ja Tōdar Mal to the province of Bihār. In the 30th year he was omoted[7] to the rank of 1,000, and in the same year was seconded[8] the Deccan campaign with Khān Ā'ẓam Kōka. When the Empe- in the 31st year appointed two officers to each *Ṣūba*, the Āgra *ba* was assigned[9] to Rāja Askaran and Shaikh Ibrāhīm. In the

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 609, 648. He is mentioned as governor of Kābul in 24th r, *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 207.

2 There is some confusion here. Rāja Bāsu's ancestors' home was Nūrpūr :he Kāngra district, while Shāhpūr is in the Rāwalpindī division. Bharwīn ;ht be Bhēra in Shāhpūr district, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, VIII, p. 100.

3 He is Aiskurn of Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, p. 285.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 111-113, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. -411.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 210, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 295.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 287, translation, p. 422.

7 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 457, translation, p. 687.

8 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 464, translation, p. 701.

9 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 511, translation, p. 779.

33rd year he went with Shahāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān on a punitive expedition against Rāja Madhukar[1]. He died at his appointed time. Rāj Singh was exalted by the grant of the title of Rāja, and a suitable rank, and was for a long time attached to the Deccan forces. Later, he was, at his request, recalled, and arrived at the Court in the 44th[2] year. Afterwards he was appointed commandant of the Gwālior fort. In the 45th year while the Emperor went to besiege Asīr, he came to the Presence, and did homage[3]. In the 47th year he was deputed[4] with Rāī Rāyān Patr Dās for pursuing Bīr Singh Dēo Bundēla, who had like a thief come on the road and murdered Shaikh Abūl Faḍl. As he exerted himself to extirpate the Bundēlas, he in 50th year was raised by repeated promotions to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and the gift of a drum[5]. In the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he was sent to the Deccan, and in the 10th year, corresponding to 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.) he died there. His son Rām Dās was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and in the 12th year was exalted by the grant of the title of Rāja[6]. In the end of the same year he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse[7]. One of his grandsons, by the name of Parsūtam Singh, became[8] a Muslim in the 6th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, and received

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 526, translation, p. 803.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 751, translation, p. 1122.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 779, 798, translation, pp. 1166, 1195.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 813, translation, p. 1221.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 823, translation, p. 1239. His rank was advanced to 3,500 with 300 horse. In the 50th year on text p. 836, translation, p. 1252, it is stated that he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 which is apparently a mistake for 4,000.

6 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 379.

7 This and the earlier statement in reference to his rank are both incorrect. Rām Dās Kachwāha was promoted to the rank of 3,000 in the Ist year of Jahāngīr's reign, *op. cit.*, p. 21. The second reference is to another Rām Dās, son of Jai Singh who was granted the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 418.

8 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 544.

the name of Sa'ādatmand. He was favoured with the grant of a robe of honour, a horse and a sum of money in cash.

(SAIYID) RĀJŪ[1] BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 402, 403).

He was one of the officers of Emperor Akbar and attained the rank of 1,000. In the 21st year he was deputed[2] under Kanwar Mān Singh to chastise the Rānā, and in the 29th year[3] when he was again sent with Jagan Nāth on a punitive expedition against the Rānā, he was left with a body of troops at Māndalgarh, while the leader went by rapid marches to the headquarters of the Rānā. The latter escaped along another defile, and started commotion in the royal territory. The Saiyid marched forward for a fight, and thus delivered the poor peasantry from his depredations. In the 30th year he with Jagan Nāth again attacked the Rānā's headquarters, and the Rānā retreated from there. Later, he was attached to Prince Sulṭān Murād who had been appointed Governor of Mālwa. When the Prince in the 36th year went to the territory of Rāja Madhukar for chastising him, and by the Emperor's order returned to Mālwa, the Saiyid was[4] left behind with a force. Afterwards he was seconded to the Deccan. In the 40th year during the siege of Aḥmadnagar when some of the enemy approched the royal camp, and injured the quadrupeds, the Saiyid, in his loyalty to the salt, opposed them, and fell with some of his brethren in the year 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.). His *jāgīr* was conferred on his sons[5].

1 Blochmann, *Āī'n*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 501, 502.
2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 237.
3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 440, 468, translation, pp. 661, 705, 706.
4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 605, translation, p. 923.
5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 700, translation, p. 1047.

(RĀJA) RĀM CHAND BAGHĒLA

(Vol. II, pp. 134-138).

He was the *Zamīndār* of Bhath[1], and one of the chief Rājas of India. Bābur[2] in his *Memoirs* speaks of three great Rājas, and the third of these was Rāja Rām Chand. A *Kalāwant* by the name of Tānsēn—who was the leader of his time in the science of music, and who is stated to have had no equal either in regard to his melodious voice or his delicate compositions—was in his Court. The Rāja greatly appreciated his merits and was very fond of him. When Emperor Akbar heard about Tānsēn's accomplishments, he in the 7th year[3] sent Jalāl Khān Qūrchī to Rāja Rām Chand and summoned Tānsēn to the Presence. The Rāja realizing refusal to be beyond his power, sent Tānsēn with the necessary paraphernalia and presents. When Tānsēn arrived, the Emperor on the first day presented him two *krōrs* of *dāms*, equal to two lacs of current rupees, and became enamoured of his performances. His compositions, many of which bear Emperor Akbar's name, are current even today.

1 Bhath was incorrectly identified by Blochmann, *Āʾīn* (2nd edn.), I, p. 685, as Panna State in Central India, and in this he was followed by Beveridge, *Akbarnāma*, translation, II, p. 280, note 2, III, pp. 624, 966, note 5. It was what is known now a days as Rēwah State in Baghēlkhand in Central India, and is the second largest state next to Gwālior. In the 15th and 16th century the chief of the State "was variously designated as Raja of Bhata or of Panna or of Bandhu" see C. A. Luard, *Rewah State Gazetteer* (Central India State Gazetteer Series IV, Lucknow, 1907), p. 1. The name of Rām Chand is given there as Rām Chandra, and he is stated to have ruled from 1555-1592, and the history of his reign is detailed on pp. 15-17.

2 It has not been possible to trace this reference in Bābur's *Memoirs*. In any case Rām Chand was a contemporary of Akbar and not Bābur.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 181, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 279, 280, see Beveridge's note 4, according to which the passage about the present of a *krōr* of *dāms* to Tānsēn in the first assembly appears to be taken from *Iqbālnāma*. See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, II, p. 335, Lowe's translation, p. 345.

In the 8th year[1] when Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majīd was deputed to conquer Gatha, he first sent a message to Rāja Rām Chand to send Ghāzī Khān Tanūr—who had taken shelter with the Rāja—to the Court, otherwise he would be punished for his improper actions. The Rāja resisted, and with the help of Ghāzī Khān collecting an army of Rājpūts and Afghāns made preparations for a battle. After much fighting Ghāzī Khān was killed, and the Rāja after his defeat took refuge in the fort of Bāndhū, which was the strongest fort of the area. Āṣaf Khān besieged him. Meanwhile, through the mediation of the influential Rājas at the Court, it was arranged that the Rāja would come to the Court, and be enlisted amongst the royal servants. Hence it was decided to withdraw from the conquest of that territory.

In the 14th year when the officers went to besiege Kālinjar—which Rāja Rām Chand had purchased for a large sum from Bijlī Khān the adopted son of Pahār Khān during the days of the Afghān disruption, and which had been in his possession ever since—and the garrison were hard pressed, the Rāja realizing the hopelessness of the situation thought it best to hand over the fort, and coming out of the fort, and through his agents sent its keys with suitable presents to the Emperor's Court. The Emperor received his agents very graciously, and permitted them to return[2]. Though the Rāja sent his son Bīr Bhadra[3] with a tribute and expressed his loyalty, he was too suspicious to come himself. When in the 28th year the Emperor was encamped at

1 Abdul Majīd Āṣaf Khān was first sent against Rāja Rām Chand in the 6th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 148, translation, p. 229. He again went there in the 8th year and defeated Rām Chand, *op. cit.*, text, pp. 182, 183, translation, pp. 281-283. Beveridge's note 1 on p. 282 about Bāndū is incorrect. The place is Bāndhūgarh or Bandhagarh in taḥṣīl Rāmnagar in Rēwah State 23° 40′ N., 81° 3′ E., see Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 340, 341, translation, pp. 498, 499. Kālinjar lies 90 miles W. S. W. of Allāhābād in the Banda District, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, pp. 310-313.

3 Vīrbhadra, as given by Luard, is the correct name. In *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, Text, II, p. 335, Lowe's translation, II, p. 345, the name is wrongly given as Baha.

Allāhābād, he wished to send an army against the Rāja. His son through courtiers represented that if some well-known officers were appointed to bring the Rāja, he would have confidence[1] to present himself. Accordingly the Emperor deputed Zain Khān Kōka and Rāja Bīrbar to conciliate him. He came to the threshold of the Caliphate, and did homage; he received a present of 101 horses.

In the 37th year when the Rāja died, his son Bīr Bhadra, who was at the Court, was granted the title of Rāja, and permitted to return[2] to his territory. En route he fell down from his palanquin. Bleeding was resorted to as a cure, but his illness increased as a result of bathing and washing at improper times, and he died in the 38th year, corresponding to 1001 A.H. (1592-93 A.D.). As he was the son-in-law of Rāī Rāī Singh Rāthōr, the Emperor went to the latter's residence[3] to condole him. Later when it was reported that the wicked men of the territory had brought forward a minor grandson of Rāja Rām Chand by the name of Bikramājīt, and making him their chief were after creating a disturbance, Rāī Patr Dās was deputed[4] to conquer the fort of Bāndhū. After arriving there, as the country had been greatly devastated, *thānas* of imperial officers were established in several places. The people sent in a representation that an influential person should be appointed to take charge of the child. Accordingly Ismā'īl Qulī Khān was deputed there, and he brought the child to the Court in the 41st year. The inhabitants hoped that the Emperor in his liberality and sense of justice would forego the siege, but as this was not agreeable to the Emperor the child was sent away. After

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 420, translation, pp. 624, 625. Rāja Rām Chand's arrival at Court, his presents and the gift of 101 horses to him are mentioned on text, p. 427, translation, pp. 636, 637.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 630, translation, pp. 966, 967.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 630, translation, p. 985. Vīrbhadra died at Khōra.

4 Rāja Patr Dās's appointment is mentioned on text, p. 648, translation, p. 997, while Bikramājit's arrival at the Court on text, p. 711, translation, p. 1059, the conquest of the Bāndhūgarh fort on text, p. 728, translation, pp. 1088, 1089.

a siege of eight months and some days the fort was captured in the 42nd year. In the 47th year Darjūdhan[1], the Rāja's grandson received the title of Rāja and was appointed commandant of the fort, and Bhāratī Chand was made his guardian. After Jahāngīr came to the throne, Rāja Amar Singh, a grandson of the Rāja, in the 21st year desired to wait upon the Emperor. A gracious order was issued, and a robe of honour and a horse were sent through Khān Rāthōr who was an officer well versed in the language of the territory[2]. In the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, in the 8th year, Amar Singh was deputed[3] with 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur for the chastisement of the *Zamīndār* of Ratanpūr. Through his instrumentality the *Zamīndār* had an interview with the Khān, and later came and did homage. At the time of Jujhār Singh Bundēla's rebellion he was[4] with the said Khān's army. After his death his son Anūp Singh succeeded him. In the 24th year when Rāja Pahār[5] Singh Bundēla, *jāgīrdār* of Chūrāgarh, on the occasion of Hardī Rām the *Zamīndār* thereof taking refuge with Anūp Singh—who, after Bāndhū was destroyed, had taken up his residence at Rēwan[6] (Rēwah) 40 *kos* distant from there—attacked Rēwah, Anūp Singh fled with his family to the hill country of Nathū Nathar. In the 30th year he came to the Court with Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān, Governor of Allāhābād, and did homage. He was granted a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, an enamelled shield, and the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse[7], and again received Bāndhū and other parts of his native country in fief.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 788, translation, p. 1180.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 288, 289. The name of the envoy is given as Kān in the Text, but it is Khān in *Iqbālnāma* and this has been adopted.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 75.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

5 Bahār Singh of the text should be Pahār Singh Bundēla of Orchha, see Luard, *op. cit.*, p. 16, and *Orchha State* [illegible] Central India State Gaz. Ser. 1907), pp. 31, 32.

6 Rēwan of the Text, should be Rēwa

7 *'Amal Ṣāliḥ*, III, p. 231.